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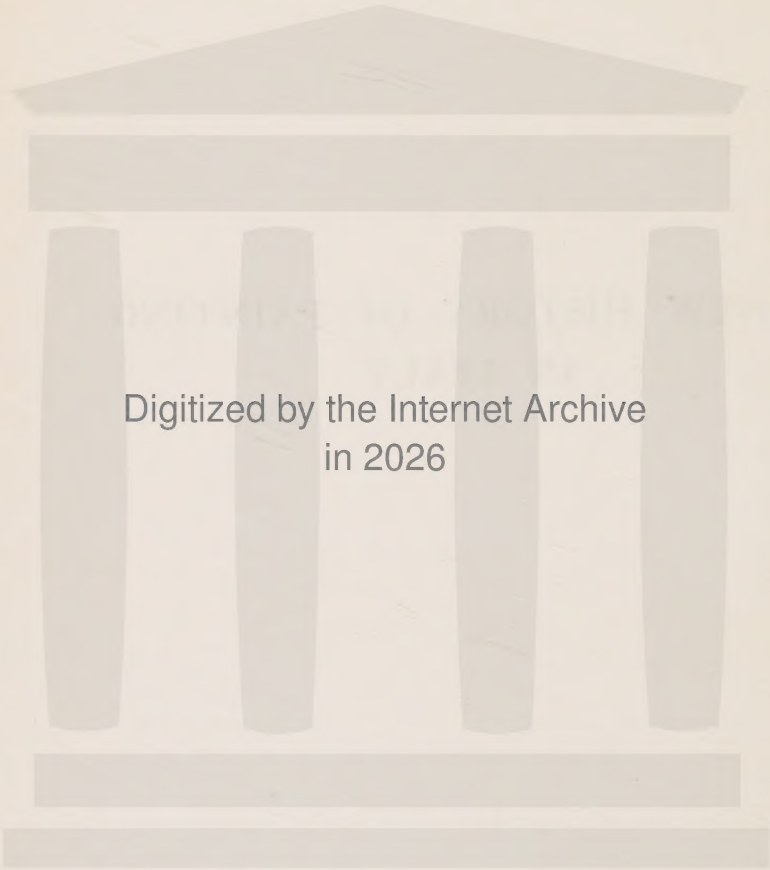
A NEW HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY



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Frontispiece. *Brogi.*

MADONNA AND CHILD

GIOTTO. Academy, Florence.

A NEW HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY

From the II to the XVI Century

By CROWE & CAVALCASELLE

EDITED BY EDWARD HUTTON

IN THREE VOLUMES

WITH 300 ILLUSTRATIONS

I

EARLY
CHRISTIAN ART
GIOTTO
& HIS FOLLOWERS

LONDON: J. M. DENT & CO.
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PREFACE

No excuse is necessary for the publication of a new edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *History of Painting in Italy*. That work is the most important on the subject that has ever been written, and for many years it has been out of print and unprocurable save for a very large price at second-hand.[1] Yet no student is able to work without constantly checking himself by it, for no book or series of books that has appeared since has ever been able, or has even attempted, to take its place. For connoisseurship as for "scientific criticism" it has never been approached, if we consider it as a whole. It is true that later critics have arisen who have confirmed its verdicts or questioned them; but so far not one of them, nor all of them together, have done, in the forty-four years that have passed since the book was written, what Crowe and Cavalcaselle did, to wit, produced a History of Painting in Italy—in Central Italy, that is—at once complete, covering the whole ground, and full of detail.

The immense amount of work that has certainly been accomplished during the last forty years is for the most part supplementary to this book, and it has been my object to represent it without fear or favour in my notes to these volumes. It seemed to me that my first duty in a matter of this kind was to have no personal opinions. I had, as my text, an almost classical work in the History and Criticism of Art. I had, as my commentaries upon it, the great and various mass of criticism that has been written since it appeared. My first business was to keep the text absolutely intact and to be loyal to my authors, neither easily to find fault with them nor to harry them with questions; my second was

[1] In 1903, with Mr. Langton Douglas and the late Mr. Arthur Strong as editors, Mr. John Murray began to publish a second edition of this work. Two volumes appeared, which consisted of most of the matter in the first volume of the first edition. This edition of Mr. Murray's was to be complete in six volumes. So far, however, no further volumes have been published since the two issued in 1903.

to select without fear or bias from the later criticism of which I have spoken such facts and theories as seriously contradicted or supplemented the work of my authors. This I have tried to do as well as I could, and I hope and believe that the result may be found useful and interesting by all who care seriously for the history and criticism of Italian painting.

Perhaps I may say a word about the illustration of these volumes. Here we were at an advantage over the authors. The first edition of 1864 was illustrated with line drawings, while we could use photographs. More than three hundred of these will appear in the present work; and we must thank Messrs. Alinari, Anderson, Lombardi, and Mannelli, and especially Signor Brogi, for the use of their photographs, without which any adequate illustration would have been difficult. It was impossible, however, unless we had published the book in quarto or folio and at a very large price, to do even such justice as photographs may do to the pictures we wished to reproduce. We wanted to give as many as possible, in order that the student might use them as notes and reminders of the pictures so fully described in the text. And it is as attempting to fulfil this useful purpose that they must be judged.

EDWARD HUTTON.

London, 1908.

The Editor's notes are within square brackets.

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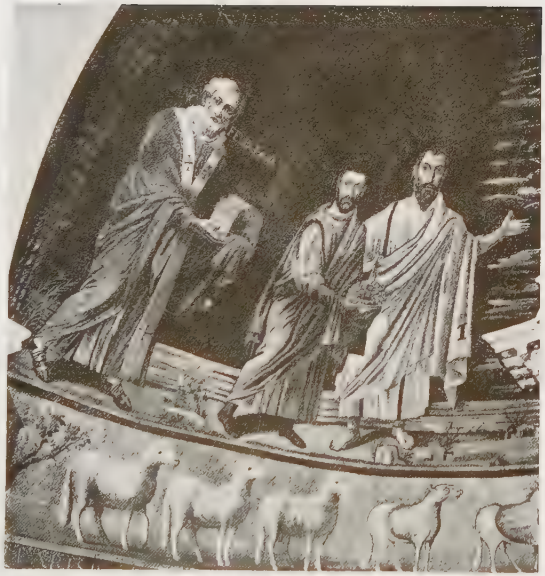
HEAD OF CHRIST

From the Catacomb of S. Pontiano at Rome.

HEAD OF CHRIST

From the Catacomb of SS. Nereo e Achilleo at Rome.



Alinari.

Alinari.

MOSAICS FROM THE CHURCH OF SS. COSMA E DAMIANO, ROME

A NEW HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY

CHAPTER I

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART TO THE VI. CENTURY

In the most prosperous times of Rome the arts never attained to the perfection of the models created by the genius of Greece. Long before the golden age of the Antonines, sculpture and painting had degenerated from the high standard upheld in the great times of the Empire. From that period till the rise of Christianity they pursued an uniform path of degeneracy; yet they retained such vitality as to impose their laws on the nascent Christian school. It is not the object of these pages to trace the decline of Classic art or to record its fall. A study of Christian art from its beginning in the catacombs of Rome and Naples, to its decline and fall in the first ten centuries, and the final development of its genius, as it rose to the perfection of Giotto, Ghirlandaio and Raphael,—such is the purpose to which these pages are devoted.

The unconquerable aversion of the primitive Christians from images and pictures rapidly subsided in the second and third centuries; and though it seemed yet a rash and sacrilegious act to attempt the delineation of the Eternal, it was no sin to represent the Redeemer under the form of the Good Shepherd or of Orpheus, or to symbolise His miraculous Birth, His Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension by episodes of the Old, prefigurating those of the New, Testament.

The painters of the catacombs, whose works afford the earliest examples of Christian art, were but too evidently under the influence of pagan models and customs to give their subjects that depth of feeling, that Christian type which marked the period of the great revival. They twined the Christian theme in garlands of pagan flowers. Cupid fluttered in the vine leaves around the figure of the Good Shepherd. The chlamys and tunic clothed the

forms of the Virgin, the pallium that of the prophets; whilst the Phrygian dress and cap covered the heads and frames of the shepherds or the Magi. The attitude, motions, forms, and distribution were those of the classic time, the degenerate imitation of the greatness of past ages. Whilst the face of the Redeemer distantly revealed the features of the Olympian Jove or of Apollo, the prophets were but too frequently reminiscent of the Greek philosopher. Labouring in the dark and intricate passages or vaults in which the first Christians held their conventicles, the semi-pagan artists boldly stained the rough coated walls with light and lively tinted water-colours, hastily defined their animated figures with dashing lines, and left the spectator to imagine the details and modelling of the form. Their representations had something classical and bold in movement. Their groups closely resembled those of the pagan time, and their execution was naturally rude, hasty, and slight.

Such, from the remains that are now visible, was the character of the paintings of the second or third century[1] in the catacomb of SS. Nereo e Achilleo[2] in the vault vulgarly called Stanza dei Pesci, where the Redeemer is seated[3] in the centre of the roof in the attire of a shepherd, carrying the Lamb, and surrounded by an ornament of tendrils and Cupids.[4] Such, from the feeble traces that remain, were the paintings of the third or fourth century in the vault usually called Stanza delle Pecorelle,[5] where the Redeemer was depicted in the lunette as the Good Shepherd, carrying the Lamb,[6] accompanied by two figures and a flock; whilst below, Moses strikes the rock and Jonah is swallowed by the whale. Here indeed the attitudes were not without grandeur, in so far as simple lines can render the human form; nor were the masses of light and

[1] [The paintings in the Cappella Greca of the catacombs of S. Priscilla were executed in the first thirty years of the second century. Wilpert, who discovered them, thinks they are of the time of Trajan. *Cf.* WILPERT, "*Fractio panis*," *La plus ancienne representation du sacrifice Eucharistique à la Cap. Greca* (Paris, 1896), and VENTURI, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana* (Milano), vol. i. pp. 10, 11. For the paintings generally in the Roman catacombs, see WILPERT, *Le Pitture delle Catacombe Romane*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1903). In these vols. are more than 300 plates, many of them folio size, a large number of them in colour. This magnificent work has superseded all others on the subject.]

[2] Of old S. Callixtus.

[3] [The Redeemer was standing.]

[4] Traces of the head, legs, and body of the principal figure remain.

[5] SS. Nereo e Achilleo, late S. Callixtus.

[6] Similar examples of the good pastor may be found in old sarcophagi, for instance in Sarc. No. 76 in the Campo Santo of Pisa, where the sandalled Saviour is represented beardless, youthful, and with the face of Apollo.

shade without breadth, the colour without harmony, or the drapery without simplicity.[1]

Yet if painters still hesitated to imitate the features of the God-man as He might have existed after reaching the age of adolescence, no such scruple affected them when it was necessary to depict Him as an infant on the knees of His mother. The Virgin herself, though less venerable to the early Christians than to the later followers of the Gospel, was already in honour in the third and fourth centuries, and might be seen enthroned and either receiving the offerings of the Magi or attended by those prophets of the Old Testament who had foretold her coming. Amongst the very earliest catacomb pictures is one in San Callisto which represents the Virgin sitting in profile on a throne holding the infant Saviour and receiving the offerings of the Magi, who stand before her in Phrygian caps and dresses. In the medallion centre of the roof sits the Good Shepherd with two lambs on each side of him. No halo or nimbus indicated as yet the saintly character of Mary or of the infant Saviour.[2]

The Adoration of the Magi in S. Callisto, and another almost similar in the catacomb of S. Agnese, in which the presence of the Magi is more certainly determined by the guiding star painted above and on one side of the Virgin, were in the antique style, and afforded further examples of the veneration in which scenes combining the presence of the Virgin and Saviour were held.

The Virgin with the Child was depicted at the same period in the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro receiving offerings from two figures on each side of her in Phrygian costume. At a later period Isaiah and Jeremiah were represented on each side of episodes from the life of the Virgin, and the two figures here depicted may have been intended to represent those prophets. A gentle cast of features, a slender frame marked this early and still classical representation of the Virgin.[3]

A gradual yet sensible decline may be traced with the lapse of

[1] A careful analysis of the technical process in use at Rome in the third and fourth centuries may be obtained from these wall-paintings. On a light ground a general warm yellow-red tone was thrown over the whole of the flesh parts of a figure. The shadows were worked in with a deeper and thicker tint of the same warm colour in broad masses and without detail. The outline was rapidly drawn in black, as were likewise the eyes, nose, and mouth. The draperies were coloured in the primary keys, and with tolerable knowledge of the laws of harmony.

[2] The figure of the Virgin is in part effaced and the Saviour almost gone.

[3] The Virgin's head is draped, the colour of the painting gay and harmonious.

time, even in the rude and hasty works of the catacombs. The figures, without losing the character of the Roman antique, become sometimes square and short in their proportions, at others inordinately long ; and they are executed if possible with more haste and greater neglect of detail than before. In the vault called the Chapel of the Four Evangelists in SS. Nereo e Achilleo, the Saviour was represented in a recess in the character of Orpheus taming with the sounds of his lyre the wild beasts that surround him. Camels, birds, a lion are well grouped about the principal figure. The Saviour, still symbolically represented, wields the power of faith to convert the heathen and savages. The prophet Micah stands above the recess on the left. Moses on the right strikes the rock, and in the centre the Virgin holds the infant Saviour before the Magi. On a neighbouring wall, Daniel stands in a recess between two lions, whilst above on the right Moses ties his sandals. On the opposite space are traces of Elijah's ascent to heaven in a classic biga. Above is a female with open arms. Further are Noah, looking out of the window of the ark, and Lazarus rising from the grave in the presence of the Saviour. On the fourth wall, traces of a figure remain, and in the medallion centre of the vaulted roof the feeble remnants of a bust representing a man with long hair divided in the centre, a small beard, and a piece of drapery covering his left shoulder. A doubt may exist as to whether the painter intended to portray the features of the Redeemer or those of a person whose piety might have rendered him conspicuous in life and worthy of commemoration after death.

But the Christians had now completely overcome the scruples which forbade them to represent the visible form and features of the Saviour in His manhood. As an infant in the arms of His mother He had already been exhibited. It now became meritorious rather than sacrilegious to delineate His countenance and frame. We may admit that a pious forgery [1] helped the artists of the fourth century in the difficult task of representing the Saviour, yet in the types which were at first adopted the antique was closely imitated, whilst a little later, when more importance was given to the head, it was thought sufficient to present the regular forms of a man in the vigour of manhood, calm, of regular proportions and features, with an imposing brow, a straight nose, passionless eyes expressing solemnity, and a broad and muscular neck. The beard-

[1] See, as to the letter of the Consul Lentulus, the historians of the Empire.

less and curly-headed type of the Good Shepherd changed gradually from an imitation of Apollo to an imitation of Jupiter. It became bearded, slightly in some cases—fully in others. The chin and mouth were alternately bared or concealed according to the fancy of the artist or the will of his employer; or the hair was divided in the middle and fell in curls on the shoulders.

Under the transition form yet still reminiscent of Apollo, the Saviour was represented in the fourth century or beginning of the fifth between the four Evangelists in a vault of S. Callisto called Stanza dei Quattro Evangelisti, young, beardless, and with a curly head. In full front and with outstretched arms He is seated on a Roman chair, with His right hand giving the benediction, with His left holding the Gospels, whilst on each side of Him two figures stand in classical attitudes and natural motion. One of these figures on the left points triumphantly to a star painted above Him, and seems thus symbolically to mark the mission of the Saviour in the very manner in which it was revealed to the wise men of the East.[1] A simple nimbus, the first that meets the eye in the catacombs, and the Greek initials of the Saviour's name, indicate the holy character of the Redeemer. In His face, however, not a trace is to be seen of that noble resignation, of that consciousness of His mission which animated the Redeemer as painted in the fourteenth century. It may be urged indeed that in a pictorial representation such as this necessarily rude one of the catacombs, damaged besides by loss of colour, it is difficult to judge the powers of the artist; but as the examples are numerous, it remains undeniable that early Christian artists were not imbued with power or sentiment to render the sublime idea of the Redeemer, and that, influenced by classical types, they imitated them in the features of the Saviour.[2] A little later they strove to express something more than majesty, and in the effort they fell into an exaggerated mode of delineating human passions. They declined in the power of representing form in proportion as time enlarged the gulf between them and the great classical ages. In a group of the fourth or fifth century in the catacomb of SS. Nereo e Achilleo, representing the Virgin, Child, and

[1] This painting is damaged, and the head of the Saviour almost discoloured. There are traces of a red tunic and blue mantle. The execution is slight, the colour, where it remains, clear. A copy of this painting exists in the Museum of S. Giovanni in Laterano, sufficient to illustrate the style but not the technical execution of the original.

[2] [*Cf.* Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 34, note 2. He gives an explanation of the development of the early representations of the Good Shepherd and a bibliography of the subject.]

four figures in Phrygian dress making an offering,[1] this decline is not as yet very noticeable. It may be traced distinctly in a painting of the period, in the same catacomb,[2] representing the Saviour enthroned in the midst of the apostles,—in remains of figures on the lower part of the same wall, busy, it would seem, with the ark,—and in the Good Pastor amidst the shepherds and their flock, carrying the Lamb on His shoulders. Rapidity of execution had now been joined to defective forms and absence of fit proportion. The heads were small and the bodies long.

Whilst the art of Rome thus followed in its decline that of public welfare and prosperity, it went through similar phases at Naples, in whose catacombs a few examples remain. Two life-sized bust figures of SS. Peter and Paul, painted in the fourth or fifth centuries,[3] prove the imitation of classical models, whilst they derive additional interest from the fact that these saints had already become fixed and immutable types. In the austere features, the square head and beard, the short hair of S. Peter, in his yellow tunic, the curious inquirer may trace the original of many subsequent delineations of that apostle. In the long head, grave features, and pointed beard of the second figure he may note the unalterable lineaments of the apostle Paul. Nimbi already proclaim their saintly character, nor will it be found that any sensible difference existed between the technical execution of the Naples catacombs and that of the artists of Rome. In both capitals painters followed the rules of their pagan predecessors, whose works still adorn the ruins of Pompeii.[4]

A glance will suffice for a female figure of later date with outstretched arms in a niche in the same catacomb. Her name Vitalia and the words "in pace" indicate the commemorative nature of the picture, and this is confirmed by the costume and the drapery which covers the head as well as the frame.[5]

The tomb of a most famous Neapolitan saint—Januarius—possibly of the fifth or sixth century, is close by, protected by a figure of the Saviour erect in a recess with outstretched arms and dressed in a tunic and sandals. A youthful beardless face, sur-

[1] Possibly the four prophets, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Malachi, and Daniel [or the Magi].

[2] SS. Nereo e Achilleo. Cappella dei Dodici Apostoli.

[3] Naples catacombs, braccio sinistro, seconda sepoltura.

[4] The letter P indicates the name of both apostles. S. Paul is in a mantle of blue. The flesh tints have a general reddish tone, the high lights and shadows are put in with body [only the outlines remain].

[5] The head of this figure and other parts are discoloured.

rounded by a nimbus with the Greek P, the alpha and omega, two candelabra above, reveal the intention of the painter to depict the Redeemer. Two females on each side of Him, with their arms held up before them, complete a composition which, taken as a whole, betrays the same progress of decline at Naples as was noticed at Rome.

The decline was not, however, as rapid as might have been expected; and at Rome, in the end of the fifth or first half of the sixth century, the painters of the catacombs still produced works which testified how deeply the classic forms were impressed upon them and how hard it would be to supplant them by others of a character more suited to the development of the Christian idea. SS. Peter, Gorconius, Marcellinus, and Tiburtius were represented on the walls of a vault in the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro [1] at the side of the Lamb standing on a rock from which the four rivers issue. In the long frames and small heads, in the defective feet and hands of these figures, the declining antique may still be traced. But in the centre of the arch of the vault is the Saviour seated on a Roman chair, wearing the tunic, pallium, and sandals, giving the benediction with His right hand and in His left holding a book. The head, surrounded by a simple nimbus, and, on each side of it, the Greek alpha and omega, is of a long shape, but of a youthful type. The broad and open brow, the calm and regular eye, have a certain majesty. The hair falls on the shoulders in locks, and a pointed beard adorns the chin. The outline of the frame is also fine. As regards pure form indeed this was one of the best types of head of the decline of the sixth century. It was equal to some produced at Ravenna,[2] and nearly approached some produced at the great revival in the fourteenth century. To the right and left of the Redeemer stand S. Peter and S. Paul, distinguished as they had already been at Naples by those peculiar types which remain characteristic of them for centuries. An appearance of excessive length and exaggerated action is imparted by the nature of the space which the figures occupy. The converging shape of the furnace vault made it difficult for the painter to combine good distribution of space with faultless shape and movement.

A century after this, the Saviour was still depicted, as for instance

[1] Cappella di SS. Pietro e Marcellino. There remain traces of a nimbus and the Greek symbol above the Lamb. The name of "Petrus" is inscribed above the head of that saint. A copy of this painting is in the Museum of S. Giovanni in Laterano.

[2] With some modification of age at S. Apollinare Nuovo.

in S. Ponziano, in the act of benediction and of imposing aspect, but the painter had already lost the ease of hand, and had never acquired the knowledge of form, of his predecessors. He had sunk to a certain conventionalism of delineation which was betrayed in the straight nature of the falling hair, the regular succession of the curls of a small beard, the semicircular curves of the brows and eyelids, and the breadth of dark outlines. The brow was still open and fair, the nose straight, the neck broad; but the eyes had already an unpleasant gaze, the lower lids being distant from the iris and the upper unnecessarily arched. An effort in fact had thus been made to render the idea of power by inspiring the spectator with terror.[1]

Long before this time, however, the painters had ceased to conceal themselves in the catacombs, and the higher orders of the Italian clergy had resolved that paganism could not be eradicated with greater ease than by the multiplication of pictures. The curious may study Paulinus, Gregory, and the partisans of images to acquire an insight into the motives which led them to adorn the old basilicas and newly erected churches with biblical subjects. The mosaics with which the holy edifices were adorned had no other character than the paintings of the catacombs, nor is the influence of classic forms less visible in them than it was in the ruder or more hasty works of the early wall painters. Critics have been long deceived by a so-called mosaic in the Christian Museum of the Vatican into the belief that the Saviour was represented in the earliest times in the green tunic, long hair, and beard, and the classical forms of a Greek philosopher.[2] A Latin inscription vouches for the truth of a theory which analysis entirely overthrows. The celebrated *ikon* is but a plaster imitation of mosaic, and may have been a copy of an old classic portrait. A painting in the same museum said to be of the fourth century is equally unsatisfactory to the critic.[3]

No mosaics of earlier date than the fourth century are to be

[1] Catacomb of S. Ponziano, sixth or seventh century. The figure is colossal. The nimbus is here adorned for the first time with the Greek cross. A star is painted at each side of the head. Although the type is declining, the technical execution of colour remains the same as before. The surface of the wall is very rough and the execution hasty.

[2] "Icon vetustissima Domini nostri Jesu Cristi, in parentinis sacrorum eæ materiorum Romanæ urbis speciem exhibens musivi operis antiquis."

[3] Originally executed in the catacomb of S. Sebastian, it represents the Saviour holding a scroll and touching the shoulder of one near Him whilst other figures are seated around. This painting, semicircular in form, seems to represent the Last Supper.

found at Rome, nor do these afford material for a fair and impartial judgment. There are indeed but three edifices in Italy that contain mosaics of the fourth century, and these are so damaged that very little of the original remains. Those of the Baptistery built at Rome by Constantine in the fourth century, and now called Santa Costanza, leave little doubt as to the time when they were executed. Here the more essentially pagan peculiarities of the early centuries were curiously marked.

The Saviour was represented in the centre of one of the arched doors, as the ruler of the world, sitting on the orb, in tunic and sandals, and giving the Gospels to one of the apostles, probably S. Peter, standing to the left in front of two other figures.[1] Another representation of the Saviour adorns the arch of a second door in the same edifice. He stands and gives a scroll to an old and venerable figure on the left, whilst His right is stretched out in the direction of two apostles, probably S. Peter and S. Paul. The words "Dominus pacem dat" indicate the general aim of the Gospel which is to spread peace among all men, whilst a tree on each side of the Saviour and four lambs at his feet further confirm the kindly nature and the steady growth of the faith.

In both these mosaics the Saviour's head is surrounded by a simple nimbus, whilst the apostles have none. In the spandrils of the arches of the cupola are ornaments of vine issuing from vases. Figures of Amor gather the grapes whilst birds flutter amongst the branches, children play musical instruments; and females may be seen amongst the leaves. The Christian and profane are thus commingled as they were in the earliest catacomb picture in SS. Nereo e Achilleo, and the general appearance of the remains proves that the same spirit of classic imitation animated the mosaists and the painters.[2]

The Baptistery of Naples, also of the time of Constantine[3]—an irregular octagonal building surmounted by a cupola—contains mosaics whose style may be traced amidst the repairs of restorers both in mosaic and in painting.[4]

[1] Behind S. Peter are two and to the right of the Saviour seven trees.

[2] These mosaics are rudely executed and damaged by restorations of various dates. Some of the restorations are mosaic, others merely of painted plaster.

[3] An old inscription in this baptistery, which is now called S. Giovanni in Fonte, supports the tradition that Constantine erected the building in 303. This fact is confirmed by the chronicles of S. Maria del Principio in Gio. Villani. See Luigi Catalani, *Le Chiese di Napoli*, 8vo, Naples 1845, vol. pp. 46, 47.

[4] Of the four symbolical figures of the Evangelists, that which represents

Amongst the prophets on the broad sides of the octagon some of whom hold crowns and others offerings, varied attitudes, suitable action, and classic draperies remind the spectator of the fine figures of previous ages. Scenes from the life of the Saviour, such at least as might serve to impress the multitude with the idea of His supernatural power and benevolence, also adorned the cupola, but are so altered by restoring as to be worthless to the critic.[1]

Again, in the fourth century the Saviour was represented in S. Pudenziana at Rome enthroned, in the act of benediction, holding the Gospel in His left hand and supported on each side by a regular array of saints, of whom the lowest in rank, S. Pudenziana and S. Praxedis, close the procession on the two extremes.[2] The attitude of the Saviour, the outlines of His face and form were grand, noble, and regular. The long hair, the beard that covered the chin and upper lip, the straight nose and regular features were quite in the antique style. The broad masses of light and shade, the luminous and rosy flesh tones, where they are not marred by restoration, produce a good harmony, nor were the forms enclosed as yet in those dark outlines which marked the later progress of the decline. The scene of the Saviour's glorification was not laid in heaven. The blue sky, in which white clouds were depicted, was adorned with the symbols of the cross and the four Evangelists. A tapestry hung behind the Saviour; and buildings formed the background. The distribution of the space and the general array of the figures was not inferior to, nor essentially different from, those of the pagan period. It must be repeated, the state of this mosaic is not such as to permit a fair and impartial judgment.[3]

The mosaics of the arch of triumph and great aisle in Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, executed in the middle of the fifth century, are more satisfactory, more interesting monuments of their time. They may be accepted as a convincing proof of the difficulty under which the mosaists laboured in the attempt to

S. John in the form of an angel has the head of an aged man the regular features of the classic Roman time.

[1] In the centre of the cupola is the Greek monogram and cross.

[2] [The two heroic figures appear to be the Churches *ex circumcisione* and *ex gentibus* as at S. Sabina in Aventino. See *infra*, p. 12.]

[3] This mosaic has been repaired at different periods and some parts entirely removed. The head and figure which preserve their character most completely are those of S. Pudenziana. That saint and S. Praxedis are represented holding crowns in their hands. The head of the Saviour is by no means exempt from restoring. The whole group to the right of the Saviour, including the lower part of that figure, is new. Though restored, however, this mosaic has the character, the costumes, and the style of that of Santa Costanza.

render scriptural subjects of which the typical compositions had not as yet been invented. So long indeed as the idea of a heavenly messenger had no other representative than the old Roman Victory, so long as the saints of the Bible were only conceived as prototypes of the deities of the pagans, and the Israelites of the Old Testament were confounded with the legionaries of the Cæsars, so long was it impossible to give Christian art its fit character.[1]

[1] [The mosaics of the triumphal arch and of the aisles of S. Maria Maggiore are not of the fifth but of the second and third centuries, as has lately been shown by Dr. Richter and Miss Taylor in *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art* (Duckworth, 1904). As work of the fifth century, expressing the theology of Jerome and Augustine, they are not explicable; but as work of the second and third, summing up as it were the theology of Justin Martyr and the Apologists, they are clear enough. The pictures do not make a narrative like the frescoes of Giotto in the Upper Church of S. Francesco at Assisi; but are either themselves typological or scenes in which the chief figure is a prototype of Christ. The mosaics of the nave fall into four groups, the centre of each group being a notable figure of the Old Testament, a prototype of Christ: Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Joshua. The first series, in which Abraham is the central figure, consists to-day of three pictures, and is incomplete, but these three are in great part of original workmanship, which cannot be said of the other series, which are however more complete. I content myself with giving the subjects, often explicable by a text of scripture; and, having thus given the reader the key to the interpretation, would refer him for all details to the work above mentioned of Dr. Richter and Miss Taylor.

First Series

i. Abraham with Melchizedek. Gen. xiv. 8.
ii. Abraham and the Three Angels. Gen. xviii. 1 and 2, 9 and 13. Remember the obstinate monotheism of the Jewish Christian. The whole series is indicative of the struggle between the Jewish and Roman Churches.
iii. Abraham and Lot part. Gen. xiii. 7. A magnificent composition. The parting of the two races. Abraham and the unborn Prince of Life leave Lot to go to Sodom with the Judaic world.

Second Series

Here again we see the struggle between Christianity and Judaism. "Leah is your people and congregation, but Rachel is our Church, for these and for the servants in both Christ serves, even now."—Justin Martyr, *Dial. with Trypho*, cxxxiv.

i. Jacob's blessing. Gen. xxvii. 28–29. Well-preserved antique copy.
ii. Esau's blessing. Gen. xxxiv. 41. This and Jacob's Ladder are seventeenth-century work.
iii. Rachel announces Jacob's arrival. Gen. xxix. 12. All restoration.
iv. Jacob enters Laban's household. Gen. xxix. 13–14. Greatly restored.
v. Jacob serves for Rachel. Gen. xxix. 18–20. Greatly restored.
vi. Jacob asks for the hand of Rachel. Gen. xxix. 21. Greatly restored.
vii. Jacob's marriage with Rachel. Gen. xxix. 22–28. Greatly restored.
viii. Compact between Jacob and Laban. Gen. xxx. 31–32. Greatly restored.
ix. Dividing Jacob's sheep from Laban's. Gen. xxx. 35–36. Greatly restored.

Of two figures of colossal stature in Santa Sabina at Rome, symbolising, as the inscriptions testify, the *Ecclesia ex circumcisione* and *Ecclesia ex gentibus*, little need be said except that they have the character of the fifth century, and recall by their good proportions, movement, and a fine cast of draperies the Roman antique. Both the figures are executed on the wall inside the portal of the church. The first, a female enveloped even to the head in purple drapery and wearing a stole with the cross upon it, has been much restored, and is more modern in appearance

x. The Rods (two scenes). Gen. xxx. 37–38. Fairly well-preserved antique copy.
xi. Jacob tells Leah and Rachel of God's command to depart. Gen. xxxi. 4–11, 13. Antique copy. Good, but spoiled by gold.
xii. Jacob sends a messenger to Esau. Gen. xxxii. 3. In stucco and false mosaic.
xiii. Meeting of Jacob and Esau. Altogether restoration.

The following scenes are not from the Old Testament, but as it were didactic.

i. Jacob as the Bridegroom pastures his flock, with a servant. Rachel—the Church—moves at the head of the flock leading the way. Laban welcomes them with joy. Leah—the Synagogue—is left in apprehension.
ii. Laban embraces Jacob the shepherd. Rachel welcomes him gladly; Leah with foreboding.
iii. Jacob chooses his work, the cure of souls—and his reward, the Church.
iv. He claims her.
v. Marriage of Jacob and Rachel—of Christ and His Church. Leah has an honourable place, for she was Jacob's wife before Rachel.

There follow four subjects dealing with Hamor and Shechem and the sons of Leah.

i. Hamor and Shechem before Jacob. Gen. xxxiv. 6. Much restored.
ii. Jacob and his sons. Gen. xxxiv. 7. Entirely restored.
iii. Negotiations between Shechem and the sons of Leah. Gen. xxxiv. 8–16. Better condition, but restored.
iv. Hamor and Shechem address their subjects. Gen. xxxiv. 20. Altogether restored.

Third Series

This series is gathered around the figure of Moses. It consists to-day of thirteen pictures. The original first picture is lost; so are seven others.

i. The Adoption by Pharaoh's daughter. Has suffered, but is of very precious quality.
ii. Moses among the Philosophers. Much injured.
iii. Moses' Marriage. Exodus ii. 21. His Ethiopian bride prefigures the Church drawn from among the Gentiles. Fair condition.
iv. The Calling of Moses. Ex. iii. 4–8. Badly preserved copy.
v. The Crossing of the Red Sea. Ex. xiv. 27–29. Partly antique.
vi. The Covenant. Ex. xix. 3–8. Bad condition.
vii. The Miracle of the Quails. Ex. xvi. 3. Ruined.
viii. The bitter waters of Marah. Ex. xv. 23–25. Good copy.

than the second, which is likewise a female in Roman purple and pointing with her right hand to a book open in her left.[1]

Amongst the remains of the same century at Rome are the mosaic decorations of the chapel annexed to the Baptistery in S. Giovanni in Laterano, the cupola of which is adorned with borders of tendrils on a blue ground, with the Lamb and four doves in the centre.

If the mosaics of the arch of triumph in the basilica of S. Paolo

ix. The Rejection of the Embassy to Edom. Num. xx. 14–21. The ambassadors and envoys are prophets. Only general composition is left of the original.
x. The Defeat of Amalek. Ex. xviii. 9–11. Very little is antique here.
xi. The Mission of the Envoys. Num. xiii. 1–3. Restored altogether.
xii. The Stoning of Moses. Num. xiv. 10. Background antique.
xiii. The Second Covenant and the Passing of Moses. Deut. xxix. 1, and xxxiv. 1–5. Poor copy.

Fourth Series

This is concerned with Joshua as a type of Christ.

i. The Passage of Jordan. Josh. iv. 4–5. Best preserved of this series.
ii. Joshua's Envoys. Josh. ii. 1–4. Substantially antique.
iii. Joshua before the Angel of the Lord. Josh. v. 12–15. Poor restored copy.
iv. Return of Envoys. Josh. ii. 15–16. Much of antique character.
v. Fall of Jericho. Josh. vi. 17–20. Poor copy.
vi. Procession of the Ark. Original with interpolations.
vii. Siege of Gibeon. Josh. x. 1–9. Restored, but antique character.
viii. Appearance of Joshua. Josh. x. 5–10. Good copy.
ix. Pursuit, and intervention of God. Josh. x. 10–11. Fair, even good, copy.
x. The Staying of Sun and Moon. Josh. x. 12–13. Antique but ruined.
xi. Condemnation of Five Kings. Josh. x. 22–23. Copy.
xii. Division of Spoil. Ruined.

Then after the Types the Anti-Types. On the triumphal arch we see the Mysteries of the Faith ; not the life of Christ. All much restored.

Triumphal Arch

i. On the keystone the Throne of God.
ii. (Left top.) The Mystery of the Virgin Birth with the two Annunciations, one to Mary and one to Joseph. *Cf.* Apocryphal Gospel of James.
iii. (Right top.) The Repudiation of Christ by the Jews.
iv. (Under No. ii.) Coming of the East to Christ.
v. (Under No. iii.) Philosophy a guide to Christ. A Philosopher leads a young man out of the city into the country to meet Christ, who comes towards them, a child, between Joseph and Mary.
vi. (Under No. iv.) Massacre of Innocents.
vii. (Under No. v.) Herod, the Priests, and the Magi. Matt. ii. 7.
viii. (Under No. vi.) Jerusalem.
ix. (Under No. vii.) Bethlehem.]

[1] An inscription on the wall between these two figures would place their execution in the time of Pope Celestin, A.D. 427–432.

fuori le Mura at Rome can be considered as the best example of the kind in the capital of the Popes during the papacy of the great Leo, they betray a speedier decline than that which is traceable in the painting of the same period. Classical still at Santa Maria Maggiore as regards distribution and type, mosaics ceased to possess those qualities in the latter end of the fifth century. The object of the artist seems to have been to represent, under the superintendence of the clergy, merely the glorification of the Saviour. A colossal size was given to the Redeemer, that a fit idea of His grandeur and majesty might be imparted to the faithful; and the subordinate angels, apostles, and prophets were placed in the order of the heavenly hierarchy in uniform rows above and without reference to each other.

The bust of the Saviour in S. Paolo is enclosed in a nimbus of vast diameter and rainbow hue, from which rays of light diverge. A violet tunic and mantle enclose His vast frame and, with hands disproportionately small and defective, He gives the blessing and holds on His shoulder the pastoral staff. A short copious beard parted in the centre and brushed down over the cheeks, thick hair parted in the middle and falling in wiry lines behind the back, enclose a face careworn, aged and grim. The eyebrows are semicircles, the nose straight; and a reminiscence of the regular classic forms is preserved, but the mosaist accuses the degeneracy of the times, and his attempt to express majesty betrays the feebleness of his power.[1] The two angels that bend reverently at each side of Christ, the prophets and apostles in double rows of six advancing towards Him with crowns, are diminutive when compared to Him. The symbols of the Evangelists high up on the gold ground, a Cross above the Saviour's head and in the lower course two figures of S. Peter and S. Paul, complete the ornament of the arch, which in consequence of the fire of 1823 retains but little of its original colour.

Four fragments of mosaics, representing animals in fine movements and in good style, are preserved in a room adjacent to the sacristy of S. Paolo, and may serve to give a faint idea of the original ornaments of the external front of the basilica, whilst three colossal heads of apostles, in the same place in a later style, may be useful hereafter to illustrate a foreign Greek or Byzantine element in the art of Italy in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Had the mosaics of the great aisle been preserved, they would have been of much interest to the critic as showing how the Saviour's miracles and the lives of the saints and churchmen were repre-

[1] This figure has been very much restored.

sented. Almost a century elapses between the period which witnessed the adornment of S. Paolo and that which produced the mosaics of SS. Cosma and Damiano,[1] yet as regards the spirit in which the apsis and triumphal arch of this church were adorned, it is evident that little change had taken place in the sentiment, which dictated pictorial delineation. It was still the aim to glorify the Redeemer and the saints by representing them in majesty and dominion and by multiplying angels as heavenly messengers. Yet withal the classic Roman form still held sway and struggled for mastery over purely religious art. The four angels,[2] who stood guard on each side of the Lamb in the triumphal arch of SS. Cosma e Damiano, were but little different from those of S. Maria Maggiore.[3] In their short stature, their heads adorned with tufts of hair held back by cinctures, their free movements and classic draperies, flying in the wind, they were still reminiscent of the art local and peculiar to Rome. The artists had not yet fallen so low as to possess no technical ability, and the masses of light and shade were still well defined.

The mosaics of the apsis were executed with less force of relief than those of the triumphal arch.[4]

The Saviour in tunic and mantle, and as usual colossal, stood out against golden-edged clouds in the centre of the space, stretching out His right arm in token of command and holding a scroll in His left hand. A gold nimbus encircled His head and a hand issuing from above pointed down to Him symbolising the first person of the Trinity, whom it was still sacrilegious to depict. At the Saviour's feet flowed the waters of Jordan, and below it the Lamb stood on the source of

[1] This church was erected during the time that Felix IV. was Pope of Rome, between 526 and 530. The period which intervenes between the date of the mosaics of S. Paolo fuori le Mura and those of SS. Cosma e Damiano, is marked by the invasion of the Goths and Vandals, by the two successive sacks of Rome in 455 and 472, by the fall of the Western Empire, and the desolation of Italy. The completion of SS. Cosma e Damiano took place, after peace had been restored to Italy, by Theodoric the Great.

[2] These angels have blue nimbi.

[3] The Lamb stands on an altar with the Cross above him. Three candlesticks are on one side of him, four on the other. Left and right of these are two winged angels, four in all nimbed (blue) and standing on clouds. Of old the symbols of the Evangelists appeared above the angels. One of these, repainted anew, and symbolising S. John alone, remains on the extreme left. The triumphal arch seems to have been reduced in size during repairs, for the prophets on the lower course are cut away, and an arm with a hand and crown projects singly at each side and indicates the place where these figures stood. This mosaic is executed on gold ground, and has been restored.

[4] Or restoring has impaired that quality.

the four streams of the Gospel, and the twelve sheep, that were the emblems of the apostolical mission.[1]

Although the Saviour still had a spirited attitude and regular forms, His frame and head had changed to a longer shape, whilst the neck remained broad and massive, but the brow was muscularly developed, and the eyes, gazing like those of a steer, seemed fitted to inspire terror. The hair, divided as usual, fell in regular spirals behind the shoulders and the short beard, equally divided, left part of the chin bare. It was a type still Roman, but inferior to those of the earlier mosaists of S. Pudenziana and S. Costanza, and even to that of the painter of the S. Marcellino catacomb. As for the draperies, they had lost much of their flexibility. Attendant on the Saviour and on each side of Him were, left, S. Peter leading S. Cosma and Pope Felix IV. bearing crowns, right, S. Paul leading S. Damian and S. Theodore. All these figures moving sideways, that they might present their full face to the spectator, have been modernised either in totality or in part, so that they are no longer subjects for criticism.[2]

Two centuries had thus elapsed since the death of Constantine, and still the arts had continued to exist at Rome, maintaining in their decline a prominent and unmistakable character. Rome, however, had long ceased to enjoy the honours of an imperial court, and in the splendour of her modern basilicas she only disputed the palm with the humbler but more secure Ravenna. When Honorius retired from the defenceless palace of Milan to a safer asylum—when Ravenna became the capital of Italy, churches and edifices were raised to suit the splendour of a court which in pride, if not in vigour, laid claim to equal rank with that of Byzantium. A baptistery and many churches of fine architecture were built in the early part of the fifth century, and the mosaics which adorn them are the most beautiful in Italy.

When Constantine laid the foundation of the city which bears his name, he had reason to lament the decline of the arts in the whole extent of the Empire. Schools of architecture were created by his orders in various provinces. For the embellishment of his

[1] Six on each side of the Lamb.

[2] This apsis mosaic has been much restored. The figure of S. Felix is new. Those of S. Damian and S. Theodore are modernised, and von Rumohr had already noticed that these figures wore boots, whilst the Saviour is in antique dress. (*Cf.* Rumohr, *It. Forschungen*, vol. i., p. 172.) The figure of S. Cosma is preserved. Of the apostle Peter half the figure only is preserved. S. Paul is repainted. The best part of the mosaic is the ornament in the midst of which the Lamb stands enthroned.

favourite residence the cities of Greece and Asia and perhaps those of Italy were despoiled of the noblest monuments of art; and Constantinople might boast of possessing the finest statues of Pheidias, Lysippus, and Praxiteles.

Perfect art had had one great epoch—the ancient Greek, in which the highest ideal of the pagans had been attained. What the Roman republic in the full enjoyment of power and wealth failed to preserve, it was vain to expect of a Roman Emperor. Constantine could not revive the splendour of Greece. In the attempt to arrest the decline, he had not only to struggle with the flood of rising barbarism, but to deal with a new religious element, which in its turn was, after the lapse of centuries, to produce its ideal. The art of Greece was now no longer suitable to the decline of the Roman empire or to the development of the Christian faith. The want of a new language was felt, but with this want and the necessity of satisfying it the fall of the old and the birth of the new went hand in hand. The efforts of Constantine therefore only served to prolong the agony of the classical antique. Yet this antique in its dying moments maintained its grandeur and its majesty; and in the mosaics of Ravenna the interested spectator may watch the last expression of its power.

To affirm that these mosaics are of the same class as those which were produced at Rome during the fifth century would be to place on the same level the artists of Santa Maria Maggiore and those of the Baptistery of Ravenna and the monumental chapel of the Empress Galla Placidia. It must be conceded that the latter were far abler than their Roman contemporaries, and that they were acquainted with models not merely Roman but Greek. Whether they were Italians or Greeks is of little moment, but if it be admitted that they were taught in Greece or at Constantinople, it will appear that the efforts of Constantine to arrest the decline of art had not been in vain, and that he had done something to prolong the existence of the pure antique.

The mosaics of the octagonal Baptistery of Ravenna,[1] however they might be considered, left a pleasing impression on the spectator. They were admirably distributed within the space which they were intended to adorn. The mutual subordination of the figures and the architecture, both real and feigned, which

[1] Now S. Giovanni in Fonte, said to have been erected in the fourth century, but adorned with mosaics in the first half of the fifth century. [The best authority on the mosaics of Ravenna is KURTH, *Die Mosaiken von Ravenna* (Leipsig, 1902).]

gave to the building its peculiar character, was perfect. The figures themselves were majestic, bold in movement, varied in attitude, and individual in character. They were finely designed and relieved by a broad distribution of light and shade. The ornaments which served to set off the figures were of their kind beautiful, and the colour was both harmonious and brilliant. Seen from below, the forms of the Saviour, the apostles, and the prophets seemed to have the size of life, and were therefore colossal. Yet everywhere a sense of repose and a general harmony prevailed. The cupola was divided into three circles, the smallest of which was the medallion centre of the vault where the Baptism of the Saviour was depicted. Separated from this central mosaic by a wreath of festoons, and from each other by a beautiful ornament of growing plants, the apostles were represented in classic flying draperies, in long and steady stride, holding crowns in their hands and supported on a base formed of feigned pilasters between which alternate thrones and emblems were placed.[1] Beneath the windows and in the birth of the arches stood eight prophets in white raiment, surrounded by elegant foliated ornament. These prophets, the lights of whose garments were touched in gold, were of fine form and classically draped, standing boldly, enveloped in their mantles, holding scrolls or conversing. If anything was to be urged against the figures of the apostles, it might be that something of form and proportion had been sacrificed to the necessities of the space —that the heads were small for the frames; but it was quite as difficult a task to preserve faultless form in this instance as it had been in the furnace vault of the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro. The long stride and the flying draperies were necessary to fill the diverging space of the cupola. The prophets were the finest in character that had yet been produced by the art of the early centuries. The Saviour was represented in full front in the centre of the cupola, standing above the knees in Jordan, whose pellucid wave, unlike that of nature, permitted the limbs to be seen. His attitude was simple and natural, His form well proportioned and finely modelled. His hair, divided and falling on the shoulders, was long and of copious locks. Above Him was the Dove of the Holy Ghost. S. John stood on the bank to the left, one foot raised on a stone, his head erect, and with his right hand he poured the water from a cup on the Saviour's head. With

[1] Amongst these the square head and beard of S. Peter and the long-shaped head and pointed beard of S. Paul were prominent.

his left he held a jewelled cross.[1] His attitude was fine, his body a little long for the size of the head—in the antique style more than that of the Saviour. Floating on the water to the right, looking up to the Saviour and holding a green cloth in both hands, was Jordan—a bearded river-god, holding a reed and resting on a vase—a form well drawn and anatomically rendered, but robust and Herculean and recalling the old times of Greece. Is it necessary again to point out how difficult it was for artists, living on memories of the pagan past, to conceive such a subject as the Baptism of Christ in the form most fitted to satisfy religious aspiration?

The mosaists of Ravenna, like those of Rome, executed their work with cubes of a large size, but whilst the latter put them together roughly, the former used more care. In the Baptistery of Ravenna the cubes forming outlines were of a warm reddish tint, decisive enough to mark the shape without hardness. The lights were of a brilliant yellow red, the half tints a deeper shade of warm tone, the shadows of a reddish brown. The general effect was a gorgeous sunny glancing colour. Such were the earliest mosaics of the new Italian capital. Such they are now and may long remain if more care be taken of a work so interesting and so rare.[2]

Still more classical, and if possible finer, were those of the monumental chapel of the Empress Galla Placidia.[3] Nor is it uninteresting to find that it fell to the lot of artists who took their inspiration from pure Greek models to depict the allegory of the birth of the Christian faith and its triumph over the Arian heresy. The youthful Pastor bidding His flock to "go and teach the nations" was represented, as is fit, above the inner portal, and in the choir the triumph was symbolised by the figure of the Saviour burning the books of the heretics. Christian art had not as yet been illustrated by so noble a representation of the Good Shepherd as that which now adorned the monument of Galla Placidia. Youthful, classic in form and attitude, full of repose, He sat on a rock in a broken hilly landscape, lighted from a blue

[1] We may be indebted to a restorer for this strange addition to the mosaic of the Baptism.

[2] As usual the mosaics of the Baptistery have been restored. In the central "Baptism" the head and shoulders and right arm of the figure of the Saviour, the head, shoulders and right arm, the right leg and foot of the Baptist, and the cross in his left hand have been repaired, and thus the type and character of the heads may have been altered.

[3] Now, SS. Nazario e Celso.

sky—grasping with His left hand the Cross and His right stretching aslant the frame to caress the lamb at His sandalled feet. His limbs rested across each other on the green sward. His nimbed head, covered with curly locks, reposing on a majestic neck and turned towards the retreating forms of the lambs, was of the finest Greek type and contour. The face was oval, the eyes spirited, the brow vast, and the features regular. The frame was beautifully proportioned, classical and flexible in the nude. The blue mantle shot with gold was admirably draped about the form. A warm sunny colour glanced over the whole figure, which was modelled in perfect relief by broad masses of golden light, of ashen half tones and brown-red shadows. No more beautiful figure had been created during the Christian period of the Roman decline, nor had the subject of the Good Pastor been better conceived or treated than here.[1]

As in the rise of the faith the symbolic type of the Saviour must necessarily be youthful, so in its triumph it was natural that the Redeemer should have the aspect of one mature in years. In the choir of the monumental chapel of Galla Placidia He was represented in the fulness of manhood, majestic in attitude, bearded, with an eye breathing menace, His flying white draperies expressing energy of movement, His diadem, the cross resting on His shoulder and the book in His left hand, emblematic of the triumph of the Gospel and of the Church. Right and left of Him a case containing the Fathers, and an oven in which the heretical works were burning, indicated the end of the Redeemer's mission. His figure was as grand, as fine in conception and execution, as that of the Good Pastor, nor were the prophets in couples conversing about the arches of the cupola less worthy of admiration. The ornaments of the chapel were completed by a cross in the centre of the dome, by the symbols of the Evangelists on red clouds relieved on a blue ground spotted with stars, by rich foliated ornament on a blue ground, enlivened with figures in the thickness and by the Greek initials of the Saviour in the keys of the arches. A mysterious and sombre light trickled into the edifice through four small windows in the dome.[2]

[1] [Now spoiled by restoration, like the rest of the work in SS. Nazario e Celso.]

[2] Of this period we have an example in the Cappella S. Satiro now incorporated into the church of S. Ambrogio at Milan. The centre of the cupola is adorned with a half-length of S. Victor, whose name is inscribed on a book in his grasp. The hand of the Eternal issues from above—the whole in a medallion on gold ground framed in a green garland. A series of feigned

Alinari.

MOSAIC FROM THE BAPTISTERY, RAVENNA

Alinari.

MOSAIC FROM THE MAUSOLEUM OF GALLA PLACIDIA, RAVENNA

Alinari.

JUSTINIAN AND HIS SUITE, WITH S. MAXIMIANUS

From the Mosaic in S. Vitale Ravenna

Alinari.

THEODORA AND HER SUITE

From the Mosaic in S. Vitale. Ravenna.

If time had spared the numerous edifices with which Ravenna was adorned during the feeble reign of Valentinian, if the buildings remained which the great Theodoric erected and adorned, it might be possible to trace the decline of art in this portion of the Peninsula; but the close of the fifth century and the rise of the sixth afford no materials to the historian, and with the exception of the Baptistery of S. Maria in Cosmedin there is no trace of the continuation of that classic art which so justly claims our admiration.

Santa Maria in Cosmedin was, under the barbaric rule, a baptistery of the Arians, but is supposed to have been adorned with mosaics after the expulsion of the Goths. The cupola of the octagon is divided into circles like that of the earlier baptistery. The same subjects adorn the basin of the dome and the circle immediately beneath it.[1]

Jordan, instead of floating on the water, sits on the bank to the left partly draped in green, resting his right arm on a vase, holding a reed in his right hand, and looking on.[2]

The capture of Ravenna by Belisarius introduced Greek art anew into that capital, and the exarchs under the orders of Justinian and his successors either embellished the city with new monuments or old churches with new mosaics. But the art of which S. Vitale was an example proved how surely the mosaists of the Eastern Empire had declined in the application of the great maxims of plastic and pictorial delineation. In knowledge of form, in type, in distribution they were inferior to their predecessors; and, as if conscious of this inferiority, they sought to

niches in the sides is filled with medallions containing heads, the symbols of the four Evangelists now absent, and figures of SS. Ambrose, Protasius, Felix, Maternus, and another. The style is that of the close of the fifth century; the mosaic is much injured and repaired.

[1] The apostles, Peter with the keys and Paul with a scroll, stand on each side of a cushioned throne, above which is the Cross. The keys and other emblems in this mosaic are very suspicious. But the restorer has been very busy here, and the time in which the body of the work was executed may be judged only from the distribution and the forms. The mosaic is certainly of much earlier date than San Vitale—commenced in 541. The rest of the apostles, in white draperies of antique style, though of somewhat angular and broken folds, move towards the throne, separated from each other—no longer by beautiful foliated ornament, but by the less graceful palm. In the Baptism the Saviour, youthful and beardless, still distantly recalls the classic type and form. A nimbus surrounds His head, and the dove sheds green rays upon His features. S. John, on the right, finely shaped, with long hair and beard, holds a reed in his left hand, and places his right on the Saviour's head.

[2] His head is strangely adorned with the claws of a lobster. Not an uncommon symbol.

restore the balance by more minute and careful execution, or by the use of the most gorgeous materials. This period of the decline may truly be called Byzantine. Its stamp was impressed on the mosaics of Ravenna during the exarchate, on some mosaics of Rome in the seventh century, and casually on paintings and mosaics in various parts of Italy at a still later period. San Vitale, begun by Theodoric, was completed by order of Justinian and consecrated by Maximian, Archbishop of Ravenna in 547.[1] The patron Saint of the basilica, S. Vitalis, was to receive the crown of the martyrs in the apsis, Justinian and Theodora their glorification in the sanctuary, whilst in the solia or quadrangle at the centre of the edifice scenes of the Old, prefigurating those incidents in the New Testament which artists had not as yet ventured to depict, were represented. In the glorification of the Saviour as the distributor of all divine favours, the artists did not abandon the measure of nature so far as to exaggerate the proportions of the Redeemer, they did not even attempt to render the idea of His eternal power by aged features. On the contrary, they considered it more natural to convey the idea that His youth was eternal. The Saviour was therefore represented in the apsis of San Vitale with the round smooth face of an adolescent. The universality of His rule was indicated by His seat on the blue sphere of the world and by the imperial purple of His robes; and an effort was made to impress the spectator with the awfulness of His power by the gaze of two very large, round eyes. The forms of the features, however, betrayed the decline of art. The nose was bent, the mouth small; copious but short hair covered the head, which was surrounded by a cruciform nimbus adorned with jewels. In the left hand was the book with the seven seals. A crown was extended in the right to the bending form of S. Vitalis, who, as if unworthy of touching it, held out his arms covered with the drapery of his mantle. An angel in white with a golden nimbus, holding a staff, seemed to protect the martyr by laying a hand on his shoulder. A similar figure on the right indicated S. Ecclesius holding in his hand a model of a church. Red and blue clouds fleeted over the golden ground above the group and an ornament of cornucopias served as a frame to the picture. The Saviour's feet rested on a rocky green sward, beneath which flowed

[1] Agnellus, Part II., pp. 38, 39, in Muratori. *R.I.S.*, and J. de Rubeis, *Hist. Ravennæ*, Lib. III., p. 541. [S. Vitale was built by S. Ecclesius, Archbishop of Ravenna, and was consecrated by his successor S. Maximian. See *infra* same page.]

the four rivers. On the arch above Him the Greek monogram was inscribed. The rest of the mosaics may be described as follows :—

The glorification of Justinian and Theodora was depicted in two mosaics on the sides of the sanctuary, the golden halo that surrounded their heads still betraying the habit of the Romans to pay divine honours to the sovereign. Justinian, in the imperial purple and diadem, held a basin of gold ; on his left stood Maximian, Archbishop of Ravenna, bareheaded, in robes, and carrying a short cross. Between them, but a step in the rear, waited a bareheaded dignitary, admirably portrayed with straggling locks hanging over his forehead, and two priests with incense and censer stood attendant on the archbishop. On Justinian's right three courtiers and a body-guard with round shields completed the group.[1] On the opposite side of the sanctuary the Empress Theodora, also in imperial purple and jewelled diadem, held a gold basin, and was followed by a suite of seven persons in variegated costume. Two courtiers seemed to await her commands, and one of them had drawn back the curtain of the door through which she was to enter.[2] Nothing could be more remarkable than the portraits in these mosaics. The artists, freed from the necessity of following classical models, concentrated their efforts on the likenesses of the chief persons. Justinian's thin nose, heavy cheeks, and ill-humoured mouth, his angular brows and broad forehead covered with stray hairs, seemed but too truthful an imitation of nature. Theodora, with her broad face, long nose, thin lips, and arched eyes and brow, her slender neck and form, Maximian's long head and cunning eye were equally characteristic, yet strangely in contrast with the conventional immobility produced by the stiffness of the frames, the limbs, and the small pointed feet. The figures seemed indeed to hang in rows and overlap each other. They were precisely drawn and conscientiously depicted ; the masses of light and shade were fairly indicated and the colours well and harmoniously distributed ; the profuse ornaments gave a certain glance to the picture, but amidst the glitter it was impossible not to perceive the decline of art and the conventionalism to which it was hurrying.

The solia, or quadrangle, forming the centre of the nave and transept, was ornamented on four sides with mosaics. On the face of the arch leading into the sanctuary, in full flight and exaggerated action, contrasting greatly with the calm heavenly messengers of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, two angels held between them a medallion enclosing the symbol of the Cross ; and at their feet Jerusalem and Bethlehem sparkled with gems. An ornament of vine

[1] The four figures of the body-guard, more rude in execution than the principal ones, carry round shields with the monogram of the Saviour upon them.

[2] A fountain stands in the opening.

tendrils issuing from vases and animated by birds filled the upper part of the space. An arch of the same dimensions divided the solia from the nave, and in the archivault the Saviour, of the usual type and form, wearing a stole over His purple tunic, was represented in a medallion, with twelve apostles in similar frames below Him; and last, the SS. Protasius and Gervasius. The screens of the solia under whose arches the spectator might wander into the transepts were adorned with the prefigurative episodes of the Old Testament. In the recess above the lower course of arches to the right, Abel in the antique shepherd costume—a skin and red cloak—offered up the firstling lamb, at a table upon which the wine stood in a vase, whilst Melchizedek, nimbed, seemed to have issued from a temple behind him and to call the blessing upon the bread which he raised aloft. The presence of the Eternal was indicated by the hand appearing in a cloud. The form of Abel, well proportioned in the nude, was roughly but simply lined, and his head not remarkable for beauty. The movement of Melchizedek was energetic and not ill rendered. A landscape and a sky with red clouds completed the picture. On the face of the arch Moses, as a shepherd petting a lamb, and again untying his sandals at the bidding of the Lord, whose hand appeared above him. Isaiah prophesying, filled the spaces; and these episodes were crowned by two angels in flight, holding between them the medallion of the Cross. Above the arches of the gallery on the same side the Evangelists Mark and John were depicted, and the rest of the wall was filled with an ornament of vases and doves. In the screen to the left, and similarly distributed, Abraham was seen carrying food to the three angels, whilst Sarah, in the form of an antique matron, stood laughing at the door. Again the sacrifice of Isaac was arrested by the hand of the Lord. On the wall above, Jeremiah stood prophesying, and Moses received the law whilst the people of Israel waited beneath. Two angels as usual soared aloft, and held between them the medallion of the Cross. In the uppermost spaces sat the Evangelists Luke and Matthew with their symbols. The cupola was divided by diagonals forming four triangular segments, perpendicular to whose base rose an ornament terminating in an enormous blossom which served as resting-point to four angels, each of whom supported on his extended arms the central medallion enclosing the Lamb.

Thus, in the course of a few years, the spirit of the antique which lingered in the earliest artists of Ravenna had almost passed away. A reminiscence of old classic forms might still be noticed, but by its side naturalism had arisen—a naturalism which confined itself entirely to expression, and which seemed to assist in killing form, movement, and relief. If, for example, the Good Shepherd in the Chapel of Galla Placidia was remarkable for perfect rotundity and well-fused masses of light and shade, for softness

of outline and harmony of colour, the figures in S. Vitale were but too generally feeble in relief, abrupt in the passage from light to shade, and confined by distinct outlines. It was possible to distinguish the high lights by the side of reddish half tints and greenish-grey shadows. Yet in the distribution and choice of ornament, in the harmony of the general colour, whose brilliancy was incontestable, the artists of S. Vitale were still great and worthy of admiration.[1]

Were S. Vitale a solitary example of the art of its time, it might be considered unsafe to pronounce a decisive opinion as to the general degeneracy which prevailed, but, in addition to the mosaics of S. Michele in Affricisco,[2] the remains of which have been transferred to the Museum of Berlin, Ravenna possessed other monuments contemporary with S. Vitale ; and in the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace, completed in 547, the mosaics were of a style similar in every respect to the first that had been completed under the exarchate. Nor was this chapel less remarkable for the close imitation of the types, forms, and workmanship of S. Vitale than for the fact that in the figure which adorned the wall above the altar the spectator might discover one of the first examples of the glorification of the Virgin.[3]

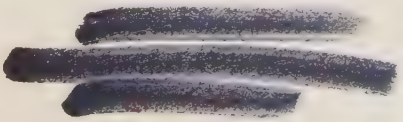
On the right-hand wall near the altar stood the Saviour, juvenile and beardless, with long hair cut straight across His forehead, and features exactly resembling those of the Redeemer in the apsis of S. Vitale. On His right shoulder He carried the Cross and in His left an open book, on which these words are written : " Ego sum via veritas." His dress was that of a warrior, His attitude a distant imitation of the splendid one in the choir of the Chapel of Galla Placidia.[4] Here indeed the contrast between the mosaists of the fifth and sixth centuries at Ravenna might be watched, and it was possible to mark the decline from classic form, bold movement, and splendid

[1] It must indeed be borne in mind that these mosaics, like most of those in Italy, have been altered by restoration at different periods ; and one may distinguish the parts which have lost their original form or freshness. The dress and nimbus of the Saviour in the apsis, for instance, have been restored. The head of S. Maximian in the sanctuary is partly new. The heads of the apostles in the medallions of the archivault (entrance to the nave), are much damaged by repair. The Evangelists in the quadrangle, or solia, are almost ruined by the changes they have undergone. The mosaics of Justinian and Theodora are excessively rich in gilt ornament and jewellery, the ground gold, in most parts. The ornaments on the arch leading into the sanctuary are on blue ground. The ornaments of the ceiling of the cupola are on gold. The cubes at Ravenna are still large and cemented at the base only.

[2] S. Michele in Affricisco was consecrated in 545.

[3] [The Madonna here is much more recent. *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, *Cicerone.*]

[4] The lower half of the figure is restored.



drapery to conventionalism and immobility. The vaults of two arches which spanned the waggon roof of the Chapel were adorned with medallion busts of the Saviour in the centre and three similar busts of apostles at each side. Both heads of the Saviour (one near the door is now restored vertically to the extent of half of the figure) were of the same type and form as that of the apsis of S. Vitale. Of the busts representing male and female saints on a blue ground on the archivaults and sides of the two windows the greater part are now repaired and repainted.[1] The symbols of the Evangelists in the ceiling near the door have so far shared the same fate that one of them, that of S. John with a human head, is entirely new and coloured, whilst the angels in the diagonals who support the central medallion containing the monogram of Christ have all more or less undergone restoration also.

The miserable state to which the mosaics of S. Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna have been reduced seems calculated to puzzle and deceive the spectator.[2] Yet in the midst of the ruins the Byzantine art peculiar to the first monument of the exarchate may still be traced. In some heads and figures the reminiscence of the old style is preserved, and a certain breadth of treatment may be conceded, whilst in one composition at least, that of Abel offering the firstling lamb before Melchizedek, the conception recalls a similar scene in S. Vitale.

S. Apollinare in Classe was built by the treasurer Julian in 534[3] and consecrated by Maximian, Archbishop of Ravenna, in 549. The basilica was dedicated to S. Apollinare, and the figure of that saint occupied a splendid place in the tribune, but the seat of honour was still reserved for the representation of the Saviour, whose head was depicted in the curve of the apsis in the centre of a cross enclosed in a blue nimbus containing the Greek name of the Redeemer, the alpha and omega and the words "Salus Mundi." This head of the Saviour was of fine outline. The divided hair, which fell nobly down on the shoulders, and a long beard, enclosed a face of regular features. The hand of the Lord pointed downwards from the key of the arch, and seemed to issue from a red circle studded with precious stones.

[1] These saints are, in one window, SS. Sebastian, Fabian, Damian, Cassian, Chrysogonus, and Chrysanthus, in the other SS. Eufemia, Eugenia, Cecilia, Duria, Perpetua, and Felicità. In the key of the arch of each window is the monogram of Christ.

[2] A close inspection of the various figures and episodes which fill the apsis, the tribune, and the arch of the tribune reveals not merely restoration on a large scale, but repairs executed with materials unknown to the mosaist. A large part of the left side of the apsis is repainted on stucco; and the same may be said of most of the figures and inscriptions in the tribune and arch.

[3] [Begun after 534. *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, *op. cit.*]

On each side of the cross Moses and Elias hovered in a golden heaven studded with clouds. S. Apollinare, nimbed and with outstretched arms, presented himself colossal in the space between the curve of the apsis and the windows of the tribune, and looked up reverently to heaven. At his sides the space was divided into three courses, the first containing a Christian flock of twelve sheep, the second rocks and trees, the third three sheep symbolising apostles, separated from each other by trees. Between the four windows of the apsis stood the figures of the four bishops Ursinus, Ursus, Severus, and Ecclesius, the head of the latter being amongst the best preserved in the whole basilica—all of them standing under niches with a little dais over the heads. To the right of the windows, the sacrifices of Abel, Melchizedek, and Abraham were represented in one picture.[1] Melchizedek was sitting gravely behind the table, whilst Abraham presented Isaac, and Abel the firstling lamb in the presence of the Lord, whose hand, as usual, appeared above the scene. The figure of Abel, now ruined by restoration, was similar in movement to that in S. Vitale.

To the left of the window, the tender of its privileges to the church of Ravenna was depicted.[2] An archbishop to whom the name of Maximian has been given stood in the centre of the mosaic, whilst in front of him one, in purple and white, handed a scroll bearing the word *privilegia* to another in ecclesiastical robes. To the right of the latter were three priests bearing fire, incense, and a censer. To the left of the former, three figures in yellow drapery, all of them in stiff and motionless attitudes, and overlapping each other as in the glorification of Justinian at S. Vitale. This scene is now supposed to represent S. Maximian, in presence of Constantine. The archbishop and the four figures to his right have nimbi painted on stucco. A modern painted inscription declares that Constantine, Heraclius, and Tiberius "*imperatores*" are present at the ceremony, and many are the conjectures to which these inscriptions have given rise. The portrait of Maximian is not in the least like that in S. Vitale, and none of the imperial persons wear the diadem. Any attempt to draw an inference from this restored work must be abandoned.

On the arch of the tribune, a medallion bust of the Saviour was placed. The Redeemer in His purple robes was presented as in the act of benediction and holding a book in His left hand. His long hair and beard were usual, but the features were no longer the calm and regular ones of the Saviour in the cross of the apsis. Muscular developments in the forehead, a brow knit by terrible thoughts, gazing eyes, a nose bent at the end, proclaimed the progress of that more modern idea which sought to increase the

[1] [*Cf.* Richter and Taylor, *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art* (Duckworth), 1904, p. 62.]

[2] [Much later work executed between 671 and 679.]

majesty of the head by adding the terrible, as the Romans had already done in mosaic and painting.

Lower down in the courses, Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the twelve apostles in the form of sheep, two palms, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, S. Matthew and S. Luke were represented.[1]

The great nave of S. Apollinare in Classe either was never adorned with mosaics, or these have long since disappeared to make room for a series of portraits of dignitaries of the Church of Ravenna.

In the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo, on the contrary, the mosaics of the nave are preserved whilst those of the apsis and triumphal arch have disappeared. This basilica, originally built in the time of Theodoric and consecrated anew by the orthodox clergy of the exarchate, appears to have received its final adornments in the reign of Justinian and under the auspices of Agnellus, Archbishop of Ravenna. Mosaic portraits of both those dignitaries were placed on the wall above the portal, and though one of these has disappeared, that of Justinian still remains and is now covered by the organ.[2] It would be difficult to note any very marked difference between the mosaics that cover the three courses of the nave and those of other basilicas of Ravenna in the sixth

[1] It behoves those who reject a received opinion to state most accurately the reasons that induce them to express one directly contrary. It may therefore be necessary to describe in detail the changes that repairs have produced in mosaics which, according to one of the most recent art-historians, "are old and genuine." Taking first the mosaics of the apsis:—The white tunic of the figure of Moses is repainted. Half the face from the nose downwards and both the hands of Elias are restored. The head of S. Apollinare is in part damaged, the left hand and lower part of the figure destroyed. The sheep on the sides of S. Apollinare, but particularly those on the right of that figure, are almost completely modern. A large part of the left side of the apsis is repainted. Of the four bishops between the windows of the tribune the head of Ecclesius is preserved, the lower part repainted. The head of S. Ursinus is a new mosaic, and the lower half of the figure is restored. In the mosaic of the sacrifice half the head from the eyes upwards and part of the arms of Abel are repainted. The legs have become dropsical under repair. The figures of Abraham and Isaac are almost completely repainted, and the hands and feet are formless for that reason. This mosaic is repaired in two different ways with white cubes coloured over and with painted stucco. In the mosaic representing the tender of the privileges, the nimbi as already stated are new, but besides, the lower part of all the figures is repainted on stucco, and the heads are all more or less repaired. Of the figures on the arch, that of the archangel Gabriel is half ruined and half restored, and part of S. Matthew and S. Luke are new. All these repairs are of various periods, the latest that of Battista Ricci, completed, as is vouched by an inscription behind the organ, on the 10th of May 1816. Nor is it strange that repairs should be constantly necessary in a church the floors of which are green with damp and the crypt of which is constantly full of water.

[2] [Removed to the Cappella dei Tutti Santi.]

Alinari

CHRIST BETWEEN FOUR ANGELS

From the Mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.

Alinari.

THE PROCESSION OF VIRGINS

From the Mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.

Alinari

THE THREE KINGS

From the Mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.

century. The mosaists were still remarkable for judicious distribution of space, yet in reference to each other the figures had hardly a bond of union; being placed in rows without relation to their neighbours or to the general composition. But S. Apollinare Nuovo was remarkable in one sense, inasmuch as, in the numerous episodes of the life of the Saviour which filled the upper spaces of the nave, a nearer approach was made to those scenes of the Redeemer's life which are known as scenes of His Passion. As yet, however, the final and melancholy episode of the Crucifixion had not been touched, and the scruples which restrained the clergy from representing that subject and others immediately connected with it were not removed till a later period.

The right side of the nave was devoted to the glorification of the Redeemer by the martyrs and prophets, and to incidents immediately preceding His death. Above the first series of arches twenty-six martyrs, bearing crowns, seem to have issued from the palace of Ravenna (Palatium) and are formed in a single front line extending to the side of the Saviour, who sits enthroned between four angels. A palm separates the martyrs from each other. MS. records in S. Apollinare Nuovo state that as late as 1580 this procession, if it deserves that name, was headed by S. Stephen, who, with his right arm extended, seemed to introduce to the Saviour S. Martin, who led the band of holy men. It is startling to find that, as the mosaic now stands, the figure of S. Stephen is gone and the space which he occupied has been filled up by the total renewal of one of the angels at the Saviour's side on a scale stouter, and in a space broader, than the original. The same records affirm that the Saviour sat enthroned between four angels and held in His left hand a book on which the words "Ego sum rex gloriæ" were written. It would be vain now to look for the book in the Saviour's hand.[1] It will be seen, on the contrary, that, as the figure stands at present, a sceptre is placed in the hand

[1] The restoration of the figure of the Saviour and the alteration of the distribution of the space are evident at first sight, and led naturally to the inquiry whether it had always been so. Then it was that by the kindness of the prior it became possible to consult a memorandum MS. in folio, preserved in the records of the church and written in 1580 by Father Giovanni Francesco Malazappi da Carpi, where, at folio 45, the description of the mosaics is given, as narrated in the text. The absence of one saint in the procession of martyrs is evident from a comparison with that of the females on the other side. Twenty-four of these, with the three Magi, complete the number of twenty-seven. The spaces are similarly divided on both sides. Hence it was obvious that one saint on the right side had disappeared, since without him the number would be reduced to twenty-six. But, besides, the memorandum above quoted mentions each saint by name, the first nearest the Saviour being S. Stephen, the second S. Martin, and so on with the rest. The names of the saints are still inscribed, and S. Martin is now nearest the Saviour.

which of old held the book. The movement of the arm is changed, and thus not only is the figure altered, but a new attribute is introduced, according to the fancy of a restorer who seems to have repaired one entire vertical half of the form. Judging from that portion of the Redeemer which remains, the spectator might admit that He was majestic in character, that His attitude was commanding and noble. His purple tunic and mantle of different shades nobly draped the body and limbs. The head, framed by rich locks of hair and a divided beard, was of a fine outline. The features were regular though somewhat aged, the forehead and brow open, the eyes fairly expressive though a little gazing. The nose, on the other hand, a little bent at the end, betrayed the Byzantine decline. The type and the figure were indeed one of the finest which the sixth century had produced, and though slightly different in movement, might rival those of the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro at Rome. The angels at the sides were with one exception of the long slender Byzantine type. The second course of mosaics above the procession of martyrs comprised a series of sixteen prophets in niches between eleven arched windows, some of which, being walled up, were filled with ornament, whilst on the ground above the niches, peacocks, partridges, and other birds were depicted.

The third course, of smaller dimensions than the rest and cut down by a new roof lower than the old one, erected by Cardinal Gaetani, represented thirteen scenes of the life of the Saviour, alternating with a niche adorned with a cross and a crown and a dove. The first of these scenes was the Last Supper, in which the guests lay recumbent on seats round a table in form of a horse-shoe; the second the Kiss of Judas, the last but one the Procession to Calvary—the Saviour's cross being borne by Simon of Cyrene—the last, the Saviour in the midst of the Apostles. In all these compositions the Redeemer appeared as a man of full age and bearded, as suited the idea of Him who in the prime of manhood suffered for the sins of the world.

A procession of female martyrs similar in movement and arrangement to that which advanced to honour the Saviour, moved on the opposite side of the nave to adore the Virgin. It appeared to have started from the port of Ravenna, whose waters, ships, and edifices bore the name "Civi Classe." The Virgin sat enthroned opposite the Saviour, between four angels, and received the adoration of the Magi. A nimbus of gold encircled her head, which was covered with the folds of her mantle. Her form was of that developed Byzantine which already marked the decline of art. The infant Saviour, seated in the centre of her lap and in full front, gave the blessing, whilst the three Magi advanced in bending attitude in single file to her right. On their heads were crowns, since exchanged for baronial caps, as may be seen by the grotesque novelty of this part of their costume.[1] The

[1] Flaminio di Parma, in *Memorie storiche de' conventi e chiese dei Frati minori della Provincia di Bologna* (Parma, 1760), describes these mosaics,

angels guarding the Virgin were doubtless like those by the side of the Saviour; but, with the exception of one, they have lost all antique character under the hands of the restorer. The upper courses were filled with sixteen prophets and thirteen scenes representing the miracles of the Saviour, who was no longer depicted in the fulness of age, but, on the contrary, in the bloom of youth, beardless, and wearing the purple; doubtless under the impression that, to show the power of the Redeemer in this phase of His existence, it is also necessary to declare, by such means as the poverty of art possesses, His innocence and freedom from guile. Amongst the miracles represented were—the Cure of the Sick Man who takes up his bed and walks, the Casting out of a Devil, Peter and Andrew called from their Nets, and the distribution of the Loaves and Fishes. These subjects, like those on the opposite side of the nave, were more reminiscent of the antique than the rest of the mosaics. Yet one may hesitate to give a resolute opinion on these works as a whole, when one considers that the figures of the first course have for the greater part lost originality, and that those of the upper courses though less damaged have also undergone changes.

The portrait of Justinian in the organ loft[1] is destroyed with the exception of the head and bust. The former, covered with a diadem and adorned with a couple of jewels pendent like cherries from the ears, is older, fatter, and squarer than that of S. Vitale, but similar in features. Were it not presumptuous to speak of the general colour of mosaics which have suffered so severely as these from restoring, it might be said that the tones, particularly in the upper courses, are chosen with the knowledge of harmony and the feeling for massive light and shade which characterised the mosaists of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome.[2] With the close of the sixth century Ravenna's importance came to an end. Art no doubt maintained itself there, as in most Italian cities, at that modest standard which might satisfy humble wants, but could leave no monument to posterity. Plastic art might be traced to a later period; it yielded to that of mosaics in the earlier centuries,

and alludes to the crowns then covering the heads of the Magi (p. 290). In the time of Ciampini (p. 176) the Magi still had crowns, as may be seen in the engraving of that author: but these heads and crowns, as Flaminio states, were even in Ciampini's time painted restorations. (Flaminio, *ubi sup.*, p. 292.) The heads with baronial caps are now restored in mosaic, a proof of the numerous successive changes which these works have undergone. The mosaics were in the hands of restorers as late as 1861.

[1] [Now in the Cappella dei Tutti Santi.]

[2] Between the sixth and seventh centuries may be classed the mosaics of the side chapel in the church of S. Lorenzo of Milan representing Christ amongst the apostles in niches, and the Sacrifice of Isaac, much damaged by restoring.

but still left traces of its existence in urns and sarcophagi, respecting which let the reader take these few notes.

Amongst the funeral monuments at S. Apollinare in Classe, one containing the ashes of an archbishop is remarkable for a bas-relief on its front representing the Saviour with the books, enthroned and receiving a scroll from S. Paul, whilst S. Peter, on the other side, advances with the cross and keys. The youthful and beardless Christ and the forms of the apostles and attendant figures reveal an artist of the sixth century.[1] An Adoration of the Magi on the tomb of the exarch Isaac affords a striking proof of the tenacity with which old forms were preserved by sculptors.[2] The Virgin without a nimbus holds the nimbed Saviour on her knee,[3] and the Magi advance in a row, clothed in the Phrygian dress and cap. Daniel, also with a Phrygian cap, stands between two lions. Lazarus rises from the grave before a figure of Christ without a nimbus. The forms, attitudes, and arrangement are those of the early catacomb paintings at Rome. Amongst the monuments in the cathedral of Ravenna are two urns in the chapel of the Madonna del Sudore, one of which, according to a late inscription, encloses the remains of S. Barbatian, confessor of Galla Placidia, the second contains the remains of S. Rainardo. The latter is adorned with a bas-relief representing the Saviour nimbed, holding the book, and seated on a throne resting on a rock out of which the four rivers flow.[4] Long hair falls behind His shoulders, but a beardless face indicates the intention of youth. With one hand outstretched He accepts a crown from S. Paul, whilst S. Peter bearing a cross strides towards Him with a similar emblem. The apostles are easily distinguishable by their well-known types, but, like the Saviour, they are rudely represented. The same subjects and the same types may be found on the tomb of S. Barbatian as on that of S. Rainardo.[5] The Saviour and the apostles, however, stand in separate niches parted by columns; and the sculpture is still more rude than the last. The bas-reliefs of other tombs on a wall in the passage to the sacristy of S. Vitale represent—Christ giving a scroll to S. Paul, S. Peter on His right, and a male and female figure right and left of the apostles and parted from them by a palm; Christ again, with a damaged head [6] and an arm wanting, standing at the top of a flight of steps with a small figure of Lazarus in a winding-sheet near

[1] The Saviour's head is encircled by a nimbus with rays, like those in the apsis of SS. Cosma e Damiano at Rome.

[2] The exarch Isaac died at Ravenna in 1644, but the sarcophagus may be of an older date.

[3] The nimbus round the infant Saviour's head is radiated with the oblique Greek cross, and contains the alpha and omega.

[4] The Saviour's nimbus is Greek like the last. The cross and monogram are on the ends of the tomb.

[5] The same symbols likewise.

[6] And a Greek nimbus.

Him. All these bas-reliefs exhibit more or less the decline of antique art, and the defects peculiar to it. Of two the dates are fairly ascertained, the rest may have been produced at intervals as late as the close of the seventh century, when the exarchate disappeared. The pastoral chair of S. Maximian,[1] filled with ivory reliefs, is likewise of the antique school of the sixth century; and it might be possible to recognise the same style in the great silver crucifix of the cathedral, had it not been unfortunately restored in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

The miniaturists of the first ages yielded examples of little more importance than those produced by statuaries, but still interesting as showing the predominance of antique types or peculiar technical modes of execution.

One may note in a parchment of the Vatican,[2] representing scenes from the life of Joshua, character very similar to that of the reliefs on the column of Trajan. The compositions recall early Christian art at Rome. Well-connected scenes, groups, marshalled according to true maxims, follow each other in quick succession. Joshua may be constantly recognised not merely by his nimbus but by his tall stature, by his face and warrior's dress—a rapid and sketchy execution in thin water-colour of light rosy tones, freely carried out with the brush in the Pompeian style; all this, though combined with some defects of anatomy and coarseness of extremities, reveals an artist of the earlier times. Yet an inscription on the parchment would lead the student to consider these miniatures as a work of the ninth century. If this were so, it must be conceded that the painter not only imitated the antique in form and composition but also in technical execution.

Vignette miniatures of still more classical forms, interspersed among the leaves of an old MS. of Virgil[3] at the Vatican, are interesting in another sense. Their technical execution may be accurately described by a careful analysis of parts bared by the dropping of the upper surface. In landscape scenes, for instance, the whole surface appears to have been covered with an uniform blue tone, upon which antique groups and the short square Roman figures were drawn. The colour of the flesh tints and vestments was then laid on in body colour, the shadows strongly marked with a deep brown

[1] In the cathedral.

[2] Parchment, 30 feet long, in the Library of the Vatican. See Agincourt, v., plates 28, 29, 30, for engravings of some of these miniatures. The compositions are generally good and animated, and some attitudes are quite artistic. Defects of anatomy in the extremities may be frequently noticed. The technical execution is that of a water-colour of light transparent tones. The drawing, which may be seen where parts of the miniature have been rubbed down, is executed with a brush, not with point, and the system is not that which can be found in later miniatures.

[3] Rome, Library of the Vatican, MSS. Nr. 3225.

tint and the lights of draperies with gold.[1] The execution is probably due to an inferior artist of the fifth century, spirited in rendering incident but feeble in knowledge of form, as the coarse figures and large round eyes fully prove, yet imitating in the most faithful manner the classic forms of antiquity. One may indeed point to a Laocoon, which is but too evidently an inspiration from the celebrated marble of that group. Another work of this time or of the close of the fourth century is the Homer, now in the Ambrosiana at Milan, quite in the character of the Roman art of the period under notice, the classical movement for instance of a figure of Homer, its warm and transparent colour combining to make it one beautiful of its kind.[2]

[1] The colour is laid on with great impasto, of a general red tone in the flesh tints. The lights of the draperies are touched in gold. The forms, though imitated from the antique, are not without defects, and the eyes particularly are large, round and staring.

[2] Of course allusion is made only to those parts which are not damaged or retouched.

[*Cf.* Wickoff, *Roman Art* (E. T., by Mrs. Arthur Strong: London, Heinemann, 1900), pp. 188-9. The Iliad in Milan "shows the predominance of the *continuous* principle in all the manuscripts of the classics. Here Achilles is represented first in the assembly, and then, within the same frame, going down with Patroclus to the ships. . . ." See also on this point Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Roman Sculpture* (Duckworth, 1905), and for the MSS., Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 304 *et seq.*, and for illustrations, plates 137 *et seq.*]

CHAPTER II

ITALIAN ART FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The annals of Roman art immediately after the conquest of Italy by Belisarius and Narses, impose on the historian a tedious task. Yet at the risk of wearying the reader he is bound to dwell upon the formless productions of centuries, remarkable for a general decay, but in which the threads which unite the art of succeeding periods and the germs of future development may be traced. In Rome itself painting and mosaic continued to live upon traditional forms, and received from the Neo-Greek artists of Ravenna but a passing influence. Christian forms of composition, grafted at first and in a few rare examples on the imitation of the antique, gradually became typical. Types were altered without being improved, and form became daily more defective. After three centuries of continuous decline, the technical process of painting began to change. A new Greek or Byzantine art then appeared in the South of Italy, displaying rudeness and defects equal to those of Rome. Sicily shone for an instant with unwonted brilliancy and displayed in a fine series of mosaics powers of a high class. This momentary revival was succeeded by a new period of darkness, during which Rome again seized the lead [1] and kept it till Tuscany took it up and distanced all rivals.

[1] [*E.g.* in the frescoes discovered lately in S. Maria Antiqua in the Forum. There we see how an ordinary Roman church was decorated in the eighth century on the eve of the emancipation from Byzantine dominion. There are three layers of frescoes, the latest being that painted in the time of John VII. (741–767). The church was crushed by the fall of the buildings which overhung it on the north-west edge of the Palatine, probably in the earthquake of 847. The outer hall, however, seems to have been in use till a much later period, judging by the fragments of paintings it contains. The final destruction of this building probably took place in 1084. In the time when Pope John decorated the church, as in the time of its foundation, Rome was full of Greeks—a regular Byzantine army of occupation. We see here Greek inscriptions, costumes, and saints; the wall painting shows us a Byzantine art transplanted to the West and acquiring something of Roman character in consequence. The pictures fall into two classes of subjects—figures of saints and scenes illustrating a story. The work is Byzantine and at the same time local, the work of men, whether Greeks or Romans, who are as good Romans as John VII. himself. *Cf.* G. McN. Rushforth, *S. Maria Antiqua* in *Papers of the British School at Rome* (Macmillan, 1902), vol. i. pp. 1–120.]

To follow the decline of painting at Rome, the catacombs again afford the most instructive examples.

The first subject which strikes the visitor to S. Ponziano as a production of the seventh or eighth century is a Baptism of the Saviour, roughly sketched and painted in the old technical style, but essentially different in conception from those which have been noticed at Ravenna. The artist represented the Redeemer naked up to His middle in clear water, with a nimbed head of regular features enclosed by long falling hair and a small beard. S. John, standing on a bank to the right and holding a reed, imposed a hand on the Saviour's head, as in the Baptistery of S. Maria in Cosmedin at Ravenna. But instead of the river-god floating on the water or sitting on the bank, an angel seemed to fly on the left, holding the necessary cloth. The form of the Saviour was still good in its intention and attitude; the composition was still fair, but one peculiarity might be remarked which diminished its effect. The Saviour seemed to receive the Baptism in a ditch. Yet artists of later centuries, those even who might lay claim to superior genius of conception, never thought fit, or were never allowed, to alter this form of composition.[1]

Still more characteristic, as showing the degeneracy of painters in the seventh and eighth centuries, was a large bust of the Saviour with a cruciform nimbus and a jewelled book in His hand, also in the Pontian catacomb.[2] Here the artist sketched out with dark lines on a roughly-prepared wall a form and type different from those of previous times, but frequently met with in the eighth and ninth centuries and even in the thirteenth. Hitherto the Saviour's head had been regular, though the features had in the course of time undergone change. During the predominance of antique feeling, the long flowing hair served to give the head an agreeable outline. Now the forms of the face and the contour of the head and locks changed for the worse. The painter of the Pontian catacomb produced a face almost as long as it was broad, with arched brows, staring eyes with drooping corners, a nose whose ball projected, a prominent cheek-bone and a small chin. A vast mass of hair, divided in the middle and leaving two locks pendent on the centre of the forehead, formed a circle round the

[1] The angel is all but gone. At its feet on the bank is a stag or deer. The three figures have the nimbus. Above the Saviour are indistinct traces of what once no doubt was the dove of the Holy Ghost. S. John wears sandals and a yellow skin dress, exposing his frame and legs. The flesh tones are light and warm, the outlines heavily marked. [*Cf.* WILPERT, *op. cit.*, plate 259.]

[2] [IDEM, *op. cit.*, plate 257.]

face and gave to an otherwise broad neck the appearance of thinness. A small straggling beard covered the under part of the chin. The right hand, raised in the act of benediction, was formless. The draperies had lost all breadth and were marked by angularity. The flesh tone was yellowish, the narrow shadows dark.[1] Yet if this were a poor example of the spirit left in Roman art, it was not the poorest: one might see in the chapel of S. Milix and S. Pymenius in the Pontian catacomb two coarsely-executed figures of those saints standing at each side of a cross painted in imitation of jewelled gold. These figures were rude and almost formless in outline, the heads were without shape and the eyes staring. S. Pymenius wore the antique costume. The colour of the flesh was a species of yellow red. Equally defective were five figures standing erect in a row in the same catacomb and betraying the usual absence of drawing, of form, and of thought in the artist.[2]

As the eighth century closed, even the majesty of the Redeemer was forgotten in the shapeless inanity of dark outlines and false forms, and the Saviour, as depicted in the chapel of S. Cecilia in the catacomb of S. Callisto, was only worthy of attention as exhibiting with a certain solemnity the complete prostration—the dotage, of the art of the time.[3] Nor was this state of collapse in painting of short duration or confined to Rome. It might be

[1] This large bust of the Saviour was discovered on the side of the vaulted recess where the above-mentioned Baptism is depicted. It is painted on a very rough surface, and the lower part of the painting, including a portion of the hand, has fallen. The colour of the draperies is almost gone, but the mantle bears traces of blue and the tunic of red. The nimbus is yellow at the outer rim, with a simple cross on a light blue ground. Part of the left eye and of the chin of the figure are gone. The outlines, though strongly marked, are not black. Beneath the bust are the words, "DE DONIS DI GAVDIOSVS FECIT."

[2] Representing SS. Peter, Marcellinus, Pollio, and other saints. The extremities of these figures are exceedingly defective, the hands indeed scarcely indicated.

[3] There is something calm and solemn in the ugliness of the youthful, large-eyed, and narrow head. The breadth of the face at the level of the eyes is excessive. The brows and eyes are arched, the iris staring. The nose is straight, thin and long, and ends in a point, the upper lip long, the beard a succession of curls round the base of the chin. The figure holds a book in its left and blesses with its right. The fingers of the shapeless hands are coarsely indicated. The type is one which repeats itself in the ninth century. The outlines are thick and strongly marked. The nimbus is cruciform and the cross jewelled, the mantle bluish and tunic red. The niche in which the figure is represented seems to have been painted of an uniform yellow body colour which served for flesh tone in lights, and above which the shadows and half tints were painted in. Above the recess is a figure of a female saint older in date—perhaps of the seventh century. The catacomb of S. Callisto was closed at the end of the eighth century, and these paintings cannot be later than the date above given. [*Cf.* WILPERT, *op. cit.*, plate 260.]

traced in remains of old wall paintings representing the Saviour and other saints in the crypt of S. Ansano at Spoleto, rude and ill-drawn figures executed apparently in the ninth century without change in the old technical methods.[1] It might be exemplified by figures of S. Curtius and S. Desiderius in the catacombs of Naples, equally defective in form,[2] and in a bust of one holding a book in a circular frame resting on two cornucopia, rudely sketched in the same catacomb—in manner so far technically changed that colour of much body and consistency was used.[3] The decline was in fact general throughout Italy, just as in its processes painting was everywhere the same.

The utmost rudeness and the eclipse of all feeling, combined with barbaric costume, might be traced in the tenth century, first in a wall painting in the crypt of SS. Cosma e Damiano which seems to have represented the Virgin and Child; secondly in a wall painting in the crypt of S. Clemente at Rome, where, amongst other figures, the Virgin, crowned and dressed in jewel-decked apparel of close fit, holds the infant Saviour on her knee.[4]

That the mosaists followed the same course as the painters is not doubtful. They confined themselves to the reproduction of the simplest subjects, such as the glorification of the Saviour, the Virgin and saints, and seemed either unwilling or unable to trust themselves to any effort of composition. Amongst the relics of mosaics executed at the close of the sixth and during the seventh centuries the mixture of Roman and Neo-Greek types and forms prevailed with more or less intensity and persistence, yet this, as may be seen, was but a passing impression. In the mosaics of the inner side on the triumphal arch of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, the Saviour glorified had a poor aspect; the gazing eyes and depressed noses, the long outlines of the attendant saints, revealed the rapidity with which artistic power was disappearing, yet at the same time the persistence of the classic feeling.[5]

[1] The Saviour here as usual in a red tunic, but with a light-coloured mantle of red shadows. The nimbus is yellow and without the cross. The tones light water-colour.

[2] The saints with yellow nimbi. Desiderius with a cross in his right hand. The hands large and wrists small. Curtius is dressed in blue, ornamented with white flowers. The outlines coarse, shadows black, background coloured and ornamented.

[3] The execution of this figure is very rude. The colour, of much body, has faded away.

[4] This fresco is also painted with much body of colour on a rough surface, the outlines broad and marked.

[5] The Saviour sits on the orb, a cross in His left, SS. Peter and Paul respectively present SS. Lawrence, Pelagius, Stephen, and Hippolytus,

In S. Teodoro the Saviour was again glorified in the apsis exactly as he was on the triumphal arch in S. Lorenzo ; and some of the heads revealed a style approaching to that noticed in the mosaics of SS. Cosma e Damiano mingled with that of the later decline,[1] betraying already the impress of the Neo-Greek mosaists.

The apsis of S. Agnes was devoted to the glorification of that saint in the presence of Honorius I. and S. Symmachus. The long motionless figures stood side by side on a green ground, without much gravity of attitude or of features. Antique feeling might be traced in the relief of the male heads and in the broad draperies ; but the spread of the Greek style might be noticed in the straight lines of the features and folds, whilst the gradual progress of decay was marked by sombre colour, dark and abrupt shadows, heavy dark outlines, and a rude execution with the ill-jointed cubes peculiar to Roman art.[2]

In the middle of the seventh century the apsis of S. Venanzio was devoted to the Virgin, who stood with outstretched arms in the centre of the space with SS. Peter, Paul, John the Baptist, and five other saints on each side of her. Above her a colossal bust of the Saviour, resting on red clouds floating in a golden heaven, gave her the benediction. A face of long but regular forms was enclosed by long hair falling on the shoulders, and a short beard beneath the chin. Two angels in flying draperies, nimbed, with broad round heads and powerful necks, with hair bound by bands whose ends floated in the wind, held guard on

still reminiscent of the forms of the sixth century. Round the head of the Saviour is a cruciform nimbus. His draperies are dark. On the lower sides of the arch are Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The church seems to have been built by Pope Pelagius ; certainly his presence in the mosaic with a model of the edifice indicates the period of the work, *i.e.* 570–590. With the exceptions noted above, the mosaic has the character of the ninth and tenth centuries, and this owing merely to repairs and restoration.

[1] SS. Peter and Paul, severally introducing S. Theodore and another saint, the former slippered, with a long pointed beard, holding a cross. The heads of Peter and Paul are almost all of the old work remaining. The head and hand of the Saviour are quite modern, the latter formless. The purple mantle is also in great part new. S. Theodore holds a cross. The saint introduced by S. Paul is totally altered. The feet and draperies of S. Paul himself are partly renewed, the feet and hands of S. Peter modern, the whole on gold ground.

[2] The hand of the Eternal issues out of a triple star-bespangled halo with a crown for S. Agnes, whose head is encircled with a nimbus. She wears a purple tunic and a gold mantle lined white, and a jewelled collar ; in her hands a scroll, the latter in part restored. Honorius, with a model of the church in hand, wears a white tunic and purple mantle. S. Symmachus, in a purple dress, carries a book. The mosaics may be assigned to the time of Honorius I. (625–638.)

each side of Him. Their forms as well as those of the Saviour were completely reminiscent of the antique. In the upper face, outside the apsis, were the symbols of the Evangelists, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem, whilst, swelling the row of supporters, on each side of the Virgin eight figures of saints might be seen. It might almost be conceived that the Saviour and angels and the apsis figures generally were of an earlier Roman period than those on the arch, as the latter recalled the Neo-Greek character of S. Vitale of Ravenna, not only in slenderness of form but in a more careful execution, more harmonious colour, and a certain straightness of lines in draperies such as had already marked the figures in S. Agnes.[1]

Equally reminiscent of the art developed in S. Agnes were the mosaic figures in the apsis of S. Stefano Rotondo, where in the heavy dark outlines and broad drapery, defined with straight lines, one might still trace amidst a mass of repairs the character of the seventh century.[2]

A solitary example of the Neo-Greek influence at Rome and the last of the seventh century that can be found there, is a fragment removed to S. Pietro in Vinculis by Pope Agathon in 680, and now adorning an altar to the right on entering that church. Here the artist represented the long slender form, the young and slightly bearded face of S. Sebastian—not nude, as in more modern representations of that martyr, but holding the crown, dressed in barbaric and richly-ornamented costume, and wearing a long mantle fastened to the shoulder with a brooch. This figure distinctly exhibited the impress of the more modern art of Ravenna in its type and form. The draperies were somewhat angular, the lights and shades fairly indicated, but leaving by the absence of breadth a certain sense of flatness. The attitude was, however, still marked by a certain dignity.

With the close of the seventh century, old Roman feeling

[1] S. Venanzio is an oratory or side chapel to the Baptistery of S. Giovanni in Laterano. Some restoration may be noticed in the figure of S. Peter and in the angels on each side of the Saviour. The saints on the arch to the left are SS. Paulinian, Telius, Asterius, and Anastasius, those to the right SS. Maurus, Settimanius, Antiochianus, and Cajanus.

[2] S. Stefano Rotondo was built on the Celian Hill in honour of SS. Primus and Felician, who are represented in the mosaic at the sides of a jewelled cross beneath a medallion of the Saviour, the hand of the Eternal with the crown issuing as usual from the prismatic rainbow. Very little of the original mosaic remains. The cross and part of the background, including the medallion of the Saviour, are filled up with stucco and repainted. Part of the figure of S. Felician is also coloured stucco.

resumed its sway, and the Neo-Greek influence which had penetrated to Rome a century after Ravenna had ceased to yield a single monument of art, vanished as it had come, leaving as a solitary trace of its passage a certain tendency to slenderness and length of form. It was characteristic indeed of the independence of Roman art that, whilst history tells of iconoclastic struggles and of a general flight of Byzantine artists to Italy, not only was not a trace of their influence to be found at Rome, but the older Neo-Greek impress had disappeared. Of the early productions attributable to the eighth century at Rome, but a fragment remains. Yet this and the mosaics of the time of Leo III. and Pascal I. would alone suffice to show how Roman artists trod the path of decline independent in their weakness. To the faults which had been confirmed by centuries of existence others were superadded. To absence of composition, of balance in distribution and connection between figures were added slenderness of figure, neglect and emptiness of form, a general sameness of features, and the total disappearance of relief by shadow. Still the reminiscence of antique feeling remained in certain types, in a sort of dignity of expression and attitude, and in breadth of draperies, which, though defined by mere parallel lines, were still massive. The Greek stare had completely disappeared from the eyes. That art so reduced could still appear imposing to nations of low cultivation, is apparent from the fact that Charlemagne found it useful to take Italian architects and painters to Germany, and that with their means he created schools whose influence was undoubted, though it has probably been exaggerated by the partiality of German writers.

Part of an Adoration of the Magi—the fragment to which allusion has been made, was transferred from the old basilica of S. Peter to the sacristy of S. Maria in Cosmedin, and was executed in the first years of the eighth century. The face of the Virgin, although it betrayed a gross neglect of form, was not without an expression of quiet repose. The eyes were natural, the attitude equally so; the shadowless draperies, sculptural in their mass, were indicated by few straight and parallel lines, and seemed to cling flatly to the frame. The form of the Infant was defective, that of an angel, of antique type and regular features. The absence of shadow, the blue lines in the white draperies, the red lines in the flesh contours, the thinness and length of the figures, gave this fragment a peculiar appearance, yet one which

characterised more or less the art of the whole century. The execution was in every respect rude.[1]

Time, which dealt unsparingly with the monuments of this period, did not respect those of Leo III., whose activity appears as remarkable in art as in politics. Leo, who invited Charlemagne to Italy, not only built edifices, but caused many churches to be repaired; and amongst them S. Apollinare of Ravenna, whose roof already threatened to fall in. Yet of the mosaics which he caused to be executed in the Triclinium of S. Giovanni in Laterano,[2] to illustrate the victories and the power of Charlemagne, nothing remains but two heads in the Vatican museum, which recall the art of the eighth century, and a copy of the lost apsis mosaic representing the apotheoses of Charlemagne and S. Sylvester, and the Last Supper.

In SS. Nereo e Achilleo, however, an example of art at the time of Leo may be found. On a triumphal arch, the Saviour might be seen standing in an elliptical glory with Moses and Elias at His sides and SS. Nereo and Achilleo prostrate before His feet. Right and left were the Annunciation, and the Virgin and Saviour guarded by an angel. Here the general character of the eighth century was completely maintained. The long slender figures had at least the dignity of repose and were far from vulgar in form; their attitudes were simple and their proportions fair. The angels were of the Roman type, the draperies indicated by free and few straight lines, the faces rouged, and the outlines of the nude marked in red. As before, a total absence of shadow might be noticed; but whilst art in its essentials displayed an increasing depression, beauty of ornament revealed the maintenance of the old feeling for accessories and details.[3] This feature became indeed more evident as art retrograded. It was prominent in the time of Pope Pascal, and might be noticed in the apsis mosaics of S. Maria

[1] The Virgin, seated on a cushioned chair, is in the usual red tunic and blue mantle, the Infant on her knee in a gold tunic, the angel to the right behind the Virgin in white robes, S. Joseph on the left of paltry form. An arm with a present is all that appears of the Magi. This fragment is on gold ground. The Saviour has a cruciform nimbus; S. Joseph is without one. The mosaic has been restored, and some of the outlines are overpainted, cubes large and rough. The date of the mosaic about 705.

[2] A.D. 795–816.

[3] SS. Nereo e Achilleo, below the baths of Caracalla at Rome, is a church of the time of Leo III. The background of the mosaics on the arch is dark blue with white and red clouds; the Saviour's halo blue of a lighter tone. Moses and Elijah are not nimbed. The head of the Virgin has been damaged by restoring, and many other parts have suffered from the same causes, but not enough to render a judgment impossible.

called the Navicella on the Celian Hill. There for the first time, in a Glorification of the Virgin, the conspicuous defect of overcrowding first became remarkable. The preponderant size of the Virgin as compared with that of the attendant angels and prostrate Pope Pascal, showed the desire of the artist to impress the spectator with her supernatural power. The defects of the mosaics [1] were those of the eighth century and the execution rude as ever.[2]

That art now hurried to its fall was evident from the fact that in the short lapse of one papal reign the mosaists of the close were feebler than those of the opening. In the apsis mosaic of S. Praxedis, a mere imitation of that in SS. Cosma e Damiano, executed in the time of Pascal I.,[3] the figures had all the defects

[1] A very pretty foliated ornament on gold ground, springing from vases, forms a cornice to the apsidal arch. The Virgin is enthroned with the Infant amidst slender angels and adored by a miniature figure of Pope Pascal, prostrate and holding one of her feet. The angels rest on a ground strewed with flowers. Above, the Redeemer on a rainbow, with the apostles in a row at His sides, at the birth of the arch the Virgin's special prophets.

[2] [The important discoveries of the late Father Mullooly at S. Clemente in Rome have brought to light a considerable fragment of work of this time in the subterranean church which he excavated. *Cf.* MULLOOLY, *S. Clement and his Basilica* (Rome, 1869); ROLLES, *S. Clement de Rome* (Paris, 1873); BROWNLOW, *The Basilica of S. Clemente in Rome;* and VENTURI, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., pp. 860–6. The present church is of the eleventh or twelfth century, the walls of the subterranean basilica are of the age of Constantine, the Mithraic cave discovered there being of the third century, the Memoria or "small stuccoed chamber" is of the first century, the "Titanic wall" of the time perhaps of the Tarquins. The "stuccoed chamber" is all that is left of the dwelling of S. Clement. It was probably under Leo IV. that the basilica was painted in fresco, though some fragments might seem to be of an earlier time. But in the south-west corner of the nave there is a series of frescoes painted in the time of Leo IV. (847–855), as the inscription tells us—SANCTISSIMUS DOM. LEO QRT. P P. ROMANUS. There we see the Assumption, the Crucifixion with S. Mary and S. John on either side, the Maries at the Sepulchre, Christ in Hades, and a fragment of the Marriage in Cana. On the other side of the nave are frescoes of our Lord in benediction with S. Andrew, S. Clement, S. Methodius, and S. Cyril and two archangels. Again, S. Clement is enthroned by S. Peter, with S. Linus on one side and S. Cletus on the other. This is spoiled by the floor of the upper church. Below S. Clement is saying Mass when he is interrupted by Sisinnius. In another fresco is set forth the life, death, and recognition of S. Alexius, and the legend of the child miraculously saved in S. Clement's shrine under the sea. Last of all, the translation of the relics of S. Clement and S. Cyril is presented. This subterranean church was probably destroyed by Guiscard in 1084.]

[3] Subjects—The Saviour with SS. Paul, Peter, Praxedis, Pudenziana, and the twenty-four elders on the arch advancing to cast their crowns. The church of S. Praxedis, on the Esquiline, was adorned with mosaics by Pascal I., A.D. 817–824. The apsis figures stand within a space bounded by two palm-trees, on one of which is as usual the phœnix. Above the Saviour the hand holds a crown. Below flows Jordan, beneath which are Bethlehem and Jerusalem, the saints, and twelve sheep. ANASTASIUS (*De*

of their predecessors, with less brilliant colour and darker backgrounds. In the triumphal arch a quaint and realistic representation was given of the New Jerusalem, laid out in the form of an irregular polygon, in the midst of which the Saviour stood guarded by three angels, and received the homage of the elders, whilst at the gates angels seemed to invite the chosen people to enter. A chapel in the same church,[1] called the garden of Paradise, was likewise covered with mosaics—the archivolt with double rows of saints and prophets in medallions [2]—the ceiling with a medallion centre representing the Saviour in benediction supported in the diagonals by four angels resting on globes. None of these mosaics exhibited an improvement on the rude forms and execution that had now prevailed since the opening of the eighth century, but a change had taken place in the mode of rendering the features of the Saviour, and the type had become the same which marked the colossal form of the Redeemer in the Pontian catacomb.[3] The face had become as broad as it was long, the prominent cheeks were relieved on a mass of hair disposed in a circle with a pendent lock on the centre of the forehead. It was a type which, though defective and unpleasant, had been generally adopted in the ninth century and was revived as late as the thirteenth.

Two or three edifices in Rome still exist to mark the complete fall of art at this time. In S. Cecilia the apsis mosaic, glorifying the Redeemer, S. Cecilia, and Pope Pascal, was filled with mere flat and empty forms, darkly outlined, shadowless, rouged on the cheeks, long, stiff, and defective in shape.[4] Art in fact had in

Vitis Pont.) and the following inscriptions prove the exact date of this church and its mosaics. In the frieze below the semidome, "Emicat aula piæ variis decorata metallis Praxedis—Pontificis summi studio Paschalis." The paintings which Rumohr mentions in this church no longer exist (*Forschungen*, vol. i., p. 246).

[1] [Cappella di S. Zeno.]

[2] Upper row, the Saviour blessing—centre; lower row, the Virgin and Child, centre. The medallions on the row right and left of the Virgin contain ten female and two male saints. Those in the row on each side of the Saviour are apostles and prophets. Below the birth of the arch of the door on each side are two modern medallion portraits of Popes. In the spandrils of arch busts of prophets. These mosaics have been extensively restored.

[3] The Saviour inscribed "De donis dñi Gaudiosus fecit" is here intended.

[4] Subject—Saviour erect blessing—six saints about Him, S. Peter introducing a male and female saint with crowns, S. Paul, for the first time with the sword, introducing S. Cecilia, who in her turn recommends Pope Pascal. The church owes its mosaics to Pascal I. The background is so dark as to be almost black, and on it are red clouds. The palms, phœnix, Jordan, the Lamb, and sheep as in S. Praxedis. Pope Pascal is said to have caused scenes of the life of S. Cecilia to be painted in the church. A fragment of these paintings remains, but is so blackened by time as to defy criticism. An engraving of some of them may be seen in Agincourt, plate 84, No. 3.

this monument, parted with every species of character, and in it Roman and Neo-Greek manner were lost in a miserable cento.

Yet if possible the mosaics of S. Marco,[1] the church of the Venetians, showed a still deeper decline. If one excepts the medallion Saviour on the arch of the apsis and the figures of prophets at the side pointing to Him—the former being of the type already noticed in S. Praxedis as an imitation of that in the Pontian catacomb—the figures were of the second infancy of delineation, each of them standing or hanging on a little pedestal.[2] All previous defects might be found in them, and new ones in addition, the faces and features being angular, beards pointed, heads without forehead or cranium—feet and hands deformed, outlines broad and dark and edged with red. Yet this unpleasant mosaic was still surrounded by a rich and beautiful ornament.

A doubtful example of mosaic, in so far as date is concerned, may be noted in the small and dark chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum in the Lateran, sacred to papal meditations. Here in the centre of the roof an artist of the eighth or ninth century depicted the Saviour blessing the world and holding the book, in the type and form peculiar to the mosaists of the time of Pascal I., or to the painter of the Pontian catacomb. The Redeemer was delineated with a round head, pendent forelock, and a small beard divided into curls. His features were, however, less irregular than those of other figures of the same class. Four angels in flight and laboured movement supported the medallion, and still recalled the antique with a mixture of a later Greek character which remains to be noticed in Italy. Figures of saints in the same style filled the lunettes.

In the same manner in which the Neo-Greek influence extended for a while from Ravenna to Rome, it spread in the beginning of the ninth century to Milan, where the church of S. Ambrogio was brought to a certain degree of splendour by the execution of mosaics, whose character was not essentially different from that which might be expected from artists who followed the precepts of the later mosaists of the exarchate. The Saviour was represented in the apsis of S. Ambrogio, enthroned, with S. Protasius on His right and S. Gervasio on His left. The archangels Michael and Gabriel, guardians of the two saints, seemed to hover above

[1] This church was restored in 833 by Pope Gregory IV.

[2] Subject—the Redeemer between SS. Mark, Agapitus and Agnes (left), Felician and Mark introducing Pope Gregory IV. (right).

them with a certain vehemence of action, holding in their hands reeds and crowns.[1]

These mosaics displayed more of the character of the Roman productions of the seventh or eighth centuries,[2] than that of later mosaics in the capital of Italy. Had art continued at Ravenna, it would probably have assumed the form which characterised S. Ambrogio in the ninth century. It would have presented to the spectator the same costumes and attitudes, the same gazing eyes, the same vehemence of action and richness of ornament.[3]

Of the manuscripts of the period illustrated in this chapter, it might be unnecessary to speak, were it not that they confirm the historian in his judgment of the general character of art at Rome during the time of its degeneracy and fall. The independence of Roman painters and the persistence with which they clung to the traditions of the antique, are indeed curiously exemplified in their miniatures, of which here is a sketch for the more curious.

In a Terence MS. of the eighth or ninth century, now preserved at the Vatican,[4] one figure at least and a pseudo-portrait of the dramatist, in a medallion carried by two masks, characterise the period completely. The figure inscribed "Prologus" was depicted by the miniaturist with the grotesque face of an antique mask, in a violet Roman tunic and a light red mantle, and holding a bow in his left hand. This is the only figure which has not been altered by restoring. Its proportions are fair, though the hands are coarse and large. The outlines are of a dark red and the colours of the flesh of a light warm yellow. The portrait of Terence is likewise characteristic and reminiscent of the antique. Feebler, and apparently the effort of a childish imitator of classic forms, are the miniatures of a MS. Virgil at the Vatican, executed apparently in the ninth century and much restored.[5] That the artist was ignorant and inexperienced is proved by the deformity of the figures, feet, hands and articulations. Yet the compositions are imitated from those of a better time.

[1] Beneath the pedestal of the throne three saints, Marcellina, Satirus, and Candida, were depicted in medallions, and, at the sides of these, were two compositions, the first illustrating the sermon of S. Ambrose at Milan and the second the burial of S. Martin at Tours by the same bishop.

[2] For instance SS. Teodoro, Agnes, Venanzio, Pietro in Vinculis, where the impress of Ravennese art at Rome has been noticed.

[3] The mosaics of S. Ambrogio are said to have been executed in 832 by order of Gaudentius, a monk. They have been much restored at various times, and probably as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the form of the Saviour being evidently too feeble and lank to be of the same period as the head, which seems well preserved. The inscriptions of these mosaics are Greek. Above the archangels are the words ΟΑΡ. ΜΙΧΑΗΛ and ΟΑΡ. ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ. Yet the cubes of these mosaics are large and rude.

[4] MSS. No. 3868 of the Vatican library.

[5] MSS. No. 3867 of the Vatican library.

Equally rude, but interesting perhaps as an example of the technical processes of the period, is a pontifical of the ninth century executed for the use of Bishop Landulfus of Capua, now in the Minerva at Rome. Vasari's epithet of "*tintor*" might be applied to the artist. Roman art in its fall may be traced in the stout, short, heavy figures that convey the representation of a clerical ordination of the period. Some animation and action may be said to compensate for absence of true form. The large square heads, round black eyes, and rouged cheeks—the shadowless forms, drawn with coarse dark outlines, combine with the draperies of uniform colour and marked out with parallel strokes, to present a miniature counterpart of the apsis figures in many a Roman church of the eighth and ninth centuries. The technical execution is as usual a light thin water-colour of a warm yellowish tinge in the flesh.[1]

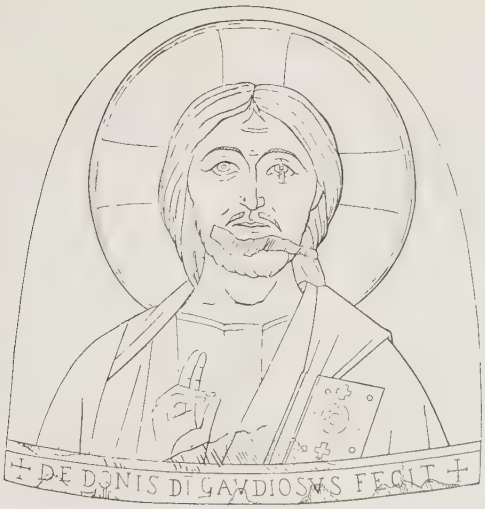
From the seventh to the end of the eighth century Rome merely affords examples of formal ceremonial pictures. Of religious compositions in the true sense of the word there is scarcely a trace in mosaics or painting. The miniatures of the period which remain are either feeble imitations of the antique, or so low in the scale of art as to leave little room for criticism. It may therefore be interesting to discover if in sculpture something can be found to fill up the void. The wood reliefs of the gates of Santa Sabina at Rome are in this respect valuable remnants. Santa Sabina was built on the Aventine Hill by Pope Celestin I. in 421, but the gates were only placed in it by Innocent III. some years before the church was granted by Honorius III. to the Dominicans. The gates are divided into numerous square panels containing scenes from the Old and New Testaments. It may be remarked at once that the panelled and beautifully ornamented framing of the reliefs is of a different wood from that of the sculptures which it encloses, and that the subjects are older than the border which surrounds them. A careful examination of the sculptures will easily convince the observer that their character is not of the twelfth century, and that, if they were executed in the pontificate of Innocent III., they are copies of older works. But experience will hardly warrant the assumption that a copyist could produce such a work as this in the twelfth century,

[1] Another miniature of the ninth century, representing the rite of baptism by immersion, may be noticed here. It belongs to an unnumbered MS. in the Minerva at Rome. The short figures, the draperies, are even more reminiscent of the antique than the Terence, No. 3868. The drawing, particularly of the extremities, is defective, the eyes are very round and open, the mode of colouring the same as in the Terence MSS., the outlines very marked and coarse.

and were it so, the gates of Santa Sabina would be a solitary example of their kind.[1] In style these carved subjects are a continuation of that imitation of the classic antique which prevailed in the earlier centuries, yet composed and executed with remarkable spirit. The sculptors, whoever they may have been, gave animation and action to their figures such as were unknown to the mosaists or painters even of the time of Leo III. Their figures were mostly of the short Roman character, wherever the necessity of subject and space did not oblige them to slenderness. Their ideas of costume and of drapery, their conception of Bible scenes, were of the kind which had been consecrated by time in the paintings of the catacombs or in the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore. Without wearying the reader with minute descriptions of all the subjects in the gates a few examples will amply suffice to justify the foregoing conclusions.

For instance, Elisha is represented receiving the mantle of Elijah. The latter, in a classic car drawn by two horses, is directed to heaven by an angel in flight, whose form imitates the bold action and the attitude of a figure of Victory. Nothing more classical, no better-draped figure, was produced by any of the imitators of the antique during the Christian decline. Nor is this a solitary figure, being but the counterpart, as regards the qualities above referred to, of another angel anointing the head of one standing beneath him. The figure of Elisha is slender and elegant, and contrasts with others which are short and thick-set, as for instance in the composition in which Moses performs the miracle of the serpents. In a third relief representing the Hebrews landing from the Red Sea, and welcomed by an angel, whilst Pharaoh appears in a biga in the midst of the waves, it is impossible not to remember the colossal figures of the Monte Cavallo at Rome, imitated by an artist of a later time. In the Adoration of the Magi, where the Virgin in a Roman chair holds the Infant and receives the offerings of the three kings who are dressed in Phrygian costume, it is difficult to forget the same forms of composition in the earliest catacomb pictures. Again the Saviour may be seen on the road to Calvary, by the side of Simon of Cyrene, who carries the cross. The figure of the Redeemer, the head, bearded and enclosed by long hair, recall the old types of the Christian time, whilst the composition itself is reminiscent of the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna. The Saviour in an attitude of command in one of the medallions, with His simple nimbus, and fine drapery, is very different in type from the Redeemer even of the ninth century, whilst in a similar medallion,

[1] [*Cf.* VENTURI, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 476, note 2, gives a bibliography of the gates of S. Sabina; *cf.* also GRISAR, *Analecta Romana* (Roma, 1898), vol. i. Venturi regards them as work of the middle of the fifth century.]



HEAD OF CHRIST

From the Catacomb of S. Pontiano at Rome.

Alinari.

CHRIST AND THE VIRGIN, WITH SAINTS

From the Mosaic in S. Maria in Trastevere, Rome.

DOORS OF S. SABINA, ROME

Christ giving the benediction and sitting in glory, is short in stature and wears the antique costume, the leggings of the same figure in the funeral monuments of Ravenna.

But for the fact that short and slender figures are found in close proximity, one might suppose that these sculptures are of a date as early as some of the mosaics of Ravenna. They have indeed much of the character which distinguished the sculptures of the close of the exarchate. The symbols and monograms are the same as those of the sarcophagi. It may be reasonable therefore to give these bas-reliefs a date anterior to the tenth and even to the ninth century. Nor is a certain amount of historical evidence wanting to confirm this view. The gates of Santa Sabina are referred to in *Annales ordinis predicatorium*, by Thomas Maria Mamachio,[1] as of "seculo etiam VII° fortasse vetustiores."

That Rome, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, yielded no examples of mosaic or painting is neither strange nor unnatural.[2] Yet that art still continued to exist in this the most unhappy and troubled time of the Papacy, is proved not merely by one example which shall be noticed, but by the fact that, when Gregory VII. restored some of its power to the Church, the arts reappeared, maintaining after the lapse of more than a hundred years the character and the peculiarities for which they had been remarkable in the period immediately preceding their apparent disappearance.

To the Benedictines accrued in some measure the merit of having preserved the traditions of art; and in one of their churches, in the neighbourhood of Rome, the works and, for the first time, the names of Roman artists are preserved.

To the north of the capital, and about seven miles from Nepi, on the road to Civita Castellana, lies the castle and the Benedictine church of Sant' Elia, the latter an edifice of very old Christian form, and covered internally with wall paintings by two brothers Johannes and Stephanus and their nephew Nicolaus of Rome. The exact period in which these artists executed the internal decorations of S. Elia cannot be ascertained; but they were men who combined the imitation of forms and compositions, characteristic of various ages of Roman art, with a technical execution which can only be traced as far back as the tenth century. Their

[1] Rome, 1756; vol. i., c. xvii., p. 569.

[2] [Though only fragments remain, the important paintings at S. Saba are work of the early tenth century.]

work, though it has suffered from the ravages of time, illustrates a phase hitherto comparatively unknown. They seem to have been men accustomed to mosaics, for they mapped out their colours so as to resemble that species of work. They used, not the thin water-colour of the early catacomb painters at Rome or Naples, but the body-colour of the later artists, who painted the Christ of the chapel of S. Cecilia in S. Callisto and the figures of Curtius and Desiderius in the catacomb of S. Januarius. On a rough surface of plaster they laid in the flesh tones of an uniform yellowish colour, above which coarse dark outlines marked the forms, red tones the half tints and blue the shadows. The lights and darks were stippled on with white or black streaks, and a ruddy touch on the cheeks seemed intended to mark the robust health of the personage depicted. The hair and draperies were treated in the same manner. They were painted of an even general tone streaked with black or white lines to indicate curls, folds, light and shadow. The result was a series of flat unrelieved figures, which were, in addition, without the charm of good drawing or expression.

In the semidome of the apsis, the Saviour was represented standing with His right arm extended and His left holding a scroll.[1] On His right S. Paul in a similar attitude was separated from S. Elias by a palm, on which the phœnix symbolised Eternity. S. Elias, in a warrior's dress, pointed with his left hand to S. Paul. To the Saviour's left S. Peter, whose form is now but dimly visible, and probably another saint were depicted. A background of deep blue, spotted with red clouds of angular edges, relieved the figures. This was in fact an apsis picture similar to those in the numerous churches of Rome, and in arrangement not unlike that of SS. Cosma e Damiano. The form of the Redeemer indeed, His head, of regular features with a nose a little depressed and the flesh curiously wrinkled, His high forehead, and long black hair falling in locks, His double-pointed beard, tunic, mantle, and sandals had a general likeness with those of SS. Cosma e Damiano. The saints, on the other hand, in their slender forms, S. Elias with his small head and long body, were reminiscent of later mosaics, whilst their attitude and movement, their draperies defined with lines, their defective feet and hands were not unlike those of SS. Nereo e Achilleo. The Neo-Greek influence might be traced in other parts of the paintings of S. Elia. Beneath the green foreground, where the four rivers gushed from under the feet of the Saviour, and the Lamb stood pouring its blood into a chalice, an ornament separated the paintings of the semidome from those in the lower courses of the apsis. In the uppermost of these, Jerusalem,

[1] The hand of the Eternal is above in the key of the apsis.

and in the intervals of three windows, twelve sheep in triple groups between palms, were depicted. Bethlehem no doubt closed the arrangement on the right, but is now gone. In the next lower course the Saviour sat enthroned between two angels and six female saints, amongst which S. Catherine in a rich costume and diadem and S. Lucy may still be recognised. The rich ornaments, the round eyes and oval faces of these female saints, were not without admixture of the foreign element which had left its impress on Rome in the seventh and eighth centuries. Still, the angels, with their hair bound in tufts and their flying bands, were of regular features. The painters covered the sides of the tribune with three courses of pictures, fragments of which remain. On the upper to the right, the prophets with scrolls, on the second, martyrs with the chalice, on the third, scenes from the Old Testament. On the left the lowest course was likewise filled with biblical subjects taken from Revelation. The aisles and nave were also doubtless painted, but the pictures have unfortunately disappeared. The painters inscribed their names as follows beneath the feet of the Saviour in the apsis—Joh̃ et Stefanū frīs picto..e.. Romani et Nicolaus Nepv̄ Joh̃s.[1]

These paintings of S. Elia are far more instructive and interesting than those of a later date, and even than the mosaics of the eleventh century at Rome. From all these, indeed, one may conclude that, whilst the Italians were on the threshold of a new political and social life, their art was but a continuation of that mixture of Roman and Byzantine feebleness and of those errors which had sprung from the troubled nature of earlier ages. The art of Italy rose indeed after the tenth century. Whilst, however, it showed no rapid development of power in thought, conception, or expression, it imbibed a better taste in the less important branch of ornamentation, a change which had begun in the lowest period of the decline, and which consisted in the use of the richest borders and foliage tracery and in the substitution of gold for dark blue backgrounds. A more interesting change, however, was the development which became apparent

[1] The scroll in the hand of S. Paul is inscribed "Certamen certavi, cursu consumavi. Fide separavi." S. Peter holds a scroll inscribed "Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi quid nunc mundū venisti." On each side of the medallion in which the Lamb is depicted is the inscription "Vos qui intratis me primū respiciatis omnibus ardua clamidat, ac si a divas otia quā &c." The sheep are painted on a yellow ground simulating gold. The nimbus of the Saviour and those of the saints are also yellow imitations of gold. One of the windows between which the sheep are represented, is filled up and contains a figure of S. John of the fifteenth century. The angels on each side of the Saviour in glory on the wall beneath the semidome carry in one hand the labarum, in the other parti-coloured circles of blue and white. The female saints are on a blue ground spangled with stars.

in the sphere of subjects which artists were enabled to treat pictorially. The most painful incidents of the Passion of our Lord had till now been avoided; and the nearest approach to them that had as yet been attempted was the road to Calvary, where the Saviour was represented proceeding to Golgotha accompanied by Simon of Cyrene carrying His cross. The tenth and eleventh centuries displayed not merely all absence of dislike but a certain mournful pleasure in depicting the sufferings and death of the Redeemer. The numerous crucifixes, in which He is depicted in the various phases of His agony, may perhaps serve a little later to illustrate a chapter of their own. In churches where this episode was first represented, it was generally placed exactly opposite to another, where Christ after the Resurrection sat in glory to judge "the quick and the dead." In S. Urbano alla Caffarella at Rome, for instance, the Crucifixion was painted in the eleventh century inside the portal. The Saviour stood with head and frame erect on a projection, where His feet were separately nailed to the wood. A slight drapery surrounded His hips. On the right Calphurnius held up the sponge, whilst on the left Longinus struck the Saviour with his lance.[1] Yet in this period of His agony the Redeemer maintained the serenity and open eyes of one that should not betray a sign of pain. Right and left stood the Virgin and S. John Evangelist, and above them the thieves, one of whom repentant looked towards the Saviour, both in quiet attitudes and with arms bound behind the cross. At the foot of the instrument of death a strangely-dressed figure, intended perhaps for the Magdalen, held a cloth and seemed willing to support the projection on which the Saviour's feet rested.[2] Above the Saviour two half figures of winged angels stood. The sequel of the story of the Crucifixion extended to both of the side walls, on which scenes of the Passion, and the legends of S. Urbanus, S. Cecilia, S. Lawrence, and other saints were depicted. In the choir, and facing the Crucifixion, the Saviour sat enthroned giving the blessing and holding a book between two angels; S. Peter and S. Paul on each side of Him. In the episodes of the Passion, Christ might be seen now carrying His cross. Were these paintings

[1] The names are inscribed.

[2] At the base of the Crucifixion are the words "Bonizzo fft aẽri M. XI.," an unusual mode of expressing the date of A.D. 1011. But the inscription is repainted possibly over an older one. Rumohr (*Forschungen*, vol. i., p. 277) had already noticed this. The inscription is repeated, according to him, in an old MS. with miniatures copied from these paintings in the Barberini library at Rome.

not so totally repainted and restored they might serve further to illustrate the methods in practice in the beginning of the eleventh century. The least damaged parts are on the walls of the aisle to the left. One may remark generally that old Roman characteristics of composition and line still remain. In the Adoration of the Magi the three kings are in Phrygian caps and dresses. There is a certain repose in the somewhat slender figures, yet more animation in gesture than in the compositions of SS. Nereo e Achilleo.

In the Annunciation, where the Virgin sits on a throne whilst the angel presents himself, an old woman in fair action may be seen in a neighbouring room. The draperies are also more free in fold than before.

Of a class not dissimilar from these are a series of paintings removed from S. Agnese of Rome and now in the Museum of S. Giovanni in Laterano, the oldest of which are scenes from the lives of S. Catherine and S. Agatha. Here the proportions of the figures are similar to those in S. Urbano, but perhaps a little more slender. The small round eyes, thin noses, mouths, and necks are not more disagreeable than the wiry red outlines, the yellow flesh tones painted with full body-colour over a preparation of verde, and the rouged cheeks. In continuation of these one may further notice in the same museum eleven scenes of the life of S. Benedict of similar system and style.[1]

Whilst painters thus continued to exist at Rome and handed down to each other mere traditions of form, art was recruited in the South of Italy from the workshops of the East; and Leo of Ostia relates that in 1070 Desiderius, Abbot of Montecassino, sent for Greek mosaists to adorn the apsis above the high altar, and ordered the novices of his order (he was a Benedictine) to learn the art of mosaic, "which since the invasion of the Lombards had been lost in Italy."[2] That Leo of Ostia was rash in the latter assertion needs no better proof than the narrative in the foregoing pages.[3] A question of more real interest is, whether the Byzantine Greeks imported by the Abbot of Montecassino were better artists than their contemporaries at Rome. It is a question,

[1] Other fragments of frescoes in this museum—for instance, a head of a bishop and a figure of a saint (aged)—are more modern, and probably of the fourteenth century.

[2] Leo of Ostia, *ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Scriptores*, iv., p. 442.

[3] He may have meant that the art of mosaics had been lost in South Italy and particularly under the Lombard princes of Beneventum and Capua, whose rule lasted till the middle of the eleventh century.

however, which must remain unanswered, because the mosaics of Montecassino have disappeared. Yet it may be sufficient to recollect that in the ninth century the mosaics of S. Ambrogio of Milan were no better than those of the same period at Rome. In the absence of mosaics, it is gratifying to be able to point out a series of paintings of the same time executed for the Benedictines of S. Angelo in Formis at Capua, which, being essentially of a Greek character, will prove first, that artists from Greece or Constantinople were employed in South Italy in the eleventh century, and secondly, that they were in no respect superior to their Italian contemporaries. As to the period of these paintings it may be necessary to consult some historical records. In 1058 the Norman Richard became possessed of the Principality of Capua, and, having been anointed with the holy *ampulla* at Montecassino, he conceded to the Benedictines the right to found a new monastery at S. Angelo in Formis, near Capua. This monastery and the church of S. Angelo were endowed in 1065 with the funds belonging to the churches of SS. Giovanni, Salvadore, and Ilario of Capua, which time had completely ruined.[1] The church of S. Angelo was, however, not enlarged until 1073, when, at the request of Pope Gregory VII., and with the assistance of Richard of Normandy and Erveo, Archbishop of Capua, the works were commenced by Desiderius, the third Abbot of Montecassino,[2] the same who had already restored and adorned with mosaics the chief convent of the Benedictines in South Italy. About 1075 the church of S. Angelo was consecrated by Erveo, Archbishop of Capua,[3] and the successful termination of his labours was recorded by Desiderius in the following inscription now on the architrave of the great portal :

CONSCENDES CAELUM SI TE COGNOVERIS IPSUM
UT DESIDERIUS QUI SACRO FLAMINE PLENUS
A COMPLENDO LEGEM DEITATI CONDIDIT AEDEM,
UT CAPIAT FRUCTUM QUI FINEM NESCIAT ULLUM.

The artists employed by Desiderius painted the following subjects :

In the apsis the Saviour was enthroned in the act of benediction and holding the book. The symbols of the Evangelists were at His sides, and the hand of the Eternal appeared out of an opening

[1] Lo Monaco's *Dissertazione sulle varie vicende di S. Angelo in Formis* (fol., Capua, 1839), p. 13.
[2] Ibid., p. 12. [3] Ibid., p. 15.

surrounded by a fan-like ornament. Beneath the semidome and on the wall of the apsis the three archangels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael separated the abbot Desiderius, standing with the model of the church in his hand, from a figure of a Benedictine now almost effaced.

On the opposite wall, and therefore above the chief portal, the Last Judgment was depicted. High up in an elliptical glory the Saviour sat enthroned, and distributed the blessing and the curse with His hands, the only part of the figure now remaining. Below Him, an angel raised high above His head a long scroll, of which the inscription has disappeared; whilst two angels at His sides held scrolls likewise, inscribed with the words, "VENITE BENEDICTI" and "ITE MALEDICTI." Above the Saviour and between the upper windows, four angels sounded the last trump. Beneath, in two courses on each side of the Saviour, were twelve angels in adoration and twelve apostles on long benches. At the sides of the angels, below the Saviour, were grouped the blessed saints, martyrs, and confessors of both sexes on one hand, and devils pursuing condemned souls into the everlasting abyss on the other. On the lowest course to the left, groups of the just, plucking and wearing flowers, were made to contrast with others on the right, tortured or carried by demons to the foot of Lucifer, a vast monster, now unfortunately headless, sitting in chains, with claws for hands, and holding under his arm the writhing form of Judas Iscariot. The action and terrible movement of this infernal picture showed the interest which was already taken in the eleventh century in the delineation of the everlasting torments reserved for sinners; and the importance given to the size of Lucifer proved the desire of impressing spectators with dread of sin.

The rude painters of S. Angelo in Formis indeed succeeded much better in representing the tortures of hell than the majesty or the joys of Paradise. Their idea of the Saviour, as it was exposed in the apsis, was inexpressibly painful. It is difficult to discover a more unpleasant type of Christ than they here depicted.

A thin feeble figure with formless hands and feet was surmounted by a large grim head of bony aspect, enclosed by flat lank red hair, and lined out with dark contours. A wrinkled brow, arched over large round gazing eyes—a thin long pointed nose, a little mouth, and a short straggling beard, two daubs on the cheeks, were the characteristic features of the Redeemer.

The Archangels of the apsis were round-headed, and had large almond-shaped eyes and pointed noses. A mere line indicated the mouth. Patches of red on the cheeks, broad necks, wings, dresses profusely covered with gold in square patterns and precious stones, completed their tawdry delineation. One of the Evangelists and the angels blowing the trumpets of the Judgment were figures taking long and vehement strides in empty space; and an attempt seemed

to be made to imitate flying draperies by meaningless triangular flaps of stuff. Here and there a grand intention might be traced in a solitary figure, as for instance in the angel beneath the Saviour of the Last Judgment, whose attitude was fine, and found imitators in later centuries. On the walls above the arches of the central aisles three courses of paintings represented, first, the prophets and kings of the Old Testament, next, scenes from the Passion, and last, a series now obliterated by whitewash. Amongst the scenes of the Passion, one was the Crucifixion, in which the Saviour was represented, erect with His feet nailed separately to a projection. His face, slightly bent towards the Virgin, who stood below on the left, seemed to express menace. His frame and limbs were well proportioned, but most rudely drawn. The pectoral muscles and lower ribs were marked by triple red lines. The Virgin and S. John near the cross were stiff and motionless. At the sides, the rending of the garment, the crowd of priests, and soldiers on horseback were represented. Above the Saviour, the sun and the moon, the latter under the form of a wailing female, were depicted, and angels in attitudes expressive of agonising grief flew about the cross.[1] Outside the church, a double recess above the architrave of the chief portal contains a half figure of the Virgin with raised arms, wearing a heavy diadem of gold and richly gilt close-fitting vestments, in a medallion supported by two flying angels of slender forms and fair movement. Beneath, in the inner lunette, a half figure of an angel, likewise in close-fitting dress adorned with lozenge patterns of gold, and winged, holds a reed in its right and a disc on which is written MP ΘV. These two figures, less rude and of fairer type than the paintings inside the church, seem to have been painted by one having supervision over a commoner sort of artists, who must have carried out the labour of the interior under his orders. His colours were used on the same principle as theirs, but with better judgment.[2] The general character of these paintings is that of stamping or tarsia. They are executed on a single layer of plaster or intonaco prepared for flesh parts with a general coat of verde, covered with a thick yellow body-colour in the lights, shadowed with a brownish red. The draperies are tawdry and sharply contrasted in tone. The painters, Greeks, as is proved by the inscriptions, by the costumes, and by the exaggerated form and action of the figures, knew no other technical processes than their Roman rivals at Nepi, but were inferior even to them in knowledge. S. Angelo in Formis is interesting merely because it reveals the state of the Byzantine art of the period in its pure deformity, and because it presents the earliest example of the complete ornamentation of a

[1] In S. Angelo each side aisle had an apsis, of which that to the right still preserves traces of a Virgin between two angels, with six busts of female saints below. [Since this book was written other subjects have been uncovered from the whitewash.]

[2] Lunettes of porch are adorned with painted scenes from the legends of S. Anthony the abbot and S. Paul the hermit, now in part obliterated.

church with subjects in subordination to each other. It affords further the first known example of that great subject of the Last Judgment, which became so constant a favourite with artists of later centuries.

S. Angelo in Formis is not the only monument in Capua whose erection was due to the zeal of Desiderius. He caused the monastery of S. Benedetto to be rebuilt, and ordered that the Saviour and the apostles Peter and Paul should be represented in mosaic in the apsis of the church.[1] Ornaments of the same kind, begun at his desire in the aisles, were finished by his successor Oderisius, Abbot of Montecassino.[2] To the latter the church of S. Giovanni of Capua owed its mosaics, a part of which were subsequently transferred to the cathedral. Thus, if the mosaics of the time of Desiderius are absent, those of his successor may afford a criterion as to their value. The remnants of the mosaics of S. Giovanni represent the Virgin holding the infant Saviour in her arms, whilst the two S. Johns stand at her sides. The words MP ΘV indicate the Greek origin of the mosaists, quite as much as the figures recall low Byzantine art. The Virgin and saints are deformities, with angular draperies, and wooden attitudes. The Saviour is long, thin, and lean. The mosaic is in fact no better than the worst part of the paintings of S. Angelo in Formis ;[3] and posterity may therefore look with equanimity on the loss of the mosaics of Montecassino and other churches of Capua. Still further to the south of Italy the defective Byzantine style of Capua may be traced at Otranto and Amalfi ;[4] and its continuation till late in the thirteenth century can be followed, first, in pictures of the Naples Museum and other galleries, assigned to Bizzamano d'Otranto ;[5] and finally in a Virgin giving the breast to the infant Saviour in the monastery of Monte Vergine near Avellino. This Virgin indeed, with her vast diadem and gilt dress and her ugly form and features, is quite of the low Byzantine art and inferior to one at Amalfi.[6]

[1] Lo Monaco, *ubi sup.*, cites the original record, p. 20.

[2] Oderisius or Odericus was Abbot of Montecassino in 1089, as appears from a document of that year in the archives of the chapter of Capua. See document in Appendix to Marco Lo Monaco's *Varie Vicende, ubi sup.*

[3] This mosaic is besides much damaged by moving and repair.

[4] Church of the Madonna del Rosario, in which is a painting of the Virgin and Child.

[5] A picture in the Naples Museum, quite in this oriental style and assigned to Bizzamano, represents S. George on horseback, assisted by a miniature figure helping him to spear the dragon. The Eternal's hand appears above, and the usual female on one side.

[6] The gilt nimbus of the Virgin of Monte Vergine projects at an angle, so as to exhibit the head more clearly to the spectator.

The Norman princes of South Italy were not long contented with the poor productions of such mosaists and painters as those of Capua—artists who cannot indeed be supposed to represent the best that the East could produce in the eleventh century. After they had invaded and conquered Sicily in the twelfth century, they found no apparent difficulty in bringing together some hundreds of workmen who adorned with mosaics a vast number of churches. The patriotism of the Sicilians is not satisfied with the assertions of some historians, that the mosaics of Cefalù, Palermo, and Monreale were executed by artists from Greece or Constantinople. They labour to prove, without much success, that, as Greek elements had always existed and necessarily survived the Saracen dominion in the island, the Christians who had lived, nay, laboured, under the tolerant laws of the Moslems, only revived an art which had previously existed in Sicily. Their opponents, on the other hand, are equally puzzled to discover or to prove whence the artists of the twelfth century in Sicily derived their origin. The question is in truth difficult to settle in the absence of all records, and may be left as a fit and natural food for argument to the holders of the two extreme opinions.[1] It is proper, however, to remember that art after a long period of iconoclasticism was cultivated anew at Constantinople in the ninth century, and that Italy still possesses in the niello gates of the cathedral of Amalfi of the year A.D. 1000, and in the gates of the cathedral of Salerno of 1099, no contemptible examples of the power of drawing which the artists of Constantinople still wielded in the eleventh century.[2] Nor can it be forgotten that between the coasts of South Italy and those of Greece and the straits, an active commerce, in which even Pisa took a share, was in existence.

The oldest mosaics of the Norman period in Sicily are those of the cathedral of Cefalù, an edifice of which the first stone was laid by Hugo, Archbishop of Messina, in 1131.[3] In the apsis an inscription declares that King Roger caused the mosaics to be executed in the year 1148.

The only parts of these that now remain are in the semidome, apsis, and sanctuary, in the first of which a colossal bust of the Saviour

[1] See Domenico Lo Faso Pietrasanta's *Duomi di Monreale* (fol. Palermo, 1838), p. 18.

[2] Similar gates were sent from Constantinople to Pope Gregory VII. at Rome in 1070, which were placed in the church of S. Paolo fuori le Mura. These perished in the fire of last century.

[3] Pirri, *Ecc. Mess.*, p. 389, in Lo Faso, *ubi sup.*, p. 75.

was represented in glory and benediction between four angels holding the labarum, and medallions of Melchizedek, Hosea, and Moses (the latter now destroyed) on a level with Him in the side walls of the sanctuary. In a second course in the apsis and sanctuary the twelve apostles were placed, in a third the Virgin in the centre with the prophets Joel, Amos, and Obadiah, and lower down, a double row of prophets, elders, and saints.[1] In these mosaics, a far higher class of art than the Roman of the period was to be distinguished. The space was well distributed, and the apostles by no means displayed that absence of design or of form to which previous centuries had been accustomed. The draperies were good, and recalled by a certain breadth and elegance older and more classic times; although in the vestments of some angels, their close fit and lozenge or square-shaped ornaments of gold still displayed an oriental taste. The features of the apostles were of traditional types, those of the tall angels whose hair, bound by ribands, flowed down their necks, were quiet, plump and round, and though Byzantine in the depression of the nose, less than usually unpleasant in gaze.

The Saviour was dressed in a purple tunic shot with gold, and a blue mantle draping the left arm and shoulder in angular and involved folds, the mass of which seemed to impede rather than assist the development of the form. The head, though apparently that of an ascetic—thin, bony and of sharp features, was surrounded by very heavy masses of hair overlapping each other, hanging in a succession of curves on the shoulders, and with the now usual double forelock on the wrinkled forehead. The brows were regularly and naturally arched, and the eyes without gaze. The nose was thin and long, the mouth small. A regular beard covered the lips, cheeks, and lower part of the chin. The bare neck, muscularly developed, was not without evident defects of anatomical form. Fine and even majestic as this figure certainly was, it appeared inferior to those of the apostles below it; and it seems characteristic of the artists of this time that, in the effort to create a Christian type whose features should not be reminiscent of the antique, they produced nothing that indicated a creative spirit. They imagined the Saviour lean from abstinence, but by no means of ideal form. They might thus satisfy the simple tastes of little cultivated minds, but the struggle for a new type was still left undecided. The Christian artists had started with imitations of the antique, which time altered, and at last disposed of. To reach ideal form again, not the inventive genius of an artist was required, but a return to the study of the purest classical models. This it was that led to the revival of art in the thirteenth century.

That the mosaics of Cefalù were the labour of more than one

[1] Originally SS. Peter, Vincent, Lawrence, Stephen, Gregory, Augustin, Sylvester, Dionysius, Abraham, David, Solomon, Jonas, Micah, Naomi, SS. Theodore, George, Demetrius, Nestor, Nicolas, Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory and Theodosius. Some of these have perished.

hand is evident from the superiority of those parts which are nearest the spectator, over others that are more distant. In all of them, however, the drawing was precise and careful, and displayed no longer the coarseness or darkness of line which so disagreeably marked earlier works. The forms of the figures, as is proved by the red outlines on the binding substance, were perfectly made out previous to the laying of the cubes; and the damaged state of some parts is thus of advantage to the student, as it reveals the process of the work. True harmony of tones and a correct appreciation of the laws of distance, a fair knowledge of relief and a proper subordination of fine ornaments to the pictures, must also be conceded to the artists of Cefalù. In the flesh lights nature was closely imitated. In the shadows verde prevailed. As a final characteristic, it might be noticed that the mosaists had become technically perfect in the close jointing of the cubes.[1]

Contemporary with the Cefalù mosaics but inferior to them, either because originally entrusted to inferior hands, or because restoring has impaired their beauty, are those of the Palatine Chapel at Palermo, built in 1132[2] by Roger King of Sicily, and consecrated in 1140.[3]

The mosaics finished after the consecration, partly in 1143,[4] and partly later, filled the sanctuary, the cupola of the transept, and the walls of the nave and aisles. Scenes from the life of S. Peter and S. Paul in the side aisles, figures of saints or prophets above the arches of the nave and in the left transept,[5] rivalled the most perfect ones of Cefalù. The Saviour in benediction between SS. Peter and Paul, above the marble throne at the bottom of the nave, was less perfect

[1] The backgrounds of these apsis mosaics are grey. Many of the outlines are reinforced with colour, and evidently by the original mosaists.

[2] Pirri, *Tab. Reg. cap. Palat.* in Lo Faso, *ubi sup.*, p. 74.

[3] The completion of the building in this year is proved by the following mutilated record cited from the archives of Palermo by Abate Buscemi in *Giornale Ecc.*, p. la Sicilia, vol. i.

IIII K. Ma. . . . odem die dedi-
. . . tio ecc S. Petri
. . . pellæ Regiæ
. . . panormitanæ
. . . acta fuit tempore
. . . oriosi et magni
. . . regis Rogerii
. . . nno dominice
. . . ncarnationis M°C°X°L.

The church was consecrated on the day of its completion.—Ibid.

[4] An inscription in the cupola proves that some of the mosaics were finished in that year. See Lo Faso, *ubi sup.*, p. 27.

[5] SS. Gregory, Sergius, Basil, John the Isaurian, and another.

in type and form, and betrayed a later and feebler art. The same might be said of the Saviour and angels in the cupola.[1]

Rich ornaments of animals and foliage on gold ground of the same period adorned one of the rooms of the palace of Palermo. Nor was the splendour of the first King of Sicily and his taste for ornamenting churches confined to him alone. The great admiral Georgio Antiocheno ordered the church of S. Maria dell' Ammiraglio, now la Martorana, to be erected at Palermo. The edifice was consecrated in 1113, finished and endowed by King Roger in 1143,[2] and adorned with mosaics, which have been severely injured by time and restorers.

An elegant and majestic half figure of S. Anna holding a palm, of regular proportion and features, is well preserved in the lateral apsis of the right transept. A composition of the Death of the Virgin may be seen above one of the arches of the cupola in which the body lies on the tomb surrounded by the Maries, angels, and apostles, one of whom bends over the breast of the recumbent figure to listen for the beating of the heart. This and figures of saints and angels in various parts of the edifice are fully equal to the finest of the mosaics of Cefalù. The Birth of the Virgin above one of the arches of the cupola, is on the contrary inferior in every sense. The cupola itself is too dark to allow the spectator to see the mosaics with which it is covered.[3]

The cathedral of Monreale, built in the twelfth century, entirely on the model of the Greek ones of Constantinople and Ravenna of the sixth, was the most imposing in Sicily for the extent of its mosaic ornaments, yet below the cathedral of Cefalù and the churches of Palermo in the artistic value of these works. A bull of Alexander III. proves that it was not yet finished in 1174, whilst a bull of Lucius III. testifies to its completion in 1182.

The mosaics were intended to illustrate first those portions of the Old Testament which prefigurate the coming of the Messiah; secondly the life of the Saviour to the descent of the Holy Spirit; and finally the glory of the Redeemer and the triumph of the Church. The bust of the Saviour of colossal stature, and of a type and form inferior to that of Cefalù, with features of a heavy character far from regular

[1] These mosaics have been damaged by many successive repairs. The mosaics of the tribune and apsis are modern.

[2] Morso, *Palermo Antica*, gives the original diplomas, which are copied in Lo Faso, *ub. sup.*, p. 86.

[3] The merits of the artists of this church may be understood from solitary figures or parts, the mosaics generally having been restored and renewed at various times.

or animated—was represented in the semidome of the apsis;[1] and beneath, He was depicted again at full length enthroned by the side of the Virgin between the archangels and the twelve apostles. The spaces over the arch, dividing the sanctuary from the minor tribune, were adorned with figures of twelve prophets. An arch, leading from the minor tribune into the transept, was reserved for a half figure of Emmanuel with eight medallions of prophets on each side. On the opposite face of the arch was the Annunciation. The transepts were filled with double courses of mosaics representing scenes from the New Testament, the archivaults of the solia or quadrangle in the centre of the church with medallions of the progenitors of the Saviour according to the genealogy of S. Matthew. An arch which divided the solia from the nave was adorned with S. Sofia, or the Wisdom of God, adored by the archangels Michael and Gabriel. Two courses of mosaics in the nave illustrated the scenes of the Old Testament. The walls of the side aisles were filled with scenes from the New Testament subordinate to those in the transept, and the apsis of each aisle contained scenes of the life of S. Peter and S. Paul.

Amongst the transept mosaics, those which represented the story of the Passion were not essentially different from the traditional ones which had now been frequently depicted, and which were afterwards to cover the walls of the nave in the Upper Church of S. Francesco at Assisi. The compositions were animated; and it was remarkable in some of them, as for instance in that of the Resurrection, to find in the forms of the sleeping sentinels bold and even foreshortened movements. In the Crucifixion, however, the form of the Saviour was conceived differently by the mosaists of Monreale and by older artists; and here the hanging belly and distorted frame, the bent and doleful head accused the progress of materialism in art. Yet the habit of nailing the feet separately to the cross had not been abandoned, and as a study of muscular anatomy the figure was not imperfect, as it afterwards became. In the corner of the left transept, above a marble throne, the Saviour was depicted imposing the crown on the head of William II. This and a solitary figure of S. John, removed from the old baptistery near the right transept to a niche in the right aisle, were amongst the most careful and best mosaics in the edifice. In general, however, the forms and features of the apostles and saints were no longer equal to those of Cefalù, and a certain stiffness or contortion of attitudes might be noticed; the eyes had become more open and gazing, the draperies more straight

[1] The originality of the head of the Saviour in the apsis of Monreale may be doubted.

and angular. Nor were the harmonies of colour preserved in their purity; and greyish-red shadows with lines of a broader and more cutting character marked the decline of art in Sicily. Ere long, and hardly a century later, the mosaists produced examples at Messina which were not superior to those of the eleventh century at Capua.[1]

On the Italian continent, as for instance at Salerno, the influence of the Sicilian mosaists was felt. But the mosaics of the cathedral[2] are so damaged that they defy all criticism. A solitary half figure of S. Matthew, in a door lunette, is, however, not without character, and makes a near approach to the better productions of Sicily. Two pulpits in the same cathedral, where architecture and mosaic ornament are judiciously combined, prove that the art at the extreme of South Italy was not more defective than in other parts of the peninsula. These pulpits were ordered at the close of the thirteenth century by John of Procida; and one of them is adorned at the angles with figures of the Evangelists, one of which, S. Matthew holding the serpent as the emblem of wisdom, is by no means a contemptible example of the art of the time.

At the opposite extremity of the Peninsula, but still connected with the East by its trade and commercial navy, Venice shared with Sicily the labours of Greek mosaists. It would be vain, if not foreign to the object of this work, minutely to seek from the midst of mosaics such as those of S. Mark, parts that may have been produced by artists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. There is no doubt that the cupolas of the vestibule are adorned with compositions from the Old Testament which have a character akin to those of Sicily; but these, like most of the mosaics of this cathedral, have been subjected to centuries of restoration; and it is safe only to assume that at Venice, as in Sicily, mosaists

[1] These examples adorned the three apsides of the cathedral of Messina. In the central one, less defective than the two others, yet much damaged, Eleanor, wife of Frederic of Aragon, and Elizabeth, Queen of Peter of Aragon, were represented kneeling at each side of a throne on which the Saviour and the Virgin sat together, guarded by angels and female saints. The apsis to the right was devoted to King Louis of Anjou and John, Duke of Athens, placed on each side of S. John the Baptist and supported by saints. The apsis to the left was honoured with the kneeling figures of King Frederic and King Peter, with Guido, Bishop of Messina, saints and angels, all beneath a very defective figure of the Saviour in glory. The first of these apsis mosaics was remarkable for long draperies of intricate fold, for ill-drawn figures, yet less defective than those in the semidomes at the sides, where disproportion of form and rudeness of design were combined.

[2] This cathedral was founded by Robert Guiscard in 1084.

of Byzantine education were employed, perhaps as early as the eleventh century.[1]

The Greek art of this period, such as it appears in miniatures, exhibits the characteristics which are found in the Sicilian mosaics; and those who may desire to learn something of them may read the following excerpt:

Amongst the sixty illuminated drawings of a Greek "Menologio" preserved at the Vatican library,[2] the art of Cefalù seems reproduced.[3] The Saviour in glory surrounded by the apostles exhibits the type and slender form—noble head and dignified movement—the apostles—the long lean shape, but stern and characteristic heads of the Siculo-Norman period. In succeeding miniatures, symmetrical and well-distributed compositions may be found, and that of the Birth of the Virgin is marked by the well-known classical attitude of S. Anna on the bed, whilst females are busy preparing the bath for the infant. An Adoration of the Shepherds is likewise remarkable for the typical form and arrangement repeated by the painters of the Upper Church of Assisi, by Cavallini in S. Maria in Trastevere of Rome, and the school of Siena, so remarkable for the tenacity with which it maintained the habits of earlier times. In some overweight of head, square sculptural character of drapery, and defective extremities, the Greek miniaturists here shared the peculiarities of their countrymen the mosaists; and even the occasional violence of action remarkable at times in the latter can be noticed in the martyrdom of a saint torn by a lion. In the Crucifixion of S. Peter and another saint,[4] the nude is rendered with a certain vigour if not without conventionalism. In the Baptism of Christ, S. John places his hand on the head of the Saviour, whilst three angels attend on the opposite side. Precise outlines and accurately defined forms—a lively, clear, and tolerably fused colour of some impasto, the technical mode of painting flesh tints over a general tone of verde, mark the whole of the miniatures.[5]

In continuation of these, the miniatures of the Climacchus of the eleventh or twelfth century, also in the Vatican library,[6] exhibit the same technical execution, careful and minute drawing together with slenderness of shape. But a weaker art may be noticed in the loose attitude, the affrighted glance, and the confused drapery. The first miniature of the series, representing the elect advancing under the guard of angels up the steps of Paradise, on the top of which the Saviour sits in glory, gives a fair idea of the manner of the artist.

[1] [For all concerning the S. Marco mosaics, see SACCARDO, *Les Mosaïques de St. Marc à Venice* (Venice, 1907); and TIKKANEN, *I Musaici dell' Atrio di S. Marco a Venezia e la Bibbia Cottoniana* in *Arch. St. dell' Arte* (Rome, 1888), vol. i.]

[2] No. 1613.

[3] The miniature may be of older date than the mosaics of Cefalù.

[4] Pp. 296 and 427.

[5] On gold ground; the cheeks and lips tinged with red.

[6] No. 394.

In the meanwhile art at Rome, unmoved by the Byzantine influence on each side of it, maintained its old individuality; and whilst in painting it produced works of which few examples remain to our time, it resumed the practice of mosaics which had been interrupted during the very darkest age. Amongst the wall paintings whose value can hardly be discerned because of age and repairs, the following may be still observed: first, a Crucifixion of the twelfth century in the Cappella del Martirologio annexed to the church of S. Paolo fuori le Mura;[1] besides numerous figures on the walls and ceiling;[2]—secondly, the Communion and Coronation of Peter de Courtenay, and biblical episodes in the porch of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura at Rome;—thirdly, scenes of the life of S. Lawrence in the body of the same church.[3] All these paintings are interesting notwithstanding the state to which they have been reduced, because they are of the same school and manner, because in composition, distribution, and a certain animation of movements they now and then recall the antique, and because they are free from the exaggerated action which had already begun to mark the decline of a different art, the purer Greek or Byzantine. In order, at the same time, that it may be unnecessary to revert to the subject of Roman miniatures, we may bestow a passing glance on certain MSS., in which subjects taken from the Gospel are disposed by the miniaturists in forms which become afterwards typical, and which in some schools were maintained with more or less fidelity till the rise of the fourteenth century.

In continuation of Miniatures: a MS. volume at the Minerva opening with the "Benedictio fontis," a series of scenes from the Passion may be noticed. They are rudely drawn with very marked outlines, and some of the figures are very short and ugly, and presented with little more art than those upon playing cards. Technically, they are coloured with body upon a preparation of verde, with red patches on the cheeks. In one of them the Saviour, a long thin

[1] The Saviour is represented, as before, open-eyed and erect, the arms a little bent, and the feet separately nailed to the wood. His proportions are good. Above the cross, the sun and moon and two busts of angels. Right and left of the cross are the Virgin and S. John, and at their sides a mounted soldier with helm and lance. The long and slender figures resemble those at S. Urbano.

[2] Apostles Peter and Paul, SS. Stephen, Lawrence, and other saints, and in the ceilings the symbols of the Evangelists. All these paintings may be assigned to the end of the twelfth century.

[3] These paintings were commissioned by Honorius III., and are probably of the year 1217. The figures are small, long and thin, the draperies good in intention. The flesh tints are prepared in verde.

wooden figure, seems to have forced and to tread upon the gates of hell. He holds out a helping hand to a hoary sufferer (probably Adam), who thus emerges from limbo. Behind Him is a crowd of persons. In a second, the Saviour, crucified and with the feet nailed separately to the cross, still stands erect and with open eyes. On each side of the cross are the Virgin and S. John the Evangelist; and above it the sun and the moon. Again the Creation is symbolised by a female figure giving the breast to two monstrous animals; light on one side being conveyed trivially by the emblem of the candlestick, and darkness by a mourning female. In the upper part of the miniature the Saviour sits in glory and the hand of the Eternal appears out of a cloud.[1] Scenes from the Passion, equally realistic in character and equally rude in execution, may be seen in a Bible at S. Paolo fuori le Mura. Similar defects of drawing, but a different technical execution, appear in a poem at the Vatican written by one Dionisio in praise of the Princess Matilda of Tuscany.[2] The most interesting miniatures for typical composition are, however, an Exultet of the close of the twelfth century at the Barberini palace at Rome. On the first page a priest (*levita*) in a pulpit, reads the hymn for the benediction of the paschal taper, which is placed on a candelabra behind a group of clergy, some of whom wave censers. In the rear stands the congregation. On the third page the "Noli me tangere" is depicted. The Saviour turns in abrupt and violent movement towards the Magdalen kneeling with outstretched hands. Further on, the Earth is emblematically represented as a naked female giving the breast to an ox and a serpent on a flowery meadow in which the trees of good and evil are growing. Elsewhere Adam with his left hand on his breast takes from a serpent, whose body is twined round Eve's legs, the forbidden fruit and eats at the same time an apple which Eve presents to him.

In a "Christ at the Limbo" which follows, the Saviour holds the cross in His right hand and treads on the form of Lucifer, the composition otherwise being a repetition of that already described. In an ornament above the scene, a half figure of the Eternal (here for the first time depicted) points to the Saviour in the limbo with a vehement action, and seems to say "Ecce Agnus Dei."

A pope with a triangular tiara—a bishop and a monk at his sides—a figure gathering honey in an orchard, where bees of gigantic proportions may be seen in flight, complete the whole of what is noteworthy in these miniatures. If these productions are less defective

[1] This miniature is very much damaged. The MS. is probably of the close of the twelfth century.

[2] MSS. No. 4922, Vatican library. The miniatures are outlined with a pen and the flesh tone lightly tinted in transparent yellow. The cheeks of the figures are touched with red. The colours are sharply contrasted and shadowless as in playing cards. Here and there are touches of body-colour due to restorers. This MS. is likewise of the close of the twelfth century. Millin, in Rumohr, mentions a copy of this work (*Forschungen*, vol. i., p. 242).

than others of the same period,[1] and if a certain regularity may be noticed in the forms, still art may be said to remain very low. The heads and eyes are round, the cheeks rouged, the outlines red-and-black fillets. The flesh tints are yellow, the draperies coloured in sharply contrasted tones, lined out without shadow. The nude is most defective and ugly, the colour without body and thinly laid on a white ground.[2]

When mosaics were resumed at Rome in the early part of the fourteenth century, they were more remarkable for luxury of ornamentation than for any great improvement in arrangement or form.

The apsis of the church of S. Francesca Romana, one of the earliest that can be assigned to the twelfth century, was still devoted to one of those formal scenes which have been so frequently described. The Virgin and Child stood in the midst of saints under arches, and a lavish display of triangular crowns, gilt draperies and backgrounds, a wonderful profusion of gay colours in dresses and a large fan-like ornament, seemed intended to conceal the excessive immobility and defective forms of the figures.[3]

Gay colour, ornament, and perhaps better proportions, marked a later mosaic of the twelfth century representing the Virgin and Child between the seven wise and the seven foolish Virgins,[4] on the front of the church of S. Maria in Trastevere. The Virgin and Saviour, enthroned together in the apsis of the church, were remarkable for similar qualities and defects.

The Saviour, of larger size than the Virgin, the Virgin herself with a splendid crown and gilt draperies, the richly coloured fan ornament, the twining branches and foliage in which birds seem to twitter, the figures of saints on the tribune, short, thickset, and lame in attitude, all exhibited Roman art at this time as almost reduced to mere decoration.[5]

[1] For instance, the poem in praise of the Princess Matilda.

[2] Rumohr (*Forschungen*, vol. i., p. 245) judges from the form of the writing that the MS. is of the eleventh or twelfth century.

[3] The Virgin and Child are supported on each side by SS. James and John on the left, SS. Peter and Andrew on the right. The whole mosaic has been excessively restored, but was originally of the rudest execution. The best preserved figure, which is that of S. Andrew, is of better form, however, than the figures in S. Marco. The Virgin wears a triangular crown similar to those of the miniatures in the Barberini Exultet. Her close dress is full of gilding and imitations of jewellery. The use of red and black in the flesh tints is less frequent than in S. Marco, but they are of a flat and unrelieved yellowish tone. The figure of the Saviour is long, lean, and ugly.

[4] [There are only ten virgins in all, and, as it seems, they are unequally divided between wisdom and folly.]

[5] On each side of the throne SS. Callixtus, Lawrence, and Innocent II. (1139), S. Peter, the Popes Cornelius and Julius, and the presbyter Calipodius.

The decorative principle was applied with still more exclusiveness to the apsis of S. Clemente.

In the midst of rich vine tendrils, the Saviour was represented crucified, with twelve doves about the head, the Virgin and S. John Evangelist at the base of the cross. Four Fathers of the Church, shepherds, goats, birds were scattered about the ornament, below which the four streams of Paradise, the Lamb, and the two cities were placed. On the arch of the tribune Isaiah, S. Lawrence with the gridiron, S. Paul under the form of a pilot, S. Peter, and a symbolical figure with an anchor; in the upper centre, the Saviour and the symbols of the four Evangelists, completed the mosaic. The attitude of the Saviour on the cross, the closed eyes, betrayed the progress of a new religious idea in reference to the pictorial delineation of the Redeemer. The figures were less defective than at S. Maria in Trastevere, but the draperies were still stiff and angular, and it was evident that, if art was progressing, it was advancing less in the essentials than in the accessories of detail, ornament, and rich distribution of colour.

With the close of the twelfth century a wide field is opened to the student of art in Italy. Examples accumulate; and, were it absolutely necessary to follow chronological order, the reader would be carried, by the natural succession of time, from North to South and from East to West, to contemplate works having no other connection than that of date. Leaving aside certain rude frescoes of the twelfth century at Spoleto, in the church of S. Paolo fuori di Porta Romana, whose merits, or rather defects, may well be left to the humble compass of a note;[1] setting aside a certain number of early Crucifixes executed in various parts of Italy, it may be of greater advantage for the present to continue the

Below the throne, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, the twelve sheep, and four rivers on a blue ground.—On the arch of the tribune, Isaiah and Jeremiah, above them children, vases and flowers. On each side a tree and the symbols of the Evangelists. Above the centre the cross and seven candlesticks.

[1] These frescoes, executed on one intonaco like those of Nepi and S. Angelo in Formis, are to be found in that part of the old church of S. Paolo which is above the false roof. There, one may see remnants of paintings representing scenes of the Old Testament, the creation of Eve and the expulsion from Paradise—a head of the Saviour and figures of prophets.—The rude drawing and broad outlines of these frescoes indicate a feeble artist, but the shapes of the heads and the repose in the glance of the eyes, certain forms that recall those in the Barberini Exultet, proclaim an Italian painter of the twelfth century. Of the same period is a mosaic above the portico of the cathedral of Spoleto representing the Saviour enthroned in benediction with a book in His left hand, the Virgin and S. John at His sides, almost entirely renewed. The work is interesting only for the following inscription "HEC EST PICTURA QUAM FECIT SAT PLAGIURA: DOCTOR SOLSERNUS HAC SUMMUS IN ARTE, MODERNUS, ANNIS INVENTIS CUM SEPTEM MILLE DUGENTIS. OPERARI PALMERI D. SASO. . . ."

narrative of art in Rome, and to trace the slight influence which the later Byzantine art, as it appears in Sicily, exercised in the capital of Italy.

The semidome mosaic of S. Paolo fuori le Mura is but a repetition of the old subject of the Saviour between a double row of saints, and adored by a small kneeling figure of Pope Honorius III. In the lower course of the apsis, two angels and twelve apostles stand stiff and motionless in a row, separated from each other by palms, on each side of an altar, bearing a cross. The figures are remarkable for careful execution, a fair definition of light and shadow, a fine and accurate outline, and perfectly jointed cubes of mosaic. The head of the Saviour, of colossal dimensions, is modern, and the body a lay figure; but amongst the apostles, S. John is of fair character, and the rest hardly inferior to similar ones at Monreale. The forms in general, however, are disagreeable, the eyes of the angels and others are round and gazing, the noses depressed as at S. Angelo in Formis, the shadows of flesh tints are green, the lights streaked with white, the hair mapped out in masses defined by lines.[1] This purely Byzantine method, which may be seen in three heads, saved from the mosaics of the front after the fire of 1823,[2] would prove that the whole of this church was adorned with mosaics by Greeks.[3]

Paintings of similar character, but very defective in form and dull in colour, may be seen in the chapel of S. Sylvestro near the church of SS. Quattro Coronati.

They represent the Saviour holding the cross, enthroned with the Virgin and S. John the Baptist at His sides, and the twelve apostles, sitting upon each other on each hand, a most unpleasant and common product of the Byzantine art of the twelfth century.[4]

[1] These mosaics are greatly restored, but in general the careful Byzantine execution may still be traced.

[2] Near the sacristy of S. Paolo and executed with all the care and mastery of those of Cefalù. The cubes are closely packed, the flesh part well defined, and expressing the forms, the features, and wrinkles marked by fine hair outlines, the ears large and defective, the lights clear yellow and shadows grey, the lips bright.

[3] A much restored mosaic of the same class, but very unpleasant, and representing formless figures of small size, is a Christ between the Virgin and other female saints, S. Lawrence, and Honorius III., in the porch of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura at Rome.

[4] According to Agincourt these paintings bore the date 1248, which is now obliterated. Art could scarcely fall lower than it is here exhibited. The Saviour's head is of a circular shape without drawing, the frame ill designed, and feet enormous. Muscular developments are indicated by false lines. The figures are stiff, striding, or flat, the colour dull and without transparence. Passigli in *Dizionario*, vol. iv., p. 527, mentions Pietro Lino "pictor" and his assistant Guido Guiduccio as having painted in SS. Quattro Coronati in the twelfth century (1110–1120).

The list of works of this period in Rome may be swelled by a notice of the paintings on the tomb of Cardinal Guglielmo Fieschi, in the church of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura,[1] the motionless figures in both of which are long, thin, and without drawing. Yet the form of the Saviour's head in the first is more regular and less defective than those in contemporary productions at Rome or in the neighbouring Benedictine foundation of Subiaco—the Sacro Speco.

It would be needless to seek in this old and remarkable abbey for paintings of the time of S. Benedict.

In the so-called Seconda Grotta di S. Benedetto, however, one of the natural caves which tradition assigns as a residence to the holy man, a Virgin and Child of warm tones, marked outlines, and large staring eyes, is painted on the bare rock, and reveals the technical execution of the artists of Rome at the close of the eighth and rise of the ninth centuries. A figure of the Saviour guarded by two angels, and a painting said to represent S. Benedict, much damaged and in great part repainted, outside the cave, betray the rude manner of the twelfth century. Equally poor and of the same period are the paintings on the entrance wall of the Sala di S. Benedetto in the lower part of the Sacro Speco itself, to the left of which a vaulted niche contains a Virgin, Child, and Angels, inscribed "Magister Conxolus pixit hoc op,"[2] whilst to the right, Innocent III. gives a papal bull to John IV., Abbot of the Sacro Speco. The green shadows, yellow flesh lights, and bright red patches on the cheeks and lips are of the Roman character of the thirteenth century.[3] The triple vaulted ceiling of the Sala is of the same century, and possibly of an earlier time than that of Conxolus. A lamb in the centre of the first carries a cross and is surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists with human bodies, and the heads of an angel, an ox, an eagle, and a lion.[4] The

[1] Cardinal Fieschi (William) was appointed by Innocent IV. and died at Rome in 1256. He was buried in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura (*Dizionario di Erudizione Storico Eccles.*, vol. xxiv.). On each side of the Saviour in the act of benediction S. Lawrence recommends a small kneeling figure of Pope Innocent IV. behind whom stand SS. Hippolytus and Stephen introducing the kneeling figure of Cardinal Fieschi, the pope's nephew, behind whom stands S. Gustavus. To the right, on a neighbouring wall, is a Virgin and Child in which the defects common to the thirteenth century are exhibited.

[2] A picture on panel representing S. Benedict in his cave receiving food from S. Romanus, with compartments in which scenes of S. Benedict's life are depicted, is in the abbey of Subiaco and assigned to Conxolus; but it is now totally repainted.

[3] History records the date of this bull, which is of June 24, 1213, but does not vouch for the date of Conxolus' existence. John VI. died in 1217. The painting is in part rubbed away and the figure of Innocent repainted.

[4] Here also the colour is sombre, the outlines marked. In the angel, the flesh tones are yellowish, the shadows green. The form of the latter figure is slender, but it has been altered by retouching.

second represents S. Benedict with saints in the circumjacent space, one of whom only, S. Lawrence, is not modernised.[1] The third is devoted to the Saviour (centre) with SS. Peter, Paul, John, Andrew, and four angels bearing sceptres. The chapel of S. Gregorio, in another part of the Sacro Speco, is enlivened by a representation which, according to an inscription on the wall, is the consecration by Gregory IX. (1227–1241) of two holy personages who stand by, whilst an angel hovering over them seems to address a figure which, from the name on the wall, is the monk Odo. All these paintings, with the exception of the Virgin and Child in the cave of S. Benedict, may be assigned to the close of the twelfth and rise of the thirteenth centuries, a time in which Roman and Byzantine character were confounded in a common degeneracy. They must not be mistaken for paintings of a later date, such as those in the Cappella della Vergine, a S. Gregory dated 1479 by a feeble Italian painter, or for works attributable to "Stammatico Greco pictor. p." whose name is written high up on a pilaster opposite the Scala Santa. Of these paintings, scenes of the Passion and of the life of S. Benedict and his disciples, which may be seen in two vast compositions on the walls and ceilings after entering the church, the Baptism and allegories on the Scala Santa itself possibly betray, by peculiar forms of composition and a third-rate talent, the work of a Greek of the fourteenth century. Nor would it have been necessary to mention these further, were it not desirable to reduce to their just and humble value productions which have recently been placed on a level with those of Cimabue and Giotto.[2]

The Sacro Speco was visited in 1216 by S. Francis, whose self-imposed mendicancy and miracles were at a later period to be illustrated by the greatest painters of Italy. There an attempt was made, apparently by some of the artists employed in the abbey, to paint his portrait on the wall of the chapel in which

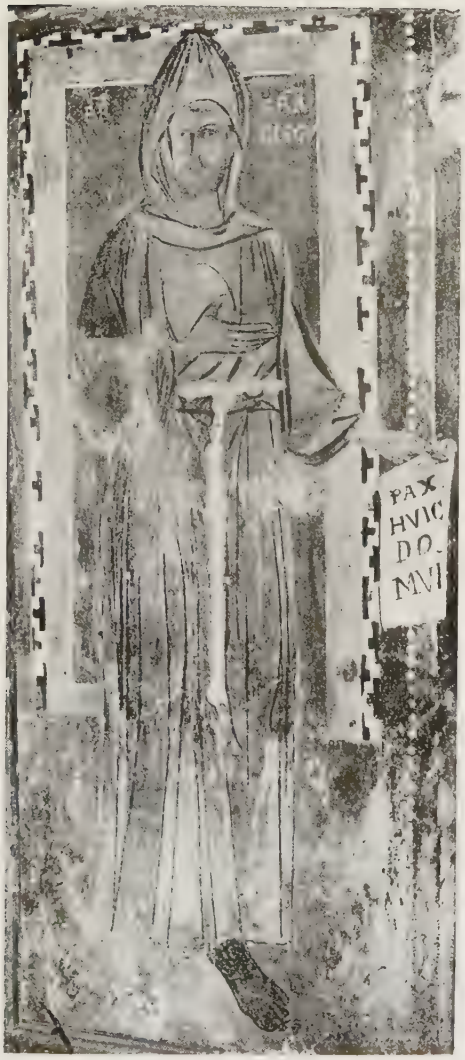
[1] SS. Sylvester, Peter the Deacon, Gregory, Romanus, Maurus, Onoratus, Placidus are repainted.

[2] See a volume published at Rome in 1855, entitled *Imagerie du Sacro Speco*, giving illustrations of the paintings in that edifice with a text. It is pleasing to see old works illustrated and commented. It is folly, however, to try and pass third- for first-rate painters. The writer affirms of Conxolus that he departed from the Byzantine manner before Cimabue, and deserves the more credit. He forgets that Byzantine art was not extended generally to all Italy, and that Conxolus, in common with many painters, followed old methods, whereas Cimabue commenced the reform of Italian art by setting these aside, in a certain measure, or improving them. Stammatico, he compares with Giotto, yet it is evident that this painter laboured after the death of the great Florentine, and has no excuse for being a third-rate painter except the poverty of genius. Again certain paintings in a parlour of the Sacro Speco, which are in the manner of such second-rate artists of the Umbrian school, as Tiberio d'Assisi or Melanzio, are described as the forerunners of Raphael who led the first footsteps of the art of the Revival. Such nonsense deserves and ought to receive the reproof of criticism.

the consecration of Gregory the Great was afterwards represented. Certain it is that on a wall to the right of the entrance to the chapel, stands a life-size figure of a youthful friar in a high conical cowl, the frock and cord of a mendicant, inscribed with the words "Fr. Frãciscũ." Partially restored and retouched, the head may still attract attention by its character. Though lean from abstinence, the features are regular, the brow open, the eyes large, and the nose straight. The tonsure is visible across the forehead and along the temples to the ears, which are not remarkable for smallness. A straggling beard, and a downy upper lip complete a far more pleasing portrait of brother Francis than those which in hundreds, at a later time, were placed in every monastery and convent of the Order. A miniature kneeling figure of a donor at the monk's feet seems to have been added at a later time. It is remarkable that Francis is depicted without the Stigmata, and if it be, as is pretended, a genuine portrait, it must have been executed, if not in 1216, at least before 1228, when the friar was canonised, and perhaps by one who had seen and conversed with him. If considered as a work of art, it differs in no wise from other early pictures in the Sacro Speco.[1] The pious world, however, seems to have cared little for the reality of the portraits of the founder of the Franciscan Order; and in the earliest pictures of him at Assisi and elsewhere, it seemed rather the painter's aim to symbolise asceticism than to reproduce the true features of the saint. It was not till the end of the century that S. Francis became a type, and then it had lost all claim to the name of likeness. In the chapel contiguous to the sacristy of the Convent degli Angeli at Assisi, the standing figure of the saint is painted about half the size of life on the wood of his own pallet, and the fact is vouched for by the following inscription "Hic michi lectus fuit et morienti." [2] These words are written on a book in S. Francis' hand, whilst on the lower border of a carpet which forms the background of the panel, another inscription refers to the impress of the Stigmata. A gold arabesque nimbus surrounds the bare head, a cross in the right hand and an angel on each side with the reed and host

[1] This portrait of Francis, without nimbus, and executed before he received the Stigmata, has been recently restored; and parts, where the colour had entirely fallen off, renewed. The background is all repainted.

[2] [The inscription runs "HIC MICHI VIVENTI LECTUS FUIT ET MORIENTI." The picture is possibly by Giunta Pisano. *Cf.* VENTURI, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 98. See also on this subject Prof. LUIGI CARATTOLI, *Di una Tavola della Primitiva Cassa Mortuaria di S. Francesco* in *Miscellanea Francescana* (Foligno, 1901), vol. i., pp. 45–58, and note 1, p. 73, *infra*.]



S. FRANCIS

From the wall painting at the Sacro Speco, Subiaco.

Alinari.

THE REDEEMER AND SAINTS

From the Mosaic in S. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome

complete the picture. S. Francis is here a round-headed man with a contracted brow, small eyes, a long thin nose, and a mouth indicated by three straight lines. In another portrait in the sacristy of S. Francesco of Assisi the head is again of a different character, bony and lean, and the forehead beyond measure high. The large gazing eyes have a frightened look, and the nose a depression familiar in late Byzantine works. Many more examples might be enumerated here, but as these may be noticed at a future time, when treating of the early schools of Central Italy, they may be omitted for the present, sufficient proof having been given that S. Francis in the pictures of the Middle Ages is a symbol and not a portrait.[1]

Whilst the painters at Subiaco thus followed the example of Rome, those who laboured in the more northern parts of Italy exhibited in the thirteenth century peculiarities of another kind. Numerous monuments on a large scale might be mentioned to prove that painting existed everywhere at a low ebb ; but that in the centre of the Peninsula, as elsewhere, it was subordinate to monumental and sculptural decoration. At Parma, in the first half of the century, painters of no great power adorned the double octagon of the Baptistery with courses of subjects enclosed within spaces framed in feigned sculptural ornament and inscribed with words simulating carving in stone.[2] These painters showed, in the arrangement of the parts and in their subordination to a general presiding idea, an unison of harmony which was not without grandeur, although, taken separately, the figures or groups might not be entitled to admiration. They represented :

In the upper course of the dome the twelve apostles enthroned in ribs of ornament radiating towards the centre of the cupola, with the symbols of the Evangelists in the intermediate spaces; in the second course the Saviour enthroned in the act of benediction, with the Virgin and S. John the Baptist standing at his sides,[3] and numerous prophets in niches ; in the third course, scenes from the life of S. John the Baptist, amongst which one, in particular the Baptism of the Saviour, was represented in a form which was but an amplification of

[1] [There are many of these works up and down Tuscany and Umbria, *e.g.* a remarkable picture at Pisa in a locked room of the Museo Civico. They seem to be rather eikons than portraits; *cf.* Bonghi, *Francesco di Assisi* (Città di Castello, Lapi, 1884), pp. 103–113, and Angelini Rote, *Iconografia Francesca* in *Ordine* (Ancona, 1901), Ann. xlii., n. 228.]

[2] The Baptistery of Parma was commenced in 1196, and only completed in 1281.

[3] The hair of the figure of the Saviour is repainted, as also the head of S. John the Baptist, part of the vestments, nimbi, and background.

that adopted in the catacombs of Rome. The Redeemer was placed in the middle of a running stream, S. John on the right bank imposed a hand on His head, and on the left stood three angels. A miniature figure at the Saviour's feet held a reed shaped into the form of a cross, an obscure and curious addition to the scene, yet repeated in a second Baptism on the wall behind the altar of the Baptistery.[1] Beneath the balcony of the dome the recesses of the arches were likewise painted with scenes from the Old and New Testaments ;[2] and amongst them might be noticed a strange winged figure imperfectly rendering the monster with four heads and innumerable eyes, the car of fire, and the symbols of the Evangelists described in the Vision of Ezekiel, an angel in relief, the six-winged seraphim of Isaiah, and a Franciscan apparently addressing the latter.[3]

Without being free from retouching or in parts from total renewal, the greater portion of these paintings preserves enough of original character for a correct definition of their value. If considered with reference to type, it might be observed that the Saviour in the cupola, of a feeble frame surmounted by a large head, was disfigured by the strangest frontal developments forming curves with the wrinkles of the forehead, and seemed a reminiscence of Ravenna ; whilst the double forelock on the forehead appeared as a Roman peculiarity. The round head of the Virgin with its angular brow, the protuberant root of the nose, the painful expression of the face were but a mixture of old and well-known features. The broken draperies of the Saviour's dress contrasted with the more antique and flowing ones of the prophets, just as His feeble body and large head contrasted with their small faces and square frames. In these prophets, repose ; in other figures, as in the beheading of S. John the Baptist, were violent efforts of action which passed all reasonable bounds. The nude was no better than might be expected from the period ; and the long, thin figures were not without the usual anatomical defects and formlessness of extremities. The execution was rude, the masses of light and shade abrupt, without semitones. The draperies were painted of an uniform colour, streaked with white in the lights, with black in the shadows. Here were the technical methods of Nepi as of S. Angelo in Formis, the vehemence and exaggeration of the Byzantine, and the weighty breadth of the Roman. The painters were evidently striving to

[1] This Baptism is almost obliterated.

[2] Some of these are retouched and others quite modern, as, for instance, the Visitation.

[3] This recess has been much repainted, and the figure of S. Francis with a nimbus seems to have been added later, as here he is supposed to have received the Stigmata.

advance, but without any fixed principles, and falling for that reason into extremes.

Those who may desire to convince themselves of the low state in which inferior artists found themselves, even towards the end of the thirteenth century, may acquire an insight into the common Italo-Byzantine decay of that time, by examining a picture in the Museum at Parma inscribed "Melior pinxit A.D. 1271." They will find in a Saviour in benediction and holding a book, types and forms of the most repulsive kind, combined with curious gold ornamentation and nimbuses stuffed with real stones. The colours which emulate the hues of the snake, are thickly laid on—the outlines heavily marked and defined, and the forms a mere pretence of anatomy. The Virgin and S. Peter, S. John, and S. Paul at the sides, of equally hideous character, and placed in round niches supported on short thick columns, would seem to be Greek, were the inscriptions to be admitted as proving an origin. Yet no one will pretend that Melior is the name of a Greek.

In Florence the tribune annexed (A.D. 1200 [1]) to the Baptistery of S. Giovanni was worked in mosaic by one Jacobus, a friar of the Order of S. Francis in the year 1225.[2]

The mosaic filled the triangular spaces of the vaulted ceiling, the outer frame and the thickness of the arch leading into the tribune. In the ceiling the central medallion, enclosing the Lamb holding a banner, was supported by figures half angel, half caryatide, resting on vases, at the sides of which were two deer. Each of the intermediate spaces contained two figures of prophets,[3] in a fiddle ornament, the whole surrounded by a circular framing supported in the diagonals on the hands of four kneeling figures resting on capitals, whilst on the prolongation of the diameter sat enthroned S. John Evangelist and the Virgin and Child. The frame of the entrance arch was divided by thirteen medallions of the Virgin (centre) and twelve prophets, the archivault by medallions of the Saviour (centre), and twelve apostles. Beneath the capitals at the angles of the ceiling,

[1] Note 3 to VASARI, *Le Vite*, &c. (Flor., Le Monnier, 1846), vol. i., p. 284.

[2] Fra Mariano's chronicle of the Franciscan Order, and Mark of Lisbon, are the first (*annot.* to VASARI, life of Tafi, vol. i., p. 291), to affirm that the mosaist Jacobus, who executed the ornaments of the tribune of the Baptistery, was a native of Torrita, VASARI (vol. i., p. 284) followed them, but this opinion is not supported by records and is founded on a superficial reading of the inscription on the apsis mosaic of S. Gio. in Laterano at Rome. The mosaist there signs himself Jacobus Torrit. ; and historians have jumped to a conclusion from the similarity of the Christian name and profession of Jacobus.

[3] Eight in all: Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Jacob, Isaac, Abraham, all standing.

four scrolls bore, each, two lines of an inscription proclaiming the date and author of the work.[1]

These mosaics may be compared with advantage with those of the adjacent Baptistery executed at a later period by Tuscan artists. It will be observed that the former are not of the Florentine but of the Roman school, and of that peculiar style which characterised the mosaic pictures of S. Clemente[2] and of S. Maria in Trastevere. The mosaics of the tribune of S. Giovanni at Florence were indeed one of the last inspirations of a school based on the imitation of the antique, which had for centuries been peculiar to the great capital of the Popes. The system of diagonal ornamentation recalled, though it had not the lightness of, that which in the first centuries of Christian art had filled the catacombs. A reminiscence of the antique might be traced in the broad forms of the prophets about the medallion of the Lamb, in the movement and massive draperies of the apostles in the archivault.[3] The Virgin and S. John, though not exempt from the defects of form and design noticeable in the apsis of S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Clemente—angularity of contours and coarseness of extremities —were still fairly proportioned. This tribune mosaic was in fact Italian in its types, and, in its general character, far less Byzantine than the works of Cimabue. Here was no superabundance of gilt ornament, no confused arrangement such as that which detracts from the beauty of some productions of Rome ; relief was given by a judicious mass of grey shadow in the flesh tints ; and soberness everywhere prevailed. The name of Jacobus the mosaist of Florence now forces attention back to Rome and to a series of works in S. Giovanni in Laterano and S. Maria Maggiore.

The mosaic of the semidome in S. Giovanni in Laterano appears from its arrangement, which resembles that of S. Stefano Rotondo, to have been an old one, altered and renewed in the pontificate of Nicolas IV., A.D. 1290. Beneath a bust of the Saviour, surrounded by a glory of

[1] Annus papa tibi nonus currebat Honori
Ac Federice tuo quintus monarca decori
Viginti quinque Christi cum mille Ducentis
Tempora currebant per secula cuncta manentis
Hoc opus incepit lux Mai tunc duodena
Quod Domini nostri conservet gratia plena
Sancti Francisci frater fuit hoc operatus
Jacobus in tali pre cunctis arte probatus.

[2] As regards style of figures, not as regards ornamentation.

[3] The head of S. John the Baptist in the archivault is lean, the hair frizzled. Yet the character and type are not Byzantine as in Cimabue.

angels, a large cross, surmounted by the dove and guarded at the base by a seraph between two towers, separates two lines of saints. To the left the Virgin presents the miniature figure of Pope Nicolas IV., by whose side is a small S. Francis and taller figures of SS. Peter and Paul. To the right are S. John the Baptist, a small S. Anthony, S. John Evangelist, and S. Andrew. Deer and other animals surround the base of the cross, under which the four streams well out into a river filled with figures of Cupids in boats. This mosaic is inscribed on the lower border to the left: "JACOBUS TORRIT . . . PICT. HOC OP. FECIT." A critical examination of it may possibly clear some disputed points.

The head of the Saviour, far from being of the inelegant form peculiar to the thirteenth century, has the simple outline of that in S. Costanza, or the apsis of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, with a fine flow of falling hair, a long full beard, and regular features, and a simple nimbus of one line drawn on the blue background bedecked with red clouds. It is a type and form which would have placed Torriti high in the ranks of the Christian imitators of the antique, but which differ essentially from those by the same mosaist in S. Maria Maggiore; nor would it be easy to maintain that the same artist could at one moment produce the Redeemer in the form of the fourth, fifth, or sixth centuries, and at another in that of the thirteenth.[1] Amongst the angels in the glory round the Saviour, one on the extreme right seems to have been renewed by Torriti. The head and mantle of S. Paul, the Virgin, S. John the Baptist, Nicolas IV., S. Francis, and S. Anthony are likewise renewed or introduced by him.[2] It is evident indeed that the three last-mentioned personages are mere excrescences, not fitting the place they occupy, either in accordance with the laws of space, or the distribution of the older parts. As a concluding argument it may be observed that the mosaic bears not the least resemblance to the style of that executed by the monk Jacobus at Florence.

Far different is the character of a mosaic forming a lower course to that of the semidome.

Here, between the windows, and parted asunder by trees, are nine prophets of square frame and broad neck, whose draperies in their cast, whose attitudes in their variety, and whose action in its expressiveness resemble those of the tribune in the Baptistery of Florence. On the lower border to the left is a miniature figure of an old Franciscan with a large compass and rule. On the lower border

[1] The head of the Saviour may have undergone repair, but if so maintains the character described, namely that of the imitation of the antique.

[2] The figure of S. Andrew is quite modern.

to the right is a youthful kneeling figure of a Franciscan with a hammer striking on a board. This latter figure is inscribed "Fr. Jacob. de Camerino soči magri opis recommendat se miĕ Pi et...itis [meritis] beati Johis."[1] There can be little doubt that this mosaic is the work of the old Franciscan with the compass and rule painted on the left, whose name is not inscribed, or, having been inscribed, is lost, and that his assistant is the friar Jacobus de Camerino. In no case can the mosaic be assigned to Jacobus Torriti, whose name is only on the mosaic of the semidome. The old Franciscan may be the same who laboured in the tribune of the Florence Baptistery, but this can only be assumed from the similarity of style between the two mosaics. As to the date of this lower course of mosaics there can evidently be no certainty, but that it preceded the labours of Torriti is probable.

So the absurdity which resulted from making Torriti at Rome the same artist as Jacobus at Florence, a theory which gave the artist a fabulous age, is avoided in a most simple and natural manner.

Jacobus Torriti in his unadulterated character may be studied in the apsis mosaic of S. Maria Maggiore.

Richness of ornament and gaiety of colour are the only claims of this mosaic to the attention of the spectator. The Saviour, closely draped in a gold shot mantle, is of a heavy frame. His large head, enclosed in a mass of rolling hair, is of a round shape. His eyes are large and gazing, His nose depressed, and mouth ill-shaped. The draperies are a maze of folds concealing the figure and movement. The Virgin is a thin, feeble, and large-headed woman. The saints are long, lean, and lame in attitude; the angels better, and not without an intention of action. All these defects are glaring because of the enormous size of the mosaic.

They are less conspicuous in the small compositions which have still something of the traditional antique and a certain animation and nature.[2] Torriti, whose name is inscribed on the left hand border of the semidome, "Jacobus Toriti pictor hoc opus mosaicen fecit," with the date 1295 on the opposite side, is thus an artist of the close of the thirteenth century, who continued to improve

[1] One Giacomo da Camerino is recorded amongst the painters at the Duomo of Orvieto in 1321, by Della Valle, *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto* (fol., Rome, 1791), p. 383, yet here he is not called Fra.

[2] These compositions have points of contact with some assigned to Cavallini.

art in the less important parts of decoration, but who left form and composition to be taken up by other and superior artists.[1]

[1] Vasari having determined that Jacobus the Franciscan, of Florence, was a native of Torrita, and having made of him and of Jacobus Torriti one person, confuses matters still further by affirming that "Fra Jacobus da Torrita was taken from Rome to Pisa, where, with the assistance of Tafi and Gaddo Gaddi, he executed in the Duomo the Evangelists and other works afterwards finished by Vicino" (VASARI, vol. i., p. 285). Vasari here probably confounds his Fra Jacopo with one Turretto, a mosaist, whose name is cited in records published by Ciampi. The mosaics of the Duomo of Pisa were not begun before 1300; as for Vicino, a word of him later. [*Cf.* VENTURI, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 174.]

CHAPTER III

THE COSMATI AND PIETRO CAVALLINI

It is characteristic of Italian historians that their opinions and ideas as to the revival of art are frequently biassed by narrow views and local prejudices. Far more important in their eyes was the claim of some favoured city to the honour of that revival than a true and comprehensive exposition of the extent or peculiarity, the causes which led to it, or the effects which it produced. True of Florence, of Siena, and of Pisa, this general reproach would be unjustly extended to the historians of Roman art, who, on the contrary, have done little to illustrate the names of the Cosmati and their contemporaries.[1] These artists, whose history fills the whole of the thirteenth century, were utterly unknown to Vasari; yet they were not without influence on the general development of Italian sculpture, architecture, and painting. Nay, had not the policy of the Papacy led to a memorable schism, and thus deprived Rome for a time of its influence, it is likely that that capital might have played a considerable part in the history of the revival of art, and that the Cosmati would have been celebrated as the forerunners of a purely Roman school.

At no great distance to the north of Rome lies Cività Castellana, whose cathedral boasts of a respectable antiquity. A fine flight of steps leads up to a porch of fair pretensions, flanked by porticoes. The porch opens on to the chief portal by a broad arch resting on pilasters and crowned with an entablature and balcony. The portal is a series of entering pilasters and columns, above the architrave of which is a recess with a fan window. The arched border of this recess, as well as the pilasters, friezes, and wall are worked in mosaic. In the key of the border is the Lamb, on the

[1] The Cosmati have been noticed by Agincourt, by Cicognara, and by Della Valle. The latter (*Stor. del Duomo di Orvieto, ubi sup.*, p. 264) states that he treated of this artistic family in an academic oration at Rome in 1788, but this oration seems to have remained unpublished, Rumohr (*Forschungen, ubi sup.*, vol. i., pp. 270–71), devotes a few lines to them. The merits of the Cosmati were best understood by Karl Witte of Breslau, by whom an interesting paper appeared in the *Kunstblatt* (Stuttgardt and Tübingen, series of the year 1825), beginning at No. 41.

pilasters, the symbols of the Evangelists.[1] The following inscription on the architrave reveals the name of the author :

LAURENTIUS CUM JACOBO, FILIO SUO, MAGISTRI
DOCTISSIMI ROMANI HOC OPUS FECERUNT.[2]

Two lateral doors flank the chief portal, and in the lunette of that to the right is a bust figure in mosaic of the Saviour, with a cruciform jewelled nimbus, holding a book and stretching out His right hand in the act of benediction. A natural movement and fair contours mark the figure, which has none of the usual grimness or vehemence. The oval head, enclosed by hair falling in a triple wave behind the shoulders, has at least an expression of repose. The chin, broad and bare, is fringed with a short beard, the nose is straight, the mouth small and the eyes without stare. A red tunic with gold borders and jewelled blue cuffs, a gold mantle, complete the dress, which is shadowless and flat but fairly lined. The yellowish flesh tints tend to red on the cheeks, and are outlined with red in the lights and black in the shadows. On the architrave below this gay and not unpleasant mosaic are the words :

MA . . . JACO-
BUS M. FECIT, † RAINERIUS PETRI RODULPHI FIERI FECIT.

This mosaic is doubtless executed by Jacobus the son of Laurentius. On the frieze below the cornice of the portico is the following inscription :

MAGISTER J . . . . OBUS, CIVIS ROMANUS CUM
. . . . . SMA FILI . . J . . . U . . . . ANIS OHC
OPUS ANNO DÑI MCCX. . . . . "

This mutilated inscription with its imperfect date,[3] already points to the family of the Cosmati, who appear as "doctissimi

[1] The architecture of Città Castellana is purely Roman without a trace of Gothic.

[2] These two artists worked also at the old church of Falleri, three miles from Città Castellana, where, according to Karl Witte (*Kunstblatt, ubi sup.*, 1825, No. 41), is the following inscription :

† Laurentius cum † hoc opus
Jacobo filio suo Quinta vatt.
fecit hoc opus. fieri fecit.

[3] Rumohr assumes the date of 1210 (*Forschungen, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 270), and promises the inscription, which he afterwards omits. The date is shortened by the loss of some of the numbers. It is possible that the mosaics inside the porch and about the chief portal may be earlier than others signed by Jacobus alone. The date of 1210 would ill suit the latter, who lives till the close of the century. Karl Witte falls into a similar error.

Romani,"—mosaists and architects in the first half of the thirteenth century. The extent of their practice is proved by numerous monuments. Agincourt, Rumohr, and Karl Witte had already, in the last century, noticed the inscriptions at Città Castellana. They noted the name of Laurentius and his son Lucas on the dwarf arch of a cloister in S. Scolastica at Subiaco,[1] and on a cornice of the ruined church of S. Alessio at Rome inscribed:

† JACOBUS, LAURENTII FECIT HAS DECEM ET
NOVEM COLUMPNAS CUM CAPITELLIS SUIS.[2]

Their family name of Cosmati is more certainly proved by works in the cathedral of Anagni, on the stone pavement of which the following inscription may be read:

† DOMINUS ALBERTUS VENERABILIS ANAGNĒN EP̃S FECIT HOC FIERI PAVIMENTUM PI. COSTRUENDO MAGISTER RAINALDUS ANAGNINUS CANONICUS DN̄I HONORII III. P. P. SUBDIACŌN ET CAPPELLAÑ C. OBOLOS AUREOS EROGAVIT. MAGIST. COSMAS HOC OPUS FECIT.

On the pediment of the altar of the lower basilica, erected A.D. 1227–41 in the time of Gregory IX., is also the following:

MAGISTER COSMAS CIVIS ROMANUS CUM
FILIIS SUIS LUCA ET JACOBO FECIT.[3]

Of Laurentius and Luca Cosmati the historian now takes leave, as their names cease to appear on monuments, but Jacobus seems during a long career to have followed his father's profession with success.

The Villa Mattei at Rome, whose grounds on the Celian Hill are visited by tourists for the splendour of its views, was, in the thirteenth century, a hospital for the redemption of slaves.[4] An

[1] According to AGINCOURT as follows: "COSMAS ET FIL. LUC. IA. ALT. ROMANI CIVES IN MARMORIS ARTE PERITI. HOC OPUS EXPLERUNT ABATIS TPE. LAUDI" (*Kunstblatt*, year 1825, *ubi sup.*, No. 41). According to MS. records, says Witte, this inscription should bear the date, 1235. Ibid.

[2] These columns were inlaid with mosaics in the style peculiar to the Cosmati at Città Castellana, and to the tombs which shall be noticed.

[3] On the wall of the same edifice, according to Karl Witte, was the following: "ANNO DN̄I MCCXXX I XI DIE EXEUNTE APRILI, PONT. DN̄I GG. VIIII., P. P. ANN. EJ. V VEN. ALBERTO EPŌ, RESIDENTE I., ECC. ANAG. P. MAN. MAGR̃E, COSME CIVIS ROMANI FUIT AMOTUM ALTARE GLORIOSISSIMI MART. PRESULIS MAGNI INFRA QUOD FUIT INVENTUM I Q̃DAM PILO MARMOREO RUDI PRETIOSUM CORP. IPS. MART. Q. ET. MAJI SEQNTIS TOTI P. P. PUBLICE OSTENSO EODEM DIE CUM YM̃PNIS ET LAUDIB. IN EODEM PILO SUB ALTARI HOC ORATORIO IN IPSIUS HONOREM CONDITO FUNDITUS ET RECONDITUM CUM HONORE."

[4] Called by DELLA VALLE (*Stor. del Duomo di Orvieto*, p. 264), S. Tommaso in Formis.

arched recess above the portal contains a medallion mosaic representing on a large scale the "signum ordinis Sanctæ Trinitatis et Captivorum." In the centre of this medallion, on gold ground, the Saviour sits enthroned, extending His hands to a white and black captive standing bound on each side of Him.

The space is well distributed, the colour harmonious and gay. The Saviour, feeble of body and large of head, has a melancholy expression. The broad round forehead, pendent forelock, pointed chin, and beard divided like the tail of a drake, the almond-shaped eyes, do not combine to form a pleasing type; but doubtless its original character is much impaired by restoring. The yellow flesh tints, verging into red semitones and green shadows, fairly render the idea of relief. The outlines are red in light and dark in shadow, the draperies marked out with lines without shadow. The captives, nude with the exception of the cloths on their waists, are square of frame with defective extremities.[1] The following inscription is engraved on the arch of the portal:

MAGISTER JACOBUS, CUM FILIO SUO COSMATO
FECIT HOC OPUS.

If not as fair as the Saviour at Cività Castellana, this much restored one of the Villa Mattei is still by the same hand, and confirms the belief that Jacobus the son of Laurentius is the same who now appears in his turn assisted by the Cosmatus his son. Nor is it too much to assume that the architecture, which is of the Roman style, and the mosaic are the joint production of both.

The graceful chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum, probably by Jacobus and inscribed on the left-hand pilaster of the entrance with the words "MAGISTER COSMATUS FECIT HOC OPUS,"[2] is of a simple and light architecture which does honour to the family.

The vault is supported on four slender pillars, and the light streams in from a range of trefoil windows resting on twisted columns. The groined ceiling is painted with the symbols of the Evangelists, and the faces of the arches with subjects from the lives of SS. Peter, Paul, Stephen, Lawrence, Agnes, and Nicholas; but these are all so completely restored as to defy criticism.

Coincidence of style with the mosaics of Cività Castellana and the Villa Mattei may justify the attribution to Jacobus Cosmatus

[1] There is much restoring in all these figures, but particularly in the nude of the slaves, and in the background. The white captive bears a cross apparently to distinguish him from his fellow of another colour and religion.

[2] The Sancta Sanctorum at Rome was rebuilt in the pontificate of Nicolas III., A.D. 1277–1281.

or his son Giovanni, of a Virgin and Child in benediction, with the half figure of an angel at each side, in a lunette above the lateral door leading from the Capitol to the church of Araceli. The Virgin expresses in her attitude dignity and repose, but the group loses in balance on account of the small size of the Saviour. The violet drapery which covers the Virgin's head and shoulders is of easy folds, but flatly lined out, as in the Saviour of the Villa Mattei. The head itself is large and broad of cheek, the nose a little bent, the eyes round without stare, and the mouth small. The hands are regular and the fingers pointed; and a fair division of light and shade gives a certain relief to the flesh. The Saviour, though defective in type, is draped in the elastic folds of a red tunic shot with gold. The angels, discoloured and in part restored, are also in shot vestments. The outlines are everywhere precise and clear.

The mosaics of Cività Castellana and of the Villa Mattei already exhibited the Roman school in its purely Italian characteristics. The former showed an improvement upon those, for instance, of S. Clemente, and the existence of that Italo-Roman school which began at S. Maria in Cosmedin, and might be traced upwards to the thirteenth century. The Saviour of Cività Castellana was of that natural and regular form which already marked the figures at S. Urbano alla Caffarella, and even disclosed a link by which to confine within the Roman school the tribune mosaics of S. Giovanni of Florence. The mosaic of the Virgin and Child at Araceli was, on the other hand, apparently executed at a time when the influence of Giotto in transforming the old schools was felt, when Byzantine-Italian style became more Italian, and when types were remodelled on a more ideal Christian form. Nor was it strange that Jacobus Cosmatus should follow the impulse of changes which had already affected the schools of Florence and Pisa, and which could not but be felt at Rome when Arnolfo visited the capital in 1285; the more as, between 1290 and 1300, Jacobus himself left Rome for Orvieto,[1] and was employed there as an architect with Ramo di Paganello, of whom a contemporary record says: "*Est de bonis intaliatoribus et scultoribus de mundo*."[2] and numerous architects and painters besides.

Amongst the monuments which bear characteristic features

[1] Della Valle, *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto*, p. 264, cites the original record without giving its text, and without fixing exactly the year.

[2] Ramo di Paganello was capo-maestro del opera at Orvieto in 1290–1300. Della Valle, *Stor. del Do. d. Orv.*, also *Lettere Sanese* of the same (Rome, fol., 1785), vol. ii., p. 19.

of resemblance with the architectural style developed by the Cosmati family is that of Cardinal Anchera, now transferred to the Cappella del Crocifisso near the high altar of the church of S. Prassede. The cardinal's extended frame lies on a slab, resting on a tomb, whose cornice is supported on slight pillars adorned with mosaics. The cloth, which seems to fall over the sides of the slab, is adorned with the star and lily. Cardinal Anchera died in 1286, and the tomb bears that date.[1] Another monument of somewhat different character but of the thirteenth century, is that of the Savelli in the chapel of that family at Araceli. It is based on an old sarcophagus filled with bacchic ornaments, and is crowned by an edicule, on the summit of which is the statue of the Virgin holding the infant Saviour. Mosaics are let into the columns as in other monuments of the time of the Cosmati, yet this tomb is assigned to the Sienese Agostino and Agnolo, who are supposed to have executed it from the drawings of Giotto.[2]

Of Johannes Cosma, who may not unnaturally be considered the son of Jacobus, monuments have been preserved, which reveal in him an universal talent for mosaic, architecture, and sculpture. The tomb of Cardinal Gonsalvo in S. Maria Maggiore is inscribed:

HIC DEPOSITUS FUIT QUONDÃ DÑS GUNSALVUS EP̃S
ALBANEÑ. ANN. DÑI MCCLXXXXVIIII HOC OP. FEC.
JOHẽS MAGR̃I COSME CIVIS ROMANUS.

The recumbent statue of the Cardinal lies in episcopals on a slab, whilst two angels standing at the sides seem reverently to disclose his person by lifting the folds of a winding sheet. A cloth hangs over the tomb, which is worked in mosaic; and a trefoil niche con-

[1] With the following inscription:

QUI LEGIS ANCHERUM DURO SUB MARMORE CLAUDI
SINESCIS ALDIS QUEM NECE PERDIS HERUM
CRECA PARIT PUERUM LAUDUNUM DAT SIBI CLERUS,
CARDINE PRAXEDIS TITULATUR ET ISTIUS ÆDES DEFUIT IN SELIS.
LARGUS FUIT: ATQUE FIDELIS:
DEMONIS A TELIS SERVA DEUS HUNC CÆPE CŒLIS
ANNO MILLENO CENTUM BIS ET OCTUAGENO SEXTO
DECESSIT HIC PRIMA LUCE NOVEMBRIS.

[2] A manifest error, if dates and style be considered. The tomb contains the bodies of Luca Savelli, father of Honorius IV., who died 1266, and other members of the family. The latest date on the tomb is 1306. There is some resemblance between the tomb of Cardinal Anchera described in the text and that of Boniface VIII. (1294–1303) in the west transept of the Nuove Grotte in the basilica of S. Pietro at Rome, a tomb which Vasari, in the Giuntina edition, assigns to Arnolfo, saying that it is inscribed with his name. Cicognara gives an engraving of it (vol. i., plate 22), adding in the text that the name of Arnolfo was not to be found there, and that the tomb is in the style of the Cosmati. [*Cf.* L. Fumi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri* (Roma, 1891), and L. Douglas, in *Architectural Review*, June, 1903.]

tains a mosaic of the Virgin enthroned, holding the infant Saviour and supported on each side by the standing figures of S. Martin and S. Matthew. A certain readiness of movement and nature in the attitudes reveal the progress of art in the family of the Cosmati. More it would be idle to say, considering the very great damage produced by restoring.[1]

But Johannes Cosma yielded the most convincing proof that the impulse given to art by Giotto [2] was not lost upon him when he executed the tomb of Guillaume Durand, Bishop of Mende, at S. Maria Sopra Minerva, a monument in which earnestness of purpose and judicious balance of parts were combined with progress in the rendering of form.

The bishop was represented at full length on the slab of a tomb covered with an embroidered cloth, whilst two winged angels, firmly standing at each extremity, raised a curtain. In the recess formed by an arch supported on inlaid pillars, the Virgin sat enthroned in a vast chair, holding the infant Saviour in the act of blessing, between a saint in episcopals and the bending form of S. Dominic.[3] This group was executed in mosaic, now half restored in stucco and repainted, and the arch forming the recess, the scutcheons on the front of the tomb were, like the pillars, similarly adorned. The figure of Durand, evidently a portrait, was broadly chiselled with well marked planes of features. The angels were of that form and proportion which Giotto had already introduced, though still of the old style in the imperfection of the features. The draperies were, for the time and place, a remarkable instance of progress. In the mosaic, the stature of the personages was fair and well-proportioned. A large head on a thin neck—a melancholy expression in the almond-shaped eye, might be noticed in the Virgin. There lingered something still of the old Roman forms of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[4] The nose was depressed and somewhat masculine, but the hands were more than usually neat and long-fingered. The infant Saviour was well-proportioned, and the saints pleasing by their natural air of humility.[5] The group was indeed as remarkable for a certain expression of religion and piety as for the absence of that grimness which

[1] Agincourt (vol. ii., text, p. 51, note *a*) sees the hand of Arnolfo in the sculpture of this monument and that of Johannes Cosma in the architecture, but what of the mosaic ?

[2] Giotto had been at Rome between 1298 and 1300. [Compare with this tomb that of the Cardinal Gonsalvo in S. Maria Maggiore. Durand died in 1296, and though Giotto may have influenced Roman artists about this time, it seems unlikely, for he was only twenty-three years old.]

[3] Behind each of the side figures a candelabra.

[4] For instance, those beginning at S. Urbano alla Caffarella.

[5] The figure of the bishop is long, with a certain antique feeling in the form of the features.

had so long characterised the Italo-Byzantine manner.[1] On the base of the tomb were the words :

HOC EST SEPULCRUM DN̄I GULIELMI DURĀTI ĒPI MIMATENSIS ORD. PRED . . . . REDIIT DOMINI SUB MILLE TRECENTIS QUATUOR AMOTIS ANNIS.
JŌHS̄ FILIUS MAGRI COSMATI FEC. HOC OPUS.[2]

In the year 1304, the tomb of Cardinal Matteo d'Acqua Sparta was erected in the left transept of Araceli. It was conceived and carried out on the same principle as that of Durand, but adorned in the recess with painting instead of mosaic.

On the slab, as usual, the bishop in episcopals, with angels raising the curtain; in the recess, the Virgin and Child enthroned, S. Francis presenting the kneeling figure of the deceased, and S. John Evangelist; on the key of the arch of the recess, a painted bust of the Saviour in benediction, and on the arch and pillars mosaic patterns.

The architecture and ornament were but a repetition of those of the Cosmati, who, if this monument be assigned to them, as it may without presumption, thus appear as a family uniting to the profession of architects, mosaists, and sculptors that of the painter.

The most interesting works, however, of the school of the Cosmati are the mosaics which cover the lower part of the tribune and arch of the tribune in Santa Maria in Trastevere.

On the sides of the arch are the Birth and the Death of the Virgin. In the tribune itself the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation in the Temple. These compositions, conceived in the old forms which had been religiously preserved from former times, were equally remarkable for balance in the distribution of the masses, for the truth and animation given by the artist to his figures, and for his fair attainments in design and colour. If not entirely free from exaggerated action, he knew at times how to temper the agitation of one figure by the comparative repose of another. In the Birth of the Virgin, well-balanced groups might be parti-

[1] The whole of the lower part of the mosaic, including almost the whole of the kneeling bishop, the draperies of the Virgin from the knees downwards, is restored with painted stucco. There is quite a family likeness between this monument and that of Cardinal Anchera at S. Prassede.

[2] In a corner is the following: "CAMILLUS CECCARINI RESTAUR. FECIT ANNO 1817."

VAN DER HAGEN, in *Briefe, &c.*, gives the following inscription on a tomb in S. Balbina at Rome:

"† JOHĒS FILIUS MAGĪ COSMATI FECIT HOC OPUS . . . HIC JACET . . . DOMIN. STEPHAN D. SURD. DN̄I P. P. CAPELLAN."—*Kunstblatt*, 1825, No. 41.

cularly noticed.[1] S. Anna might be seen in a fine attitude attended by two servants with a jug and basin, in graceful attitudes; and this incident, which in the pose of the Virgin recalled the antique, was kept in judicious equilibrium by another in the foreground, representing a female with the infant Virgin on her knees, stooping to feel the temperature of the water in a pan which another figure was filling. The forms of the infant were natural and regular, and the figures significant in their action. The Nativity was equally well distributed, the Virgin still in the old action and shape, but the angels not without elegance. In the Death of the Virgin, the subject was animated in movement, whilst in the Annunciation, and Adoration of the Magi, the types and attitudes were still reminiscent of the Italo-Byzantine manner in their exaggerated character, and revealed the struggle of a new element in art with old and worn-out forms. The figures were generally somewhat slender. In colour these mosaics were harmonious, and had, so to speak, the nature of painting, as if it were of little moment to the artist in what material he laboured. The execution was conscientious, the drawing fairly accurate, the draperies good, the masses of light and shade well defined. S. Maria in Trastevere was in fact to the Cosmati what Assisi is to Giotto.

In the spaces beneath the foregoing subjects at S. Maria in Trastevere is a mosaic representing the bust of the Virgin and Child in a prismatic medallion.

The Saviour looks down towards a kneeling figure of Bertoldo Stefaneschi presented by S. Peter, whilst S. Paul looks on at the opposite side.[2] In front of Bertoldo are his scutcheon and the words repainted in oil "Bartolus filius Pet . . . ." The Virgin may be said to represent, in her features and draperies, the perfection of the manner of the Cosmati. The features of the Saviour and the folds of His red mantle, touched in gold, are fine. The figures of S. Peter and S. Paul, both long and slender and of noble mien, are finely draped, individual in character, and modelled in good relief, with broad masses of light and shade.

Here the Byzantine style had disappeared and made room for the improved one of Giotto. Life and individuality had succeeded to the defects of earlier times. Giotto had evidently shed his influence on the artist; and if it be true that the upper scenes of

[1] See the same composition in the Menologio. Miniature of the Vatican, No. 1613.

[2] These saints are of traditional types. They stand in a meadow, the rest of the background being gold. The feet of S. Paul, the left foot of S. Peter, and part of the kneeling figure are repainted. S. Paul wears a blue tunic and purple mantle, S. Peter a blue tunic. Part of the flowers in the foreground and of the inscription are repainted.

the life of the Virgin were commissioned by Bertoldo Stefaneschi in 1290, he must have ordered the votive mosaic at the very close of the century. Vasari affirms that Pietro Cavallini is the author of the mosaics in the tribune of S. Maria in Trastevere. His assertion may be accepted. It places the master high in the ranks of the painters of his time as one preserving the style of the Cosmati and of the Roman school.

So far it has been necessary to proceed to trace the passage of the manner of the Cosmati into that of Cavallini.[1]

The birth of Pietro Cavallini has not been recorded, but Vasari pretends that it occurred when Giotto "had given life to Italian painting,"[2] a very general and unsatisfactory assertion. That he was an artist of talent, and perhaps extensively employed at Rome when Giotto visited the capital; that his training was under the Cosmati, and that he did not disdain to acknowledge the superiority of the great Florentine, may be assumed from the character of the works that can be assigned to him.[3] That he visited many parts of central Italy is stated by Vasari, who has not been confirmed hitherto by records. There is, however, a certainty that Cavallini was in 1308 in the service of Robert of Naples, at a high salary, and it is only to be regretted that no trace of pictorial productions due to him can now be found in the

[1] Before taking leave of the former, it may be proper to assign to them in their architectural capacity a fine Roman porch, with a square front of white marble, erected by one of the Gaetani family as entrance to an hospital, but now serving as ingress to the church of S. Antonio Abate at Rome. In style like the porch of Cività Castellana cathedral and the gate of the Villa Mattei, this example of the architecture of the thirteenth century is worthy of the talent of Jacobus Cosma. Inscribed:

"DÑS PETRUS CA . . . ÕC CARD. MANDAVIT CÕSTRUI HOSPITALE LOCO ISSTO [*sic*] ET DÑI . . . O TUSCŨL. EP̃S ET I GAETAN, CARD. EXECUTORES ET FIERI FECERUNT PA . . . CE DÑI PET. CAP CC.

The Cosmati family is said to have had a descendant—Deodato or Adeodato, to whom a marble tabernacle in S. Maria in Cosmedin is assigned, and of whom it is likewise said that he laboured in Santa Maria Maggiore, but no record exists that connects this Deodato with the name of Cosma. See note in comment. to Proemio of VASARI'S *Lives*, vol. i., p. 213. The only trace of a Cosmatus at S. M. Maggiore is the name of Johannes on the tomb of Cardinal Gonsalvo. The words "MAGISTER DEODATUS FECIT HOC OPUS" are noted by CIAMPINI, *Vett. Mon.*, tom. i., p. 181, on a tabernacle of 1290 in S. M. in Campitelli at Rome.

[2] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 81.

[3] [Pietro Cavallini's frescoes discovered lately at S. Cecilia in Trastevere were unknown to Crowe and Cavalcaselle. Had they seen these admirable works, they would doubtless have seen also less of Tuscan than of classic influence there. Not Tuscan realism, but a true antique convention manifests itself in those wonderful frescoes. Ghiberti speaks of Cavallini as *Primo fra gl'altri maestri*. *Cf.* C. FREY, *Vita di L. Ghiberti . . . con i commentari di L. G.* (Berlin, 1886), p. 38.]

southern capital.[1] As to his works elsewhere, it will be necessary in some cases to resign them to their real authors, men, as will appear, of little talent or pretensions; in others, to admit the propriety of Vasari's judgment. Cavallini appears with truth to be considered as the author of a mosaic in S. Crisogono at Rome, representing, on a large scale, the Virgin enthroned with the Infant in the act of benediction, supported by S. James holding a book, and S. Crisogono in a warrior's dress grasping a sword.[2] A slightly Byzantine character, more noticeable than at Santa Maria in Trastevere, would place this mosaic amongst the earlier works of the master.

The Virgin, of a majestic presence, still displays, in unfavourable contrast, feeble lower parts and overweight of head. Her eyes are somewhat large and open. The Child's head is regular and its attitude natural. The figures generally are long, but well draped and the colour pleasant.

Of the paintings in this church assigned to Cavallini by Vasari not a trace remains, but there are still vestiges of frescoes in the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere, which, though damaged by time, are in the style of the mosaics of the tribune.

Above a door, to the right as one enters, is a half figure of the Virgin

[1] See the original document in H. W. Schulz, *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters* (4to, Dresden, 1860), vol. iv., p. 127. He is described as receiving thirty ounces of gold per annum, with two ounces in addition for lodging.

[The mosaic in S. Crisogono does not seem to be from the hand of Pietro Cavallini. One seems to find there the influence of the art of Giotto in the work of a poorer master than Pietro Cavallini, who is seen at his best only in the lately discovered frescoes in S. Cecilia in Trastevere. Vasari tells us that he painted many frescoes there, and Ghiberti saw them and wrote that the church was painted *tutto di sua mano*. The paintings discovered were in the Coro delle Monache, covering three sides of it. There we see the Last Judgment, Christ on a throne crusted with precious stones, in a purple of mandola, His arms open, welcoming the blessed and dismissing the damned. About the mandola are angels, cherubim, and seraphim with wings of flame. On the right is the Blessed Virgin, on the left S. John Baptist begging for mercy on the world, beside them stand the Apostles. Four angels announce the Judgment with trumpets, and close by SS. Stefano and Lorenzo wait.

On the left side of the Coro is a fragment of a colossal S. Christopher and then an Annunciation. On the right side are certain biblical stories almost obliterated. In all this no Tuscan influence is felt, but rather a classical. *Cf.* Hermanin, *La Gallerie Italiane* (1902), and Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. v., pp. 147–151.]

[2] In the tribune of the transept behind the altar. The paintings assigned to Cavallini in S. Crisogono (Vas., vol. ii., p. 81) no longer exist. The frescoes in Araceli are likewise gone (ibid., p. 82), and the same fate has attended the frescoes at S. Cecilia in Trastevere and S. Francesco appresso Ripa (ibid., vol. ii., p. 82).

with the infant Saviour holding the orb in the act of benediction.[1] This group is inferior to the mosaics in design; and whilst the large head and slender neck, the defective hands of the Virgin betray a certain feebleness, the marked outlines and angular draperies, and the absence of relief by shadow, prove that Cavallini was a better mosaist than painter.[2] Another Virgin, with a small and puny Saviour in her arms, a little less defective than the foregoing, but much repainted, may be noticed near the chief portal.[3] It makes a nearer approach in character to the apsis mosaics. In the portico outside are two frescoes, one of which represents the Annunciation with a figure of a prophet, the second depicts the same subject with the addition of the Eternal sending to the Virgin the Infant carrying a cross.[4]

Cavallini here appears as a follower of the Roman school, from which he evidently sprung, yet as an artist whose power had reached its full development. It must indeed have been fortunate for Giotto that, on his arrival, he should find such a man ready to assist him and to admit the superiority of his genius. It was but natural, then, that Cavallini, having helped Giotto in the mosaics of the basilica of S. Pietro,[5] should insensibly adopt something of his style. So when Vasari states that Cavallini was the disciple of Giotto, and later "that he mixed the Greek manner with that of Giotto,"[6] he only confirms the impression created by the works of a master who, after having been educated in the old Roman school, adopted, at least in his mosaics, something of the Florentine manner. But Cavallini went still further, and in adorning the arches in S. Paolo fuori le Mura, he was content to carry out the designs of Giotto even after that master had left Rome.

On the arch of the tribune, whose mosaics of the thirteenth century have been described, the Virgin and Child enthroned and guarded by

[1] The head of the infant Saviour is not without nature. The general tone of the flesh tints is yellowish, and the outlines marked with a deep red colour.

[2] [It must be remembered that Crowe and Cavalcaselle had not seen the recently discovered work in S. Cecilia in Trastevere spoken of above.]

[3] The draperies are almost all repainted. [Quite spoiled now.]

[4] These two Annunciations are likewise almost entirely overpainted, the last, however, more than the first.

[5] Vas., vol. ii., pp. 81, 82. These mosaics have disappeared.

[6] Vas., vol. ii., p. 82. [What Vasari calls the "Greek manner" may well have been the unmistakable classical influence in Cavallini's work. That Cavallini was Giotto's assistant seems almost unthinkable. Great as was Giotto's genius, we are slow to believe that he, then three- or four-and-twenty, became the master of the greatest painter then living in Italy. There is no evidence for it at all beyond the stories of the Aretine. All that Crowe and Cavalcaselle here say of Cavallini is said in ignorance of the work at S. Cecilia in Trastevere.]

two angels was represented also in mosaic with the symbol of S. John Evangelist above her, and on the opposite side Pope Benedict XI. in prayer (A.D. 1303–1305), presented by S. John the Baptist, with the symbol of S. Mark the Evangelist above him. The medallion in the centre of the arch of triumph, representing the Saviour in benediction with the book, was held aloft by two Giottesque angels in fine attitudes; the symbols of the Evangelists Luke and Matthew being depicted at each side in the more modern Florentine manner. The figures of SS. Benedict and John the Baptist, as well as that of the Saviour in the medallion of the arch of triumph, are modernised; but the rest of the mosaic shows that in 1305, but a few years after the departure of Giotto from Rome, an artist, probably Cavallini, was found willing and able to carry out designs not his own.[1]

Had Vasari said that Cavallini painted the apsis of S. Giorgio in Velabro, the subject of which was the Saviour sitting on the orb of the world, with the Virgin, SS. George, Peter, and Sebastian at His sides, he would not have been far from the truth. This work indeed seems but a repetition of a mosaic previously there, yet the execution betrays something of the Giottesque manner, whilst the types and slender forms of the saints about the Saviour are reminiscent of the mosaics of Santa Maria in Trastevere. This much injured and restored painting, ordered by Cardinal Gaetano Stefaneschi after 1295, is, however, assigned to Giotto himself.

Vasari brings Cavallini to Florence, and assigns to him the Annunciation, a fresco in the church of San Marco.[2] Yet the Annunciation of S. Marco is very different in character from the paintings and mosaics of Rome.

The Virgin sits at the right of an interior on a cushioned bench. Before her is the bending figure of the angel, with a vase of lilies in front and traces of a kneeling person behind him. Above was no doubt the Eternal sending the Dove of the Holy Ghost, whose ray alone may now be seen illuminating the Virgin's forehead.

[1] According to Vasari, Cavallini executed the mosaics of the front and nave of S. Paolo, which perished in the fire of 1823. VASARI, vol. ii., p. 82. [The above mosaics, if they are indeed Cavallini's, have been so much restored as to be no longer his work; but what evidence is there for ascribing them to him?]

[2] VAS., vol. ii., p. 82. Other works given to Cavallini at S. Marco, the portrait of Urban V. with SS. Peter and Paul, were whitewashed in the time of Vasari. Ibid., p. 83. [Vasari did not know Cavallini's work from any other; yet when he tells us that Cavallini was the assistant of Giotto, and that he, a great master, carried out the designs of a young man beginning his career, we accept his word! Charming writer as he is, we should not perhaps demand accuracy of him.]

This much damaged and repainted fresco might have been executed by a painter of the fourteenth century. The movement may even be said to display something in the intention that recalls Angelico, though the work is possibly of an earlier period. The stature and forms of the figures are not without elegance; but the half-closed eyes, the small mouth and chin, and the absence of all feeling betray a very inferior artist.[1] The miraculous Annunciation of the SS. Annunziata at the Servi of Florence is a repetition of the fresco of S. Mark and seldom visible to profane eyes.[2] Hence the absence of an opinion upon it may be pardoned. A third Annunciation at S. Basilio, which doubtless perished in the demolition of that church (A.D. 1785), completes the series of paintings at Florence to which Vasari alludes.[3] Continuing his journey through Italy, adds Vasari, Cavallini painted in the north transept of the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi a Crucifixion and other incidents of the Passion of the Saviour. These are still in existence, but the biographer seems to have confounded Pietro Cavallini with Pietro Lorenzetti. The character of the painting is not Giottesque, either in distribution or in composition, or in character, type, drawing, drapery, ornament, or colour. It is Sienese, and of the school of the Lorenzetti. Nor is it possible, in all the subjects that have been enumerated, to trace any variety of hand. The school of Giotto is sufficiently represented at S. Francesco of Assisi to render all mistake impossible. Were there any trace of the Giottesque in the paintings assigned to Cavallini, it might be granted that Vasari was right. Cavallini, who was great, especially when he followed the designs of Giotto, and who revealed his Roman education when he had not Giotto for a guide, cannot be the author of paintings which bear the unmistakable stamp of the school of Siena; and Vasari, by assigning them to him, simply contradicts his own description of the style of Cavallini. But that Vasari put the materials of this life together at haphazard is sufficiently proved at Orvieto, where he assigns to Cavallini the frescoes in the chapel

[1] Not the slightest resemblance can be traced in this Annunciation to those in the church of S. Maria in Trastevere at Rome.

[2] VAS., vol. ii., p. 85. See also in RICHA, *Chiese Fiorentine* (fol; Flor., 1754), vol. viii., p. 89, a chapter on this Annunciation with a supposed criticism by Michael Angelo. The tradition at Florence was that the Virgin's face was painted by an angel.

[3] RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. i., p. 292, quotes Baldinucci, who assigns to Pietro Cavallini a fourth Annunciation preserved in the church in Orbatello at Florence. VAS., vol. ii., p. 83–4. He adds, the altarpiece bears the date of 1485, which destroys the whole theory of Baldinucci. Yet it is probable that the date is that of the ornamental frame, not of the picture.

del SS. Corporale,[1] paintings of a third-rate order, signed by their author, Ugolino di Prete Ilario. That Cavallini was a successful sculptor need excite no surprise, were it proved that he executed any works of that kind. The examples of the Cosmati were near at hand and numerous at Rome, but the wooden Saviour on the Crucifix in S. Paolo fuori le Mura (Chapel del Crocifisso) [2] is of that colossal and developed anatomy which betrays the age of Donatello more than that of Cavallini.[3]

Vasari, uncertain as to the period in which Cavallini lived, says : " His works were about the year 1364, and he was buried in S. Paul at Rome." [4] He gives an epitaph which seems as much entitled to credit as that celebrated one in which Archbishop Turpin consecrates the church of SS. Apostoli at Florence in the presence of Roland and Oliver.[5]

The only disciple of Cavallini, according to Vasari, is one Giovanni da Pistoia. Such an artist existed in the fourteenth century at Pistoia, and a few lines may be devoted to him at the proper time.

[1] Vas., vol. ii., p. 84. [2] Ibid., p. 85.

[3] This Crucifix is, according to Pistolesi (*annot.* to Vas., p. 84, vol. ii.), the same mentioned by Vasari. If so it deserves attention only for a miraculous conversation between the crucified Saviour and S. Brigitta in 1370. Vas., vol. ii., p. 84.

[4] Vas., vol. ii., p. 85.

[5] Vas., *Proemio*, vol. i., p. 210. [It will thus be seen that everything Vasari says of Cavallini is altogether untrustworthy, and must be received not only with caution but with a profound scepticism. Had Crowe and Cavalcaselle seen the work of Cavallini in S. Cecilia in Trastevere, they might have repudiated Vasari's tales about Cavallini being Giotto's assistant as well as the other assertions of that romance writer.]

Anderson.

ADORATION OF THE MAGI

From the Mosaic in S. Maria in Trastevere Rome.

Anderson.

THE NATIVITY

From the Mosaic in S. Maria in Trastevere, Rome.

THE ANNUNCIATION AND THE NATIVITY

Niccola Pisano. Baptistery, Pisa.

CHAPTER IV

NICCOLA AND GIOVANNI PISANI

Whilst the sister arts of building, sculpture, and painting revived at Rome during the thirteenth century, Pisa distanced every rival in plastic delineation. Previous to that time she had distinguished herself by an active trading spirit, and by the creation of a navy which claimed and wielded a natural supremacy. Her galleys were the dread of the Saracens, whom she assisted to expel from Sicily, and she had alternately subdued or favoured the small trading cities of the west and south coasts of Italy. Commerce yielded natural fruits in power, wealth, and influence, and these entitled Pisa to hold the foremost rank in the regeneration of art. Niccola, usually called Pisano, or the Pisan, was the chief of a school which restored to sculpture some of its past greatness. He was the forerunner of an army of men who accomplished much for Italy, and who deserve the place which a grateful posterity assigns to them. But he is entitled to further consideration as one who gave an unexpected impulse to an art which had sunk into the deepest decay. It is less for the purpose of giving a full and precise account of Italian sculptors than with the intention of elucidating the course of the Pisan revival that the following sketch is attempted.

Previous to Niccola Pisano, sculptors existed in most parts of Italy, and humbly illustrated, amongst others, the cities of the Centre and the North. Florence had not as yet taken the lead in painting, and was not to envelop sculpture in her influence till later. But in Pisa, Pistoia, Lucca, and other towns, examples of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were numerous. With the assistance of these it may be possible to satisfy the following inquiries. Firstly: Was not Niccola the sole representative of the greatness of sculpture in the middle of the thirteenth century in Central Italy? Secondly: Was not the art of Pistoia, Lucca, and Pisa one from which no good cultivation was to be expected? The earliest sculptures of Pistoia are those of Gruamons, who carved scriptural scenes of the rudest kind on the chief portal of S. Andrea and on

the architrave of the lateral portal of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas. Both are inscribed, the latter with the words :

GRUAMONS MAGISTER BONUS FEC. HOC OPUS

but the epithet " bonus " applied to one so poor is a telling comment on the art of the time.[1]

Contemporary with Gruamons was one who, in 1167, executed in relief the Saviour in the midst of the apostles on the architrave of the chief portal of S. Bartolommeo in Pantano. This rude work is inscribed

RODOLF (?) NO. S.P. ANNI DOMNI MCLXVII.[2]

At S. Andrea again, the reliefs on the pilasters of the chief portal, representing incidents from the New Testament, are the defective work of one signing himself

MAGISTER ENRICUS ME FECIT.

Equally rude with the sculptors of Pistoia in the twelfth century were those of Lucca, one of whom, Biduinus, executed in low relief a subject on the architrave of the portal of the ex-church of San Salvatore, which he inscribed with the words :

BIDUVINO ME FECIT HOC OPUS.

in style as defective as the Latin of the inscription. The period in which Biduino lived is revealed in the bas-reliefs cited by Morrona, at San Cassiano near Pisa.[3] He was an artist of the close of the twelfth century, and neither better nor worse than Gruamons of Pistoia. Robertus, his contemporary at Lucca, executed incidents taken from the Old Testament on a baptismal font, to the right as one enters the church of S. Frediano. He was a sculptor less defective than Gruamons.[4] One of the completest monuments of the twelfth century, however, is the quadrangular pulpit of S. Michele at Groppoli,[5] the faces of which represent, in low reliefs

[1] The date 1166 and the sculptor's name are inscribed. Both are correctly given in MORRONA, *Pisa Illustrata* (Livorno, 1812), vol. ii., p. 33. [The inscription shows us that Gruamons was assisted by his brother Adeodato. *Cf.* VENTURI, *op. cit.*, vol. iv., and RAYMOND, *Le Sculpture Florentine ; Les Prédéccsseurs de l'école Florentine . . .* (Florence, 1897).]

[2] [MORRONA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 37, gives the sculptor's name in the inscription as Rodolfin or Rodolfinus.]

[3] Signed : " HOC OPUS QUOD CERNIS BIDUINUS DOCTE PEREGIT. UNDECIES CENTUM ET OCTOGINTA POST ANNI TEMPORE QUO DEUS, EST FLUXERANT DE VIRGINE NATUS." MORRONA, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 39.

[4] His font is inscribed : " MILL . . . E CLI ROBERTUS MAGIST . . ."

[5] Now the oratory of the Villa Dalpino—five miles on the road from Pistoia to Pescia.

of soft stone, incidents from the New Testament.[1] A mutilated inscription may still be read as follows :

HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI HOC OPUS [*sic*] GUISCARDUS . . . . .
PLEB . . . . . ANNO DÑI MIL. CLXXXXIIII.[2]

Defective as those of Gruamons at S. Andrea, the figures of Groppoli are cut into the flat without any sort of rounding. The incidents are in the old traditional forms, but represented by one living in the infancy of art. The figures, like slender dolls, have draperies marked by rectangular or circular incisions. The flat square heads form but one plane with the neck. The limbs hang, as it were by threads, together, the features being merely scratched on the surface.[3]

About the close of the twelfth century, Bonamico seems to have been extensively employed at Pisa. Bas-reliefs that may be assigned to him, on the curved cornice or frieze of the east gate of the Baptistery, represent the Redeemer, the Virgin, and S. John, with apostles and angels.[4] The same flat surface, the same forms indicated by incisions, may be noted here as at Groppoli ; and perfect identity of style with that of a tomb in the Campo Santo, reveals the artist, whose name is inscribed there :

OPUS QUOD VIDETIS BONUSAMICUS FECIT P. EO ORATE.[5]

A life-size figure in a niche of the Duomo, near the gate of S. Raineri, exhibits the same style and manner. Yet it may be observed that the figures of Bonamico are shorter and stouter than those of Groppoli.[6] That this sculptor lived at the close of the twelfth century is apparent from the resemblance of his work to others of that time. The Baptistery of Pisa was founded in 1153[7]

[1] The Visitation, the Nativity, and the Flight into Egypt. A serpent at one of the angles supports the desk. The pulpit rests on columns whose capitals are filled with heads of animals and monsters, whose bases rest on the backs of lions. Of the latter, one paws a man, the other a dragon.

[2] CIAMPI, *op. cit.*, p. 28, gives this inscription minus the word "Guiscardus."

[3] An archangel killing the dragon, of old above the portal and now transferred into the church, is an example of the same style.

[4] Half-lengths.

[5] This tomb, to the left of the entrance in the Campo Santo, is carved with the Saviour enthroned, in the act of benediction, in an elliptical glory, the symbols of the four Evangelists, and the Lamb and star. Beneath is a figure of David playing, not intended for this tomb, but by the same hand.

[6] The annotators of Vasari cite an inscription in the church of Mensano near Siena as follows : "AGLA. OPUS QUOD VIDETIS BONUSAMICUS MAGISTER FECIT. PRO EO ORETIS."

[7] As appears from Sardo's Chron. in *Archivio Storico*, vol. iv., p. 83, with funds in part granted by Roger, King of Sicily—by Deotisalvi, as is vouched

and remained incomplete till 1278. It may therefore be inferred that Bonamico was one of the first artists employed there.

A better sculptor, but still of feeble powers, was Bonanno, who executed in the Duomo of Pisa, in 1180, bronze gates which perished in the sixteenth century,[1] and, in 1186, those which still close the portal of the Duomo at Monreale.[2] These gates represent in high relief forty-three scenes of the Old and New Testaments, and appear from a comparison with Ciampini's engravings of those of Bonanno at Pisa, to have been cast in the same mould. Nor can any sensible difference be perceived between these and the gates of the south transept of the Duomo of Pisa.[3] Various and sometimes ludicrous are the conjectures of historians respecting the origin or authorship of the latter. All agree in considering their sacred subjects in high relief as grotesque and exaggerated.[4] Yet they are less defective than the reliefs of Gruamons or Biduino, and cannot be of an earlier period than the middle of the twelfth century. The date may indeed be defined almost with certainty by observing the mode in which the Crucifixion was represented. The Saviour was exposed on the Cross with a nail to each foot. The body was slightly bent and the head inclined towards the Virgin, standing at the base of the instrument of death. The eyes were closed. The Redeemer on the Cross was never depicted with closed eyes in the eleventh century. At S. Urbano in Rome, and S. Angelo-in-Formis, He may be seen alive and serenely suffering. It was not till the twelfth century, as at S. Clemente (Rome), that the idea of agony and death was expressed. The south gate of the Duomo of Pisa may therefore be assigned to that time and to Bonanno, who thus appears as an artist continuing and but slightly improving the art of sculpture, as it found expression in Pistoia.[5]

for by the following inscription on a pilaster: "M.CLIII. MENSE AUG. FUNDATA FUIT HĒC ECCLESIA," and on an opposite one: "DEOTISALVI MAGISTER HUJUS OPERIS." Of the same architect is S. Sepolcro of Pisa, inscribed on a marble, "HUJUS OPERIS FABRICATOR DS̄ TE SALVET NOMINATUR."

[1] The gates of Bonanno were dated 1180. They perished in a fire, October 25 (Pis. style), 1596. MORRONA, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 169–70.

[2] The gates of the Duomo of Monreale by Bonanno are inscribed: "MCLXXXVI. IND. III. BONANNUS CIVIS PISANUS ME FECIT." They represent thirteen scenes from Genesis, seven from the patriarchs and prophets, twenty-three from the New Testament.

[3] Called gates of S. Raineri.

[4] MORRONA, whose patriotism cannot be denied, vol. i., p. 314–15.

[5] Bonanno may be the same who, in 1152 to 1164, gave designs for the walls of Pisa (see MURATORI). The subjects on this gate are: the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Birth of Christ, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Baptism of Christ, the Temptation, the Transfiguration, the

With scarcely perceptible progress, sculpture was practised in Parma at the close of the twelfth century (1178–96) by Benedictus,[1] respecting whom the reader may study the following excerpt :

On the pilasters and lunette of the northern gate in the Baptistery of Parma, he carved the roots of Jesse and of Joachim, and scenes from the life of the Saviour and S. John the Baptist.[2] On the pilasters of the eastern gate, the Seven Works of Mercy, the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard ; on the architrave, the Resurrection, and in the lunette, the Last Judgment ; on the third gate a medallion of the Saviour in benediction, with the Lamb and S. John the Baptist at His sides ; and in the lunette, the Trees of Good and Evil, and allegorical subjects ; in the body of the building various episodes. His name was carved on the architrave of the northern gate : " BIS BINIS DEMPTIS ANNIS DE MILLE DUCENTIS INCEPIT DICTUS OPUS HOC SCULPTOR BENEDICTUS."

All these reliefs are in the manner of Benedictus, whose works in the Duomo deserve greater attention, and may serve as a better illustration of his manner. He executed in 1178 a Descent from the Cross in the third chapel to the right of the chief entrance in the Duomo. Without shrinking from the apparent difficulty of the task, he executed this work in high relief similar to that of the bronze gates at Pisa, and crowded together about twenty-two figures within a frame cut out in patterns filled up with black. Traces of gold and colour on some of the figures reveal the custom of colouring carved work, common to most countries of the Continent at this and a later time. The Saviour, a long wooden form cut into the flat with scarcely any rounding, was supported tenderly by Joseph of Arimathæa, whilst the right arm, freed from the Cross, was held by the Virgin and an angel in a horizontal flying position. Between the Virgin and Joseph, a figure holding a cup and gathering the blood from the Saviour's side, was inscribed " ECCLESIA EXALTATUR." Behind the Virgin, S. John, whose melancholy resignation was not ill rendered, and the three Maries, completed the composition. The feet of the Saviour were still separately nailed to the Cross, as well as the left arm, which Nicodemus on a ladder was in the act of removing. At the foot of the Cross, a priest with drooping head seemed crushed by the hand of the angel Raphael flying horizontally and reproaching him in the words of the inscription, " VERE ISTE FILIUS DEI ERAT." Near the priest is the centurion who believed, and a row of persons, in front of whom the dicers are playing for the garment. The figure of the Saviour,

Resurrection of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Washing of the Feet, the Last Supper, the Capture, the Crucifixion, the Descent to Limbo, Christ at the Sepulchre, the Ascension, and the Death of the Virgin.

[1] [Benedetto Antelami, *cf.* BURCKHARDT, *op. cit., sub nom.* ; REYMOND, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–43 ; and VENTURI, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 294 *et seq.* ; and inscription on his work in the third chapel in north aisle of cathedral of Parma, given on p. 100 *infra.*]

[2] In the Baptism the Saviour and S. John are both concealed up to the middle by a mere wave.

wooden, and indicated in the nude by mere linear incisions, was not so long or ill-proportioned as those around Him; nor was the head as repulsive as many of the period, but the closed eyes and the contracted brow indicated the agony endured. The angels, in horizontal positions, did not in the least produce the impression of flight. Their heads were, like those of the remaining figures, large. The draperies were straight and meaningless, and the embroidered borders and slippers were incisions stopped with colour.[1]

This primitive but curious work, exhibiting merely so much progress in art as might serve to place Benedictus on a level with Bonamico and somewhat above Gruamons and the sculptor of Groppoli, was inscribed:

ANNO MILLENO CENTENO SEPTUAGENO OCTAVO SCULTOR PATUIT
MENSE SECUNDO ANTELAMI DICTUS SCULPTOR FUIT HIC BENEDICTUS.[2]

Years continued to elapse, and sculpture remained almost in its primitive state. In Lucca, the front of the church of S. Martin was completed in 1204 by one Guidectus, who perhaps excelled Benedictus in the proportions of his long figures, in rendering movement and draperies, and defining the nude. Yet in a figure in high relief of S. Martin on horseback dividing his garment, great rudeness of execution still remained.[3] Later works in the portico of the same church, representing scenes from the life of S. Martin,

[1] The inscriptions are interesting. The high priest whose head droops beneath the touch of Gabriel is inscribed: "SINAGOGA DEPONITUR." The figure drawing the nail of the left arm is inscribed "NICODEMUS," that of the figure supporting the body, "JOSEPH AB ARIMATHEA." The figure gathering the blood from the lance wound is "JOHANNES NAZARENUS," the Virgin, "S. MARIA," the Maries, "SALOME, MARIA JACOBI, MARIA MAGDALENE." The sun and moon above the Cross are inscribed "SOL ET LUNA." The Cross is of rough unhewn logs.

[2] A pulpit in S. Leonardo, near the Porta S. Miniato at Florence, still exists, of which FÖRSTER (*Beiträge, ubi sup.*, p. 13) gives an accurate description. It was of old in S. Pietro di Scheraggio at Florence. One of its bas-reliefs is a Descent from the Cross, whose composition is not unlike that of Benedictus of Parma. Förster's theory, that this pulpit, being executed at Florence, proves the existence of a school from which Niccola arose, is untenable. RUMOHR, noticing this pulpit, assigns it to the ninth or tenth century (*Forschungen*, vol. i., p. 252). A print of the bas-reliefs may be seen in RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. ii., p. 18. The author affirms that the reliefs were originally taken in the eleventh century from the captured Fiesole.

[3] An inscription: "MILLE QUE SEX DENIS TEMPLUM FUNDAMINE JACTO LUSTRO SUBBINO SACRUM STAT FINE PERACTO" shows that this church was founded in 1060.

On the front beneath the last column to the right of the gallery, a figure holds a scroll on which is written: "MILLE CCIIII. CONDIDIT ELECTI TAM PULCRAS DEXTRA GUIDECTI." Guidectus is the architect and probably also the sculptor of the front.

allegories of the Seasons, the Saviour in glory guarded by two angels, the Virgin and the twelve apostles on the architrave, showed that, as late as 1233, sculpture must still make a weary progress before it could be entitled to serious admiration.[1]

Still later a sculptor of Pisa adorned the pilasters and architrave of the eastern gate of the Baptistery with scenes from the Old and New Testaments,[2] the composition of which contrasted advantageously with those of Bonamico on the frieze above them.

The figures were distinguished by a certain movement and animation, by good proportion in their slenderness, and by fairly intended draperies. The principal one of the Saviour in benediction was not without dignity, and was technically superior in design to the Saviour above the portico of S. Martin of Lucca. In the accompanying Seasons, the incidents were conceived with spirit, and the nude recalled the antique. It was a work which could not date earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century, yet how distant from those of Niccola of the very same time. Not only were the conception and execution, compared to his, rude and primitive; but, as in all the works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries previously noticed, the creation of men of a different spirit and school.

But even in 1250, Guido da Como, who executed the pulpit of S. Bartolommeo-in-Pantano at Pistoia, showed himself little better as a sculptor than Benedictus of Parma, Bonamico of Pisa, or Guidectus of Lucca. Guido's composition was symmetrical, his forms and types animated with a gentle religious spirit, but his figures had repose approaching to immobility. They were long and slender in stature, and carved on the flat with little more art than those of Groppoli. Yet feeble as his talent appears, Guido never wanted employment, and took rank as late as 1293 amongst those who laboured in the cathedral of Orvieto.[3]

[1] The following inscription is in the portico: "HOC OPUS CEPIT FIERI ABELENATO ET ALDEBRANDO OPERARII A.D. 1233."

[2] On the pilasters the Saviour in glory, with incidents of His life, concluding with His visit to Limbo, and a figure of David, the Seasons, in a winding ornament; on the architrave the Sermon of S. John the Baptist, the same before Herod, the Dance before Herodias, and the Decapitation.

[3] Vasari does not hesitate to call the works of Guido da Como, "goffe" (grotesque). VAS., *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 283. See DELLA VALLE, *Stor. del Duomo d'Orvieto*, p. 263.

The pulpit of S. Bartolommeo-in-Pantano is quadrangular and of beautifully polished white marble. It stands in the chanting loft, and is supported on three pillars, the capitals of which are adorned with small figures, whilst the pediments rest on a winged lion, a lioness, and a man, the first gnawing a basilisk, the second accompanied by her cub. The Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi adorn the sides, and in the front are the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, Christ at Emmaus, his Descent to Limbo,

Pages have been written to support or to refute the contrary theories that Pisan art before A.D. 1250 was infantine or decrepit, but the contest rests on a simple and admitted fact; and it may be sufficient to observe that Pisan art was rude and primitive; that in the earliest works of Pistoia, sculpture was homely in conception and childish in execution; that in Parma and Lucca, though still rude and defective, it had a conventional Christian spirit; and that in the early part of the thirteenth century, it maintained that spirit at Pisa without any very sensible progress in the expression of form. Such was the character of sculpture when, in 1260, Niccola Pisano completed the pulpit of the Baptistery of Pisa.

This remarkable monument, erected in the form of a hexagon, rested upon nine columns; viz. one, central, based on the shoulders of a man, a griffin, and animals, quaintly grouped together, three reposing on the backs of lions and a lioness with her cubs, three on simple pediments, and two supporting the steps. A trefoil arch spanned the space between each of the six principal pillars; and pilasters starting from the capitals regulated the ornamented cornice of the pulpit. In front of each of these pilasters stood a statue symbolising one of the Virtues. Fortitude was represented by a figure of the juvenile Hercules with a lion's cub on his right shoulder and his left hand in

his Appearance to the Disciples, and the Incredulity of S. Thomas. Three figures on one pedestal support the desk at one angle of the pulpit, and at the opposite one stands an angel with a book resting on the head of a horned monster, with the eagle above him.

On the border is the following inscription:

GUIDO DE COMO ME CUNCTIS CARMINE PROMO, ANNO DOMINI 1250.
EST OPERI SANUS SUPERESTANS TURRISIANUS NAMQUE
FIDE PRONA VIGIL . . . DEUS INDE CORONA.

The figures on the angles are better than the rest and a certain inferiority may be noticed in the execution of the two side reliefs as well as in the Nativity and the Incredulity of S. Thomas; but the pulpit, as a monument of sculpture, cannot hold a high rank amongst the productions of the thirteenth century. See also for comparison the bas-reliefs with short, large-headed figures on the front of the Duomo of Modena, representing Enoch and Elias with the following inscriptions between them: "INTER SCULTORES QUANTO SIS DIGNUS CLARET SCULTURA NUNC HONORE WILIGELME TUA"; the still ruder sculptures on the Roman Gate at Milan erected after the defeat of Frederick II. at Milan and inscribed "GERARDUS DE CASTAGNIANEGA FECIT HOC OPUS," the prophets above the portal of the cathedral of Cremona by "MAGISTER JACOBUS PORRATA DE CUMIS" 1274. Anselmo da Campione was architect and sculptor in the Duomo of Modena in 1209. CALVI, *Memorie* (Milan, 1859). See also the rude sculptures on the cathedral of Verona inscribed: "ARTIFICEM GNARUM QUI SCULPSERIT HÆC NICOLAUM. HUNC CONCURRENTES LAUDENT PER SECULA GENTES." The same epigraph with the date 1135 marks the period of similar work on the Duomo of Ferrara. The oldest known sculptor of Siena is Gregorius, whose name and the date 1209 according to MILANESI (*Storia Civile ed Artistica di Siena, ubi sup.*, p. 76), were on sculptures above the portal of S. Giorgio of Siena.

the mouth of a slain lion ;—Fidelity by a female holding a dog in her arms ;—Charity by a woman with an infant. Of other figures, the emblematic meaning was less apparent. For instance, at the angle near the steps, an angel was represented sitting on a lion with a deer in its teeth. In one hand, he bore the stump of a sceptre, in the other a small bas-relief of the Crucifixion. Possibly this was intended for the symbol of Faith. In the births of the arches four Evangelists and six prophets were ingeniously placed. Seven triple columns supported the parapet of the pulpit, and framed five bas-reliefs representing the Birth of the Saviour, the Adoration of the Wise Men, the Presentation in the Temple, the Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment.

In these bas-reliefs Niccola displayed but elementary knowledge of the maxims of composition. In one of the subjects, that of the Adoration of the Magi a certain symmetry might be found, but elsewhere all equilibrium of mass was absent. Yet in the midst of an obvious imitation of the antique, and subservience of pagan models to Christian subjects and thought, Niccola showed himself gifted with a lively fancy, a considerable talent in the expression of the ruder forms of passion, such as despair, anger. But this peculiarity, contrasting with a certain cold and imperfect imitation of old classic models, could not but unfavourably impress the spectator, especially when he considered the short and herculean build of the figures. Niccola, however, with an energy and vigour beyond praise, seemed resolved to allow no difficulty to repel him. He chiselled his figures in the highest possible relief, detached them completely, and followed without hesitation the old Roman system of sculpture. He polished the marble with most praiseworthy care, working it out according to a cold, conventional, but unwavering system. With the drill, he cut out the corners of mouths, the pupils of eyes, the nostrils and ears, and stopped the perforations with black paste. The hair and ornaments he gilt ; and traces of the gold are still in parts visible. None of the compositions of the pulpit more strikingly illustrates the system of classic imitation peculiar to Niccola than that of the Birth of the Saviour. In the middle of the space, the Virgin, recumbent on a couch, would be a fit representation of the queenly Dido, and the figure behind, pointing to her with a gesture and apparently conversing with an angel, is more like an empress than the humble follower of a carpenter's wife in Bethlehem ; Joseph, with an air of wonder, the two classic maids washing the Infant in a basin, the sheep on the foreground, and the episode of the Adoration of the Shepherds, crowded in the right of the background, are a strange

and confused medley of antique forms and old typical Christian conceptions of subject. Of Christian sentiment not a trace is to be found. In the symmetrical arrangement of the Adoration of the Magi the florid Roman style of the figures is most characteristic; but the irregular proportion of the figures, as compared with each other, is striking. The heads are uncommonly large, especially in the more distant figures. The angels are not messengers of heaven but Roman antiques, and the horses are equally reminiscent of the old times of the declining empire. In the Presentation in the Temple, the simple groups and figures are mere imitations also: whilst in the Crucifixion, the body of the martyred Redeemer reminds one of nothing more than of a suffering Hercules. In the Last Judgment, which is the finest of the series, Niccola's vigour and energy found play. In the upper centre the Saviour sat enthroned in a fine attitude, beneath Him the elect, the damned, resurrection, and Lucifer. It would be difficult to find a better imitation of the classic nude in various attitudes than is here to be noticed, especially in females. Strange are the figures of the devils and of Satan; the latter with a grotesque head and ears, the body and claws of a vulture united to legs resembling those of an ox. Equally so is the figure of a devil with the body of an infant and a head as large as the torso, revealing the features of one of those hideous masks peculiar to antiquity. This curiously conceived devil seems to swallow one of the arms of a sufferer convulsed with agony, as he lies trodden down by the claws of Satan. The same study of the classic was betrayed in all the isolated figures, such as those at the angles below the cornice of the pulpit. In the symbolical figure of Fortitude, the movement and attitude and the short stout form recalled the antique, an antique of a coarse and fleshy character, but conventional and motionless.[1]

Niccola thus suddenly appears in Pisa in the year 1260 as one who, rejecting the conventional religious sentiment which had marked his predecessors and contemporaries, revived the imitation of the classic Roman period, and remained a mere spectator at first of the struggle for the new and Christian types of the early school of Florence. Grand in comparison with Guido and his predecessors, whose religious sentiment was allied to the rudest and

[1] "This pulpit suffered a few years ago a serious and memorable damage, the heads of many figures having been broken off by Lorenzino de' Medici . . . to embellish and adorn his study." Roncioni, *Istorie Pisane*, of the sixteenth century, published by Francesco Bonaini in *Archiv. Storico* (Flor., 1844), vol. vi., p. 284.

most primitive execution, he gave new life to an apparently extinct art, and had in common with the men of his time at Pisa nothing but the subject. Pagan form subservient to Christian ideas, such was the character of Niccola's sculpture. To nature he owed little, to the Roman antique much, and hence occasional stiffness and coldness. In general expression, the idea of tenderness was sacrificed to that of masculine force and muscular fleshiness of knit. In form, the stout square herculean type of the Roman decline, somewhat conventionally generalised, was that which he preferred. Even his fancy and occasional vehemence in the delineation of suffering and pain, were imitated from the antique more than from nature, and the heads of his devils or of Lucifer were but the grotesque masks of antiquity. In composition, the equilibrium of the masses was seldom attended to or considered. In execution, the figures were detached and modelled like those of ancient Rome; the marble was highly polished and worked with technical skill, but less in obedience to inspiration than to rule.

The astonished observer pauses before this wonderful production of the thirteenth century, and asks whence the artist came.[1] His memory may retrace the wonders of the chisel of Michael Angelo, and he may assent for a moment to the belief that Niccola, a miracle at his time, was a creative genius capable at once of transforming the art of Pisa. But this impression vanishes with the conviction that he is not a creative genius, and the recollection that the works of Michael Angelo in their grandeur still reveal also the greatness of Ghirlandaio and Donatello. The Ghirlandaio and Donatello of Niccola he cannot discover in any of the schools of Central Italy, any more than he can trace a single similar work previous to this pulpit, which is the creation of a man in the maturity of his talent. He will inquire, if it be possible that all previous efforts of the master should have perished, and he will smile at the baseless theory, which would found his style upon the imitation of a single classic monument of Pisa.[2] He may then

[1] Vasari, having said in the life of Niccola that that sculptor studied at Pisa, affirms in that of Giovanni that he studied in Rome (vol. i., p. 277). [*Cf.* Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. iv., p. 1 *et seq.*, and Idem, *Il Genio di Niccola Pisano* in *Rivista d'Italia*, vol. i. (1898).]

[2] According to Vas. (*ubi sup.*, vol. i., 258–9), Niccola, having studied under Greek sculptors in the Duomo and Baptistery of Pisa, imitated the chase of Meleager carved on the tomb of the Countess Matilda in the Campo Santo. The chase of Meleager is a damaged monument of the decline of classic art. Vasari errs in supposing that it is on the tomb of the Countess Matilda, this monument having also reliefs, but of another subject.

either consign the problem to the limbo of unsettled questions or conclude that the artist received his education elsewhere.

Pisa lies on the sea. She commanded in the thirteenth century the trade of the west coast of Italy. She had fought and made alliances with the Normans of Sicily and Apulia, and she was the protector of some amongst the small trading republics at the southern extremity of the Peninsula. Her population was sometimes recruited by emigrants from the most distant parts of the South, and amongst these in the thirteenth century was perhaps one Peter of Apulia, the father of Niccola, known to the readers of Vasari as the Pisan. That Niccola became a citizen of Pisa, and lived in the parish of S. Blasius of Ponte di Pisa, is proved by records of certain authenticity. That his father Pietro di Apulia was dead in 1266 is equally certain,[1] but no document reveals either his previous age, profession, or habitation.

It might be presumed from the absence of all productions due to Niccola, before 1260, as well as from the evident uncertainty of Vasari's notices, that the sculptor had not been long in Pisa before producing the pulpit of S. Giovanni. The question which remains to be answered is simply, whether in South Italy, and namely in Apulia, there was an art superior to that of Pisa.[2] It has already been proved that in Sicily and on the south coast, mosaists of superior talents had been found by the Normans in sufficient number to adorn in the twelfth century many splendid edifices. It is equally curious and interesting to find that sculpture in South Italy was still at a high standard in the thirteenth. At Ravello near Amalfi—a trading republic devoted to Pisa—the cathedral of S. Pantaleone possesses a pulpit resting on columns

[1] See Rumohr, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 145 and following, and Gaetano Milanesi, *Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese* (Siena, 1854), vol. i., p. 145 and following. In the records Niccola is called variously: 1266: "Magister Niccolus de parrocia S. Blasii de ponte de Pisis quond. Petri" (Milanesi, vol. i., p. 145). . . . 1266, May 11: "Magister Nicolam Pietri de Apulia" (Ibid., p. 149). 1272: "Magister Nichola pisanus quondam Petri de." An interesting question is, whether the name of the place, as Apulia, applies to Niccola or to his father. It has been assumed indeed, and we have heard it urged with reference to the surname of Apulia, that Niccola, being originally a Pisan, obtained it after a journey and a stay in South Italy. Yet the first work produced by him at Pisa is in the style of productions existing in Apulia.

[2] It may be inferred from Vasari himself, that in South Italy there were some very remarkable architects. The fabulous Fuccio, "a Florentine architect and sculptor," whom he invented, is considered by him to have completed some great monuments; such as Castel di Capoana and the Castel del Uovo at Naples, the foundation of which was due to the equally fabulous Buono—the gates by the Volturno at Capua, and the walls of the hunting park at Amalfi (Vas., p. 262, vol. i.).

borne by lions. The steps which lead up to the desk support a marble balustrade inlaid with mosaics; and above the arch leading into the pulpit is a Latin inscription recording that Nicolò Rufolo commissioned it in 1272 of Nicholas de Bartolommeus de Foggia. The key of the arch of the doorway is a fine classical bust of Sigalgaita Rufolo, of life size, in a diadem from which hangs a long rich tassel. Her hair, divided and gracefully twined along the ears, exposes a fine forehead and a face of oval shape. The brow and eyes are noble, the nose regular, and the features elegantly chiselled and broadly carved. The neck is massive. Nicholas de Bartolommeus of Foggia evidently studied the antique like his contemporary Niccola at Pisa, and perhaps better models. The two styles are essentially similar. The marble has the same high polish and technical execution. The use of the drill is common to both, on the capitals of the door are other portraits, one a male profile, less happily rendered, but still of the same hand. Had not the name of Nicholas been united to that of Bartolommeo of Foggia, thereby proving the existence of two contemporary sculptors of different families, the busts of Ravello and the pulpit of Pisa might have been assigned to one hand. Foggia was in the thirteenth century the ordinary residence of the Emperor Frederick II. Della Valle, in his *Lettere Sanesi*,[1] devotes two chapters to prove that monarch's patronage of art, and mentions coins of his reign as worthy of serious admiration. His palace at Foggia was erected in 1223, and on the solitary arch of it which now remains may be read the following inscription:

ANNO AB INCARNATIONE MCCXXIII M. JUNII XI. IND. REG. DN̄O N̄ FREDERICO IMPERATORI REX SEP. AUG. A III. ET REGIS SICILIÆ XXVI. HOC OPUS FELICITER INCEPTUM P̄PHATO DN̄O PERFICIENTE.

SIC CESAR FIERI JUSSIT OPUS P̃TO [?PRECEPTO] BARTOLOMEUS SIC CONSTRUXIT ILLUD.[2]

Bartolommeus, the architect of Foggia, may possibly be the father of Nicholas the sculptor of the pulpit of Ravello.

The pulpit is not the sole monument in S. Pantaleone. Of equal interest though of an earlier time are the bronze gates, in compartments, representing subjects from the Passion of the Saviour,

[1] Della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi*, vol. i., p. 205 and following.

[2] It is amusing to find Della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi*, vol. ii., p. 20, change the words P̃ro into pis. in order to prove that Bartolommeo of Foggia is the same as Bartolommeus Pisanus, a bell-founder at Pisa in the thirteenth century. This theme Morrona (*Pisa Illust.*, vol. ii., p. 97) extensively develops.

executed, as appears from the inscription, for Sergio Muscetola and his wife Sigelgaita in 1179.[1] The compositions of these gates are those of the early Christian time, but well ordered as to space, and filled with animated figures of somewhat slender forms. In character they recall to mind the fine mosaics of Cefalù and Palermo, and exhibit the same moving principle in the artist. Gates from the same casts may be seen at Monreale, rivalling those of Bonanno, and signed by the artist, whose name is inscribed "BARISANUS TRANENSIS ME FECIT." At Trani itself is a third edition of them,[2] and thus in South Italy, as early as the twelfth century, and three years earlier than Bonanno, a sculptor of Trani is traced, who so far surpasses the Pisan that one might say his art is new and admirable. Trani, Foggia, both in Apulia, seem to have had good and intelligent artists in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, sculptors in every sense superior to those of Pisa,[3] and one of them, Nicholas di Bartolommeo, so like Niccola of Pisa in style that their works may be confounded. It is therefore neither contrary to fact nor to experience to suppose that Niccola of Pisa was a born Apulian, and that he was educated in that country. It might be urged indeed that in the inscription of the pulpit of Pisa he is called Pisanus, but every citizen had a right to that qualification after he had taken the freedom. It might be argued that Nicholas of Foggia was a pupil of Niccola of Pisa ; but if so, might it not be natural to expect that history should record his presence elsewhere than in the South of Italy, where his work is alone preserved, and would not his style have made a nearer approach to the later one of Giovanni ?

It is a remarkable circumstance that one of the earliest works which Vasari attributes to Niccola Pisano is the tomb of S. Domenico

[1] Here the Saviour Deposed from the Cross, and the Christ at the Limbo are counterparts of the same scenes repeated in contemporary miniatures and paintings. The Saviour is crucified with the feet separately nailed, as usual up to this time.

[2] The gates at Monreale are divided into seven courses of four compartments separated from each other by somewhat heavy ornaments containing medallions with semi-figures. The two central upper compartments contain the same figure of the Saviour, with S. John on the left and S. Elias on the right. The four next subjects are the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Virgin and Child, and S. Nicholas. In the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth are apostles. The seventh course contains a genius, an archer, and the arms of D. Giovanni di Rohan.

[3] There were many monuments of classic art at Naples in the thirteenth century. Even now see S. Paul of the Theatines rebuilt on the site of a temple of Castor and Pollux, the antique lower course and statues being preserved with figures of Apollo, Jupiter, Mercury, and what not at Pæstum, Reggio, Locri, Sibari, Tarentum, Brindisi, Elis, Baiæ, Pozzuoli.

at Bologna, executed, he says, in the year 1231,[1] but which was only completed in 1266–7 by Fra Guglielmo. No records have ever confirmed the biographer's assertions respecting the erection or remodelling, in the earlier part of the century, of edifices in divers parts of Italy by Niccola Pisano,[2] whilst in many instances these assertions have been positively contradicted. The oldest records of the Duomo of Siena (1229) [3] make no mention of Niccola Pisano as being present at the foundation of that edifice; and, as the annotators of the edition of Vasari sensibly affirm, the biographer, after having stated that fact, contradicts himself when he afterwards declares that the Sienese commissioned of him the pulpit of their Duomo because "the fame of that of Pisa" had reached them.[4] The fame of Niccola would have been great long before the year 1260, had he, as a Pisan, executed the numerous works which are assigned to him previous to that date. It was on the fifth of October that he signed a contract in the Baptistery of Pisa, where he was then apparently employed, with Fra Melano, supervisor or operarius of the cathedral of Siena,[5] by which he bound himself to the following conditions:

Firstly: That he should, between October and the November next following, deliver at Siena eleven columns of white marble with the necessary capitals, and sixteen smaller pillars and slabs for the erection of a pulpit in S. Maria. He was also to furnish the lions or pediments, which probably were to be found ready made at Pisa. Secondly: From and after the next month of March he was to reside at Siena until the pulpit was finished, and to accept no other commission; but he was, if he desired it, to have, four times a year, a fortnight's leave to visit Pisa, either for the purpose of giving counsel in the matter of the completion of the Duomo and Baptistery there, or for his own business. Thirdly: In the same month of March he was to bring with him to Siena his pupils Arnolfo and Lapo, who were, likewise, bound to remain at Siena till the pulpit was completed. Fourthly: The price of the marble columns and slabs was fixed at sixty-five Pisan pounds, the

[1] Vas., vol. i., p. 260.

[2] Ernst Förster affirms that he saw a record at Pistoia proving that Niccola worked in the Duomo in 1242. The record itself he does not give. Was he quite sure of the date? See *Beiträge, ubi sup.*, p. 61.

[3] Rumohr quotes original records of payments for work in the Duomo of Siena as early as 1229 (*Forschungen, ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 124). Gaetano Milanesi, going back still further, *Sulla Storia Civile ed Artistica Senese* (Siena, 1862), p. 59, notices Bellamino, who in 1198 restored the Fonte Branda, which was repaired anew in 1248 by Giovanni Stefani, then *capomaestro* of the Duomo.

[4] Vasari, vol. i., *ann.* to p. 266.

[5] Vasari erroneously states that Guglielmo Marescotti was podestà of Siena at this time. See *annot.* to Vas., vol. i., p. 267.

daily pay of Niccola at eight, that of his pupils six Pisan "solidos," besides bed and lodging. Fifthly: If Johannes, the son of Niccola, declared himself ready and willing to work under his father, he should receive half the salary of the latter. Sixthly: None of the sculptors were to be subject to any real or personal service in the republic of Siena. Seventhly: Breach of contract on either side was forbidden under a penalty of £100 Pisan.[1]

It was not long before this last clause threatened to become a serious charge. Arnolfo had not made his appearance in Siena in May of the following year, and Fra Melano issued a peremptory injunction to Niccola to fulfil the contract. This done, the pulpit was commenced, and about November of 1268 completed, Niccola, Giovanni his son, and Arnolfo, Lapo, Donato and Goro, Florentines, being employed together in its erection.[2]

The pulpit, of octagonal form, rested upon nine columns, four of which were supported on lions and lionesses, four on simple pediments and the central one upon a group of nine figures in half relief. Seven bas-reliefs covered the faces of the pulpit. Firstly: the Nativity. Secondly: the Adoration of the Magi. Thirdly: the Presentation in the Temple. Fourthly: the Flight into Egypt. Fifthly: the Massacre of the Innocents. Sixthly: the Crucifixion. Seventhly: the Last Judgment.

The Nativity. One of the finest groups in this relief is that of the women washing the infant Saviour. The latter, however, of a powerful and bony build, is essentially classic in form.

The Adoration of the Magi. It would be difficult to find a finer group in this century than that of the Virgin and Child adored by the kneeling king, who kisses the Saviour's foot. The foreground figures on horseback seem to be copied from the Roman antique.

The Presentation in the Temple is ill ordered and over-crowded; *The Flight into Egypt* simple and not ill rendered.

The Massacre of the Innocents. Niccola had an opportunity here of expressing action in the most varied forms; and the movement of single figures is accordingly fine and forcible; whilst some faces are remarkable for character and expression. One cannot but mark in the vehemence of gesture of soldiers tearing babes from the grasp of their mothers, or in the act of killing them, a certain tendency to exaggeration. Yet it is obvious that Niccola's treatment of these groups was of service to later artists and even to Giotto. The Massacre of the Innocents is, however, a subject in which even the great Florentine found some difficulty to conciliate action with good distribution, and

[1] See the original document in Rumohr, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 145 and following, and Milanesi, *Doc. Sen.*, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 145 and following.

[2] Rumohr, Milanesi, *ubi sup.*

Niccola is here less successful in arranging his groups than in the pulpit of Pisa.

The Crucifixion. The student of Roman classic form will find it here, but Niccola endeavoured, as it would seem, to combine classicism and the study of nature; hence a perceptible want of unity. Not only was the Christian ideal of the divine nature of the Redeemer absent from the mind of the sculptor, but he lost the conventional nobleness of the classic form in a painful realistic study of nature. The Saviour is here less after the Roman antique than in the pulpit of Pisa, but he is also worse proportioned. The thorax is that of Hercules, and the arms disproportionately short. In the group of the fainting Virgin, to the left of the Cross, the head is painful in expression and large for the frame, and the draperies are of many and meaningless folds. The angels about the Saviour's head are short and defective.

The Last Judgment. The same faults mark the Saviour distributing blessings and curses and the Saviour crucified. Here is little repose or dignity, but a mixture of conventional classic form with realistic anatomy. The proportions are defective, but the arms, instead of being too short, are too long, whilst the torso is small. The angels around the throne are heavy and colossal. The nude figures in the foreground, rising from their graves, are presented in various attitudes and positions to the spectator, and are frequently remarkable for elastic and natural movement. In the Inferno, Lucifer is again a monster with the head of a grotesque mask, the ears of a dog, the horns of a bull, the legs of a vulture, and the talons of a griffin. Double groups of figures superposed adorn the angles of the pulpit and represent allegorically the Virtues, angels, and scriptural subjects. In the birth of the trefoil arches are fourteen prophets. But the most interesting and admirable productions in the whole pulpit are those which adorn the base of the central octagonal pillar. Here Astronomy is symbolised by a female holding a book and looking through a level; Grammar by one teaching an infant; Dialectics by an old female in contemplation; Rhetoric by a woman wearing a diadem and holding a book; Philosophy by one with a cornucopia, from which flames issue; Arithmetic by a female writing on a slab, and so with Geometry and Music.[1] If the allegory be imperfectly conceived, it is less the fault of the artist than of the person who gave him the subjects. Each figure as a work of art is fine and in admirable movement.

The inequality which may be traced in the various parts of this noble monument is perhaps assignable to the diversity of talent in the pupils employed by Niccola. Still the compositions, all doubtless by him as director of their joint efforts, betray less regularity and order in distribution than those of Pisa. The study of the antique which is sufficiently displayed everywhere, was

[1] See the dissertation upon the mode of representing the seven sciences in Ciampi's *Letters of Gio. Boccacci* (Flor., 1827), p. 101 and following.

varied by an evident reference to nature, and precisely where this occurred the master's ability was least visible, and he produced defects of proportion and even of flesh and muscular form.[1] The fancy and liveliness of spirit which characterised Niccola at Pisa were illustrated anew and without repetition at Siena. But though he now varied his somewhat arbitrary study of the classic with the imitation of nature, he showed no symptoms of religious feeling, and his work, fine as it is, remains somewhat cold and classic in beauty.

Omitting for the present the tomb of S. Domenico, which, as already remarked, is more properly a monument executed by Fra Guglielmo, one may trace the hand of Niccola in the beautiful fountain of Perugia, where, amongst the figures[2] which adorn the angles of the upper basin, his peculiar style may be noticed,[3] whilst in the reliefs of the lower basin, the allegories of the seasons, the sciences and the arts, display the broader style of his son. Giovanni indeed appears to have overtaken Niccola. In the fountain of Perugia (1277) he revealed power in distribution, in reproducing energetic types and chastened movements, and, in the study of the nude, a genius not merely imitative or realistic, but creative.[4] Father and son worked side by side in more than one great monument in the cities of Italy from the early years when Giovanni, as a youth, was admitted at a low salary to share the labours of the pulpit of Siena, to the later ones when the fountain of Perugia was completed and when S. Margaret of Cortona was restored.[5] The noblest monument of their chisel, or of their school, the Deposition from the Cross in the lunette above the portal of S. Martin of

[1] [This was not so much "a reference to nature" perhaps as a new influence—a French influence—which suddenly appeared in Tuscan sculpture. The two pulpits are well compared by Reymond, *op. cit.*, p. 72 *et seq.* A study of French influence in Tuscan sculpture is badly needed.]

[2] One of these figures is now replaced by one quite modern.

[3] [*Cf.* Reymond in *Arch. St. dell' Arte* (1895), fasc. vi. He attributes the statuettes to Niccola and the fifty bas-reliefs to Giovanni Pisano or Arnolfo Fiorentino. See also P. d'Ancona, *La Rappresentazioni allegoriche delle Arti liberali nel Medio Evo* ecc. in *l'Arte*, vol. v., fasc. v.–xii.]

[4] The inscription on the fountain of Perugia, recovered not long since from beneath the plaster by Professor Massari, proves that the works up to 1277 were conducted by Niccola and Giovanni. Arnolfo is not mentioned in it, though he seems after 1277 to have been released for the completion of the fountain by Charles I. of Anjou. *Annot.* to Vas., vol. i., p. 269–70, and Mariotti (A.), *Lettere Pittoriche* (Perugia, 1788), pp. 24, 25.

[5] According to Vasari, Niccola restored the Pieve di Cortona, and founded the church of S. Margaret in the same city. Vas., *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 268. Morrona pretends that this was in 1297, yet Niccola had then been dead some years. He read in the Campanile the names of "Niccola and Johannes"; if so the date is false. Morrona, *Pis. Illust.*, vol. ii., p. 69.

Lucca may be admired as the perfection of an art which, developing itself at Pisa, Siena, and Perugia, seemed at last but to await Michael Angelo to bring it to perfection. No example of the century can be said to have combined in the same degree skill in composition and grouping with boldness of attitude, foreshortening, and vigour of handling; a deep study of nature and anatomy with lofty character and expression.

The body of the Saviour, still supple in death, had just been taken from the cross, and was held in the powerful grasp of Joseph of Arimathæa. On his shoulder the head, recumbent on the outstretched arm, hung powerless. That arm the Virgin tenderly embraced, whilst S. John carefully upheld the other. Nicodemus strove to extract the nail from one of the feet. A youthful soldier near the evangelist, leant on a staff and, grasping the hilt of his sword, seemed inspired with the wish to avenge the cruel agony of the Saviour. At His feet knelt one with a sponge on a plate waiting for the washing of the body, whilst behind the Virgin stood two of the Maries. In the Saviour's suppleness of limb and frame, fine foreshortening, and perfect proportion, in the figures around, force allied to natural movement, might fetter the attention of the most careless spectator; whilst the more critical observer, remarking a certain squareness of stature and a slight overcharge of drapery, some feebleness of frame and classic imitation in the females, might point to these as the only defects that could possibly be noticed. If compared with the earlier works of Pisa and Siena, it would be admitted that the artist had gradually freed himself from much of that merely imitative character which previously marked the school, and had given power and animation to figures by the study of nature; yet that, to the last, religious sentiment remained as foreign to his mind as it was later to that of Donatello or Michael Angelo.

Equally interesting, as a monument of the revival under the teaching of Niccola and Giovanni, is the tomb of S. Margaret in the church dedicated to that saint at Cortona, where excellent distribution of space and grouping, combined with progress in the rendering of form and varied character in expression or attitudes, mark one of the finest productions of mixed architecture and sculpture in the thirteenth century.

The body of the tomb resting on three brackets in the wall of the door of the sacristy is adorned with four bas-reliefs representing incidents from the life of the saint—S. Margaret taking the vows—receiving the holy benediction—sick in her cell—and on her deathbed after receiving the sacred oil. Nothing could be finer as regards composition than these episodes. Beneath the brackets, the miracles of S. Margaret,

her cure of the sick and lame, and the casting out of a devil at her shrine, are represented with equal power and intelligence. Some shortness and squareness of form may be noticed in figures which are otherwise of fine proportions and natural attitudes. A slight overcharge of drapery detracts at times from the beauty of the groups, as in the lunette relief of S. Martin at Lucca; but the monument as a whole is one of the great works of Pisan sculpture. On the slab of the tomb lies the statue of S. Margaret beneath a dais held up by two angels—the whole within a double-pointed trefoil recess, supported on each side by twisted columns crowned at the pinnacle with statuettes, and supported in the centre on a bracket leaning upon a figure with a scroll. An airy lightness in the architecture, a harmonious subordination between it and the sculpture, form, together with the arrangement and execution of the bas-reliefs, an excellent whole.

Vain is the attempt to ascertain exactly the authors of such monuments as these. To Niccola nothing can be assigned later than 1278,[1] at which period he is noted with the fatal *quondam*,[2] but it must not be forgotten that, besides Fra Guglielmo, whose known works are inferior to those under consideration, Giovanni, Arnolfo, Lapo and his brothers Donato and Goro, existed and shed some lustre on the architecture and sculpture of the thirteenth century.

[1] Vasari affirms that Niccola worked in the Badia a Settimo, that he executed the old Palazzo of the Anziani at Pisa and other palaces and churches. No records remain to prove or disprove these assertions. The church of San Michele in Borgo at Pisa is not by Niccola, but by his pupil Fra Guglielmo. The building of the campanile of S. Nicolò at Pisa is of uncertain date, and the author not proved to be Niccola. Equally arbitrary is the assertion that Niccola gave the design of S. Jacopo of Pistoia, this chapel of the cathedral being of older date, but altered and restored in different periods (Tolomei, *Guida di Pistoia, ubi sup.*, p. 11). He laboured at S. Jacopo according to Ciampi, *Not. Ined.*, p. 122, in 1272–3. The Santo at Padua is not acknowledged as a work of Niccola, though Vasari assigns it to him (Selvatico, *Guida di Padova per gli Scienziati*). He may be the architect of the Chiesetta della Misericordia and the church of the Santa Trinità at Florence; but the convent of Faenza was only founded in 1281, previous to which time Niccola died. (*Annot.* to Vas., vol. i., p. 266.) That Niccola was not at the foundation of the Duomo of Siena has been suggested in the text; and as for the church of S. Giovanni of the same city, it was not commenced till after 1300. (See proofs in *annot.* to Vas., vol. i., p. 272.) There is nothing to prove or disprove the assertion of Vasari as to Niccola having in 1254 enlarged the Duomo of Volterra (Vas., vol. i. p. 267); and the same may be said as to S. Domenico of Arezzo (ibid., p. 277). Of Niccola's repairs in S. Domenico at Viterbo and works at Naples, there are no authentic records.

[2] Vasari, vol. i., p. 271. See further the original record of 1284 in Milanesi, *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 163, in which he is noted as dead. How then could Niccola be the author of bas-reliefs in the Duomo of Orvieto, an edifice only commenced in 1290? (Vas., vol. i., p. 268.)

Of Arnolfo, who, according to Vasari, was born in 1232[1] and learnt drawing from Cimabue,[2] little more is known than that he is not the son of Lapo, but of one Cambio of Colle[3] di Val d'Elsa, that he was a disciple of Niccola, and worked under him at the pulpit of Siena. Numerous architectural monuments have been assigned to him; and there is no doubt that in 1310 he died in possession of the title and office of chief architect and sculptor of S. Reparata of Florence.[4] Time has dimmed the lustre of his services as a sculptor; and most of the works assigned to him have perished except the tomb of Cardinal de Braye, executed, according to Della Valle, in 1280, at S. Domenico of Orvieto.[5] Supported on brackets high up in the right transept of the church, this monument is, like those of the Cosmati at Rome, a mixture of mosaic, sculpture, and architecture. The body of the cardinal lies on the slab of the sarcophagus, whose sides are adorned with mosaics. A pointed trefoil tabernacle supported on twisted columns is pointed at the apex and sides with statuettes of a square Roman build.[6] It might have been possible to judge of Arnolfo's style, had his work at S. Paolo, Rome, been preserved.[7] Of Lapo, who likewise aided Niccola in Siena, the following records are preserved:

[1] Vasari complains in the life of Arnolfo that he is unable to discover the architects of the Certosa of Pavia and the Duomo of Milan. Bonino da Campione laboured in the Duomo in 1388–93. The Certosa is due to Bernardo da Venezia in 1396. See Calvi, *Notizie* (Milan, 1859).

[2] Vasari, vol. i., p. 249.

[3] Gaye, *Carteggio inedito* (Flor., 1839), vol. i., p. 445, publishes a record of April 1, 1300, granting to Arnolfo certain privileges at Florence.

[4] See the authentic record of his death, note 2 to p. 255, vol. i., of Vasari, *ubi sup.* [It has been suggested by Frey (in *Miscellanea Storica della Valdelsa*, vol. i., fasc. ii., p. 86 *et seq.*) that Arnolfo di Cambio and Arnolfo Fiorentino the pupil of Niccola were two persons. This has been contested, and remains apparently unsettled. Vasari says Arnolfo died in 1300, and gives very precise details for once. Frey has shown that here Vasari is nearer the truth than his editors, who have read a date in the *Necrologio di S. Reparata* following the entry of Arnolfo's death as though it concerned him.]

[5] This tomb, according to Della Valle, *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto*, p, 248, was inscribed "HOC OPUS FECIT ARNOLFUS."

[6] Vasari does not say that Arnolfo was employed in South Italy. Yet he was not unknown to Charles I. of Anjou, who, in a letter dated September 1277, recommends him to the authorities of Perugia as Magister Arnulfus de Florentia, and one of ability to continue the works of the fountain which had been all but finished by Niccola and Giovanni. Mariotti, *Lettere, ubi sup.*, pp. 24, 25; Richa, *Chiese*, tom. vi., p. 17; Rumohr, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 155.

[7] Here he executed the dais of the high altar, with four statues upon it of Peter, Paul, and two other apostles. "Somewhat short in build but fine," according to Rumohr. The following inscription was on this work, which perished in 1823: "HOC OPUS FECIT ARNOLFUS, CUM SOCIO PETRO. ANNO MILLENO CENTUM BIS ET OCTUAGENO QUINTO, SUMME DS=Q, HIC ABBAS

In company of his brothers Donato and Goro, he petitioned for and obtained the freedom of the city of Siena in 1271–2; and the records which authenticate that circumstance prove further that the father of the family was Ciuccio di Ciuto of Florence. In 1284 Lapo was architect of S. Angelo in Colle; and in 1289 he was deputed by the government of Siena to destroy the property of the Cacciaconti.[1] Donato was in 1277 superintendent of the works at the bridge of Foiano on the Merse,[2] and employed at the Fontebranda outside Siena.[3] Goro repaired in 1306 the fountain of Follonica,[4] and brought up three sons, Neri, Ambrogio, and Goro, in his profession. Of their works in sculpture no trace remains.

Fra Guglielmo, apparently the oldest of Niccola's pupils, left to posterity monuments inferior to those of his master. He entered the Dominican order as a lay friar in 1257,[5] and spent his years of novitiate in the convent of the fraternity at Pisa, an edifice which had already been completed in 1252.[6] The chief monuments of his chisel are the bas-reliefs of the tomb of S. Domenico at Bologna. The mortal remains of that saint had originally (1221) been confined in a wooden bier, from which they were removed with considerable pomp twelve years later, in presence of the Archbishop of Ravenna and the magistrates of Bologna (May 23, 1233).[7] Enclosed on this occasion in a simple urn of stone, they remained sealed until the completion of a marble sepulchre, whose execution was entrusted to Niccola and Fra Guglielmo. The former, however, being bound by his contract at Siena, can scarcely have contributed more than the designs and composition of reliefs, which were only completed in 1267.

This work by Guglielmo comprised several incidents of the life of S. Dominic and his disciples on the sides of a quadrangular tomb.[8] In one of the fronts, the saint restores to life the youth Napoleon;

BARTHOLOMEUS=FECIT OPUS FIERI=SIBI TU DIGNARE MERERI."—(*Forschungen*, vol. ii., pp. 156–7.) [The tabernacle escaped the flames; it is still in S. Paolo fuori le Mura. Though injured and restored, it is still substantially Arnolfo's work.]

[1] G. MILANESI, *ubi sup. Documenti*, vol. i., p. 154.

[2] Ibid., p. 154. [3] Ibid., p. 156. [4] Ibid., p. 154.

[5] *Chron. of S. Caterina of Pisa*, in *Archivio Stor. Italiano*, Scr. i., vi., p. 468.

[6] Annali, MSS., p. 4, in *Arch. Stor.*, *ubi sup.*, vol. vi., p. 468.

[7] MARCHESE, *Memorie*, etc. (Flor., 1854), vol. i. p. 70.

[8] The tomb was completed with a cover by Maestro Niccola *quondam* Antonii, of Apulia, in 1469, with statuettes by later artists, and a base by Alfonso Lombardo (MARCHESE, *ubi sup.*, pp. 74–80).

in the second the books of his doctrine are saved from the fire which consumed those of the Manicheans of Languedoc; between the two is a statuette of the Virgin and Child. On the opposite front, three scenes of the life of the Beato Reginald of Orleans—S. Dominic appearing in a dream to Pope Honorius III. and supporting the falling church. Honorius examining and granting the rules of the order. On the short sides, S. Dominic receives the Gospels from S. Peter and S. Paul, entrusts the same to his disciples; and angels bring food to the followers of the nascent brotherhood of the order. At the four angles are the Four Doctors of the Church.

Fra Guglielmo in the execution of these subjects preserved, but enfeebled, the style of Niccola; imparted to the figures but little character, expression, or design; overcharged the draperies and crowded the groups. The tomb, as a monument of the time, was, however, no contemptible proof of the extension of the influence of Niccola, who on the occasion of the transfer of the remains of S. Dominic succeeded in obtaining leave to be present at the ceremony. Guglielmo, as a brother of the order, naturally expected and received no pecuniary reward for his labour; but to repay himself for the trouble and time he had expended, and also that he might enrich his own convent of Pisa with a precious and inestimable relic, he stole one of the ribs of S. Dominic and carried it away with him, incurring thereby, had his offence been known, the penalty of excommunication. The theft fortunately was not noticed; and it was only on his deathbed that Guglielmo confessed and rejoiced the hearts of his brethren with the news that S. Catherine of Pisa was richer by one rib of S. Dominic than had been hitherto supposed.[1]

From Pisa Fra Guglielmo seems to have proceeded to Pistoia, where he executed, most probably in 1270, the pulpit of S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas, traces of his name and the foregoing date having been discovered in the records of Pistoia and on the pulpit,[2] which besides (and this is more to the purpose) displays his style and hand. In form it was quadrangular, with four reliefs on two of the faces and two on the third, representing scenes from the New Testament.[3] Whilst here the vigour with which Niccola compen-

[1] *Chron. of S. Cath. of Pisa* in Marchese, *ubi sup.*, p. 86, vol. i., and *Arch. Storico*, vol. vi., p. 467. A bone of S. Dominic is preserved in S. Marco at Florence (Richa, vii., p. 160).

[2] See Tigri, *Guida di Pistoia* (Pistoia, 1854), p. 223.

[3] Representing—1. The Annunciation and the Visitation. 2. The Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi. 3. The Saviour Washing the Feet of the Disciples. 4. The Circumcision. 5. The Deposition from the Cross. 6. Christ at the Limbo. 7. The Ascension. 8. The Descent of the Holy

sated the frequently defective distribution of his groups was wanting, the general characteristics of his composition and manner were reproduced. Without the marked squareness or shortness of stature, without the peculiar classicism of Niccola, the style was still far from that of one who as a member of a religious fraternity might have desired to impart a purely devotional spirit to his work. In the angel with the symbols of the Evangelists, the finest figure of the pulpit, some repose and Christian feeling might be detected; but in general, the heads, large for the small frames, were of the cold, imitated Roman style. Fra Guglielmo was employed in the loggia of the Duomo of Orvieto in 1293,[1] and as late as 1313 at S. Michele in Borgo of the Camaldolese of Pisa.[2] He died in the convent of S. Catherine of Pisa, having been fifty-seven years of the Dominican order.[3]

If Vasari were to be credited, Giovanni Pisano had sufficient proficiency in 1264 to produce a marble tomb at Perugia for the remains of Urban IV.[4] This assertion it would be idle to discuss, since the tomb had perished in Vasari's own time. That Giovanni was hardly considered capable of great labours as late as 1266 is proved by the low salary which he received at Siena. In a few years, however, he progressed so as to rival Niccola and exhibit, in the fountain of Perugia, qualities of a new and superior order. As an architect he executed, shortly after his father's death, the Campo Santo,[5] and the ornaments of S. Maria della Spina at Pisa,[6] whose external colonnades, niches, and statuettes were evidently, and not in the best taste, by him and his pupils.[7] Still earlier

Spirit. 9. The Saviour Appearing to the Virgin and Apostles. 10. The Death and Ascension of the Virgin. In the angles were six apostles, and in the middle of the front face the angel with the symbols of the Evangelists. Supported on the wall by two brackets, the pulpit rests on two columns reposing, as usual, on the backs of lions.

[1] Della Valle, *Stor. del Duomo di Orvieto, ubi sup.*, p. 263.

[2] See inscription to that effect, transcribed in Morrona, *Pis. Illust.*, vol. ii., pp. 101–2.

[3] *Chron. and Annals of S. Cath. of Pis.* in Marchesa, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 398. One of Fra Guglielmo's pupils was Fazio, a lay brother Dominican, who died 1340. See *Chron. of S. Catherine of Pisa*, in *Arch. Stor.*, vol. vi., p. 504.

[4] Vasari, vol. i., p. 269.

[5] Commenced in 1278. See the original inscription to that effect in Vasari, p. 271, vol. i.

[6] Ibid., p. 271.

[7] Vasari, vol. i., p. 271, says the Virgin and Child on the pinnacle of La Spina is by Giovanni. The height is great for a critical examination, but the cast reveals the hand of Giovanni. He mentions also a portrait of Niccola there. In the life of Andrea Pisano he adds that, in La Spina, Nino produced a portrait of his father. Has he not confounded these portraits, which do not exist, with a statue of the apostle Peter ?

Alinari.

MADONNA AND CHILD

GIOVANNI PISANO.

Campo Santo, Pisa.

MADONNA AND CHILD (IVORY)

Giovanni Pisano. Duomo, Pisa.

than this, he might possibly have been the author of the external additions to the Baptistery of Pisa, by which that ancient edifice was in 1278 incrusted with balconies, arches, pillars, and statuettes ; and the old frieze of Bonamicus on the eastern gate was crowned by a standing figure of the Virgin and Child between two saints, one of whom, S. John, introduced to her the youthful kneeling figure of one Pietro.[1] Here Giovanni laboured in that grand style which marked his work at Perugia, a style by which other works of the same period might likewise be distinguished. The life size Virgin and Child in the interior of the Campo Santo [2] may be placed amongst this class, and admitted as one revealing in the master a feeling of grandeur allied to a study of nature in its happiest mood. The infant's playful smile pleasantly contrasts with the classical features of the Virgin, her antique profile and broad fleshy throat, and under the artist's hand the marble seemed to represent elastic forms, articulations that promised motion, hands not without elegance, and draperies of considerable breadth. A tabernacle on the front of one of the gates of the Campo Santo likewise enclosed six statues of saints, and the architecture as well as the sculpture did the Pisan honour.[3] From Pisa, in 1283, to Naples, where he is said to have enlarged the Castel Nuovo, Giovanni, says Vasari,[4] wandered and laboured, and thence, retiring northwards again, he became in 1284 a citizen of Siena [5] and probably *capo-maestro* of the Duomo. That for some time previous to 1288 he had occupied that high and responsible office is certain.[6] Hence it might be doubted whether he did more than furnish a design and the assistance of his pupils for the erection of the altar in the cathedral of Arezzo and the chapel of the Ubertini family in that edifice.[7] Vasari, who dwells with peculiar care on the artistic

[1] Beneath the Madonna is the inscription : "SUB PETRI CURA FUIT HÆC PIA SCULPTA FIGURA NICOL NATO SCULTORE JOHẼ VOCATO." Vasari says the kneeling figure is Pietro Gambacorti, *operaio* of the Duomo, which the annotators deny. They might have noticed that the relief is not on the Duomo but on the Baptistery.

[2] Beneath the first fresco of Benozzo Gozzoli.

[3] Of the same period perhaps is the Virgin and Child on the pinnacle of the front of the Duomo. [Quite so. But the tabernacle over the gate of the Campo Santo towards the Duomo was made after the death of Giovanni, and was probably the work of the sculptor who made the Gherardesca monument in the Campo Santo. His name has not come down to us. The kneeling figure, by some said to be Pietro Gambacorti, is probably a portrait of the man. *Cf.* L. B. SUPINO, *Pisa* (Bergamo, 1905), pp. 55, 60.]

[4] VASARI, vol. i., p. 272. Castel Nuovo was commenced in 1279, by Charles I. (CAMERA, *Annali del Regno di Napoli*, vol. i., p. 322).

[5] MILANESI, *ubi sup. Doci.*, vol. i., p. 163.

[6] Ibid., vol. iii., p. 274.

[7] VASARI, vol. i., pp. 272–3.

monuments of his native city, devotes two pages to a description of this altar, which being situated in the middle of the church was visible from all sides. Yet the *ensemble* of heavy and inelegant architecture, ill distributed as to space, and filled with figures of feeble frames and large heads, and draped in ugly festooned vestments, was far from displaying either the talent or the peculiar style of the great Pisan sculptor. The compositions are invariably ill ordered. In one of the reliefs representing the Crucifixion, the Saviour is shown as a man of attenuated frame, large head, and protruding ribs. The Virgin, one of the chief figures, supported on each side by Honorius IV., as Gregory the Great, and S. Donato the protector of Arezzo, is feeble as to form and type, and the remaining figures vulgar in feature and lame in attitude. The technical execution is in parts slovenly, and the marble rudely worked.

During 1288, and through 1290, 1295, and 1299, Giovanni remained at the head of the works of the Duomo of Siena,[1] undertaking at times other labour, and incurring penalties and fines for its non-completion or for breach of contract, yet he was so necessary and so difficult to replace that the government preferred to absolve him from liability rather than force him to a precipitate departure.[2] He might therefore in these years have visited Florence, where, however, no work by him exists,[3] and Bologna.[4] In 1299 he abandoned Siena for a time, and resided apparently in Pisa, where amongst the first productions of his chisel was an ivory for the canons of the Duomo,[5] and possibly a Virgin and Child carved in the same substance now in the sacristry of the Cathedral. He may then perhaps have executed for S. Pietro in Vinculis, at Castel S. Pietro near Pisa, the bas-reliefs of a font seen there by Morrona,[6] and inscribed with his name and that of one of his pupils.[7]

[1] Milanesi, *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., pp. 161–2. [2] Ibid., pp. 161–2.

[3] The bas-reliefs of the font of S. Giovanni of Florence, assigned to him by Vasari, cannot be his, as they are dated 1370. (See *annot.* to Vas., vol. i., p. 274.) The Virgin and Child, between two angels, in the lunette above the door leading out of the church into the canonry of S. Maria del Fiore in Florence, is of a meditative character, and expresses a religious sentiment unknown to Giovanni Pisano. The softness which pervades these figures is more characteristic of Nino da Pontedera. Vasari assigns to Giovanni the architecture of the Convent of the Nuns, the restoration of S. Domenico of Prato. But the latter could not be restored, since it remained unfinished till 1322. (See *annot.* to Vas., vol. i., p. 275.)

[4] At Bologna, says Vasari, he restored the choir of S. Domenico. Vas., vol. i., p. 274.

[5] See the original record of the order and the price in Morrona, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., pp. 422–3, and Ciampi, *ubi sup.*, p. 123.

[6] Morrona, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 86.

[7] "MAGISTER JOANNES CUM DISCIPULO SUO LEONARDO FECIT HOC OPUS AD HONOREM DEI ET SANCTI PETRI APOSTOLI."

Pistoia next claimed his presence; and at S. Andrea, in 1301, he completed a pulpit, whose bas-reliefs were almost the same as those which he immediately afterwards undertook at Pisa, and in a style not much differing from those of his father at Pisa and Siena. In composition he was still deficient, and in rendering form frequently unfortunate; yet in his representation of the Saviour he less imitated the antique than Niccola, and made a nearer approach to the less Roman but feebler models of Fra Guglielmo at S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas. His Inferno, not so fantastic perhaps as that of Niccola, and unlike those of Pisa and Siena, was presided by the usual strange figure of Lucifer holding a toad in his hand. In the Last Judgment, the Saviour, of bony form and somewhat rude extremities, seemed to accept from the Virgin, separated from Him by the emblem of the Cross, the good souls who had gained a place in Paradise at His side. On His left an angel, struggling with one of the condemned, offered an example of bold conception and execution. In the Crucifixion the Saviour was bony, small, and lean, and the thieves defective in form, whilst the group of the fainting Virgin on the left of the Cross was a reminiscence of the art of Niccola. Amongst the episodes relative to the Magi, one group, representing the angel warning them in a dream not to return to Herod (Matt. ii. 12), was essentially worthy of attention, the angel being amongst the fine productions of Giovanni. Equally good was the relief of the Nativity. But the best portions of the pulpit were undoubtedly the statues in the angles, amongst which that of the angel with a book, and surrounded by the signs of the three remaining evangelists, was the most splendid classical group he had yet produced—remarkable alike for firmness of attitude and animation—and impressed in the features with the character of an antique Alexander. Here, as it is natural to suppose, the master was assisted by pupils to whom the feebler portions of the monument may be assigned.[1]

[1] The following inscription gives the name of the author and the date of the execution:

LAUDE DE TRINI REM CEPTAM COPULO FINI.
CURE PRESENTIS SUB PRIMO MILLE TRICENTIS
PRINCEPS EST OPERIS PLEBANUS VEL DATOR ERIS
ARNOLDUS DICTUS QUI SEMPER SIT BENEDICTUS.
ANDREAS UNUS VITELLI QUOQUE TIMUS
NATUS VITALI BENE NOTUS NOMINE TALI
DESPENSATORES HI DICTI SUNT MELIORES
SCULPSIT JOHANNES QUI RES NON EGIT INANES
NICHOLI NATUS SENTIA MELIORE BEATUS.
QUEM GENUIT PISA DOCTUM SUPER OMNIA VISA.

He surpassed himself, however, in a small monument at S. Giovanni Evangelista of Pistoia—a font resting on a central group of three and supported at the angles by four figures of Virtues, which were thus represented together in classic attitudes, expression, and movement. This was a monument which required no religious feeling, and to which the style of Giovanni was admirably appropriate; and hence it may be called the finest production of the master.

Returning to Pisa in 1302, Giovanni commenced there the pulpit of the Duomo,[1] which afterwards suffered from a most unfortunate dismemberment, having been deranged, and part of the bas-reliefs set aside and fixed to the wall in an upper passage.[2] If, however, this pulpit be in thought restored to its original form, it still offers the same qualities and deficiencies as that of Pistoia.[3] In the Crucifixion the Saviour was still of a lean and attenuated form, anatomically studied, but ugly, whilst the group of the fainting Virgin was an improvement on previous ones. As before, the best of the reliefs was that of the Birth of the Saviour, in which the composition was fairly distributed and the movements were both natural and animated. In the centre, the Virgin, in a grand attitude still reminiscent of the antique, raised the veil which covered the Infant asleep on a cushion. More to the left, Joseph sat; whilst near him the Saviour was held, preparatory to being washed, by a woman feeling the temperature of the water poured out by another female. In the upper space, the episode of the angel appearing to the shepherds was new, though in a form frequently repeated subsequently, and, amongst others, under the same laws and maxims, by Ghiberti in the north gate of the Baptistery of Florence—a fact which need cause no surprise, as it only proves that in the fifteenth century artists returned anew to the study of the classic, and took up the art where it had been left by the great Pisan. In the Flight into Egypt, the Virgin seemed to play with the smiling Saviour as she sat on the ass, accompanied by

[1] Commissioned by Borgogni di Tado, as appears by the inscription, for which, see Morrona, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 336.

[2] This took place in the sixteenth century, after the fire which destroyed many of the monuments of the cathedral. See Morrona, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 299.

[3] The pulpit in its present shape was put together under the superintendence of the operaio Coeli in 1607. Morrona, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 302. [The pieces of the pulpit now in the Museo Civico are not altogether perfect. For instance, two pieces besides those mentioned, the Nativity of S. John Baptist, and the Condemned, remain in the parapets of the choir of the Duomo. *Cf.* Supino, *op. cit.*, p. 68.]

the youthful Joseph, a most interesting group, common to Giovanni and to the Giottesques. On the other hand, the ignoble figure of the Saviour at the column showed that when the sculptor sought to imitate nature with more than usual closeness he was but the more imperfect in rendering form. The remaining reliefs of the Massacre of the Innocents and the Adoration of the Magi were marked by considerable action, and nothing more. The Last Judgment, with the Resurrection and Paradise, may be seen in the wall above the door of the sacristy in the Duomo, and exhibit similar defects to those already noticed in the Saviour of Giovanni at Pistoia.[1] The pulpit, as Vasari declares, was inscribed :

LAUDO DEUM VERUM PER QUEM SUNT OPTIMA RERUM
QUI DEDIT HAS PURAS HOMINI FORMARE FIGURAS ;
HOC OPUS HIS ANNIS DOMINI SCULPSERE JOHANNIS
ARTE MANUS SOLA QUONDAM, NATIQUE NICOLE
CURSIS UNDENIS TERCENTUM, MILLEQUE PLENIS . . . .[2]

During the nine years expended at intervals on this work, Giovanni is said to have laboured to erect the tomb of Benedict XI. [3] in the church of S. Domenico at Perugia. It was a very fine monument, resting on a base under a painted tabernacle supported by winding columns. On the tomb lay the statue of Benedict exposed to view by two angels holding back a curtain,[4] and supporting a cover, on the summit of which were a statuette of the Virgin and Child,

[1] Amongst other isolated portions, one, representing four Evangelists in one block with their symbols, and a kneeling figure in front of S. John Evangelist, seems to have been the central support of the monument, and displays the best qualities of Giovanni in classic heads and draperies, fleshy articulations, and animated movement.

Other bas-reliefs have been brought together in the choir of the cathedral, evidently forming part of an old pulpit, representing—1. the Annunciation. 2. The Birth. 3. The Presentation. 4. The Adoration of the Magi. 5. The Flight into Egypt. 6. The Massacre of the Innocents. All but the first and last are in the manner of an inferior artist. (These four bas-reliefs were formerly a part of a pulpit in the church of S. Michele in Borgo of Pisa. See comments of Francesco Bonaini to the *Cronaca del Convento di Santa Caterina*, in *Archo. Storico*, vi., p. 472, and Morrona, *Pis. Illust.*, vol. iii., p. 167, who assigns them to Fra Guglielmo.) The Annunciation and the Massacre seem more in the style of Giovanni. In the pulpit of the Duomo, the figures on the angles—of the Saviour with His right hand on His breast, and holding a book, three prophets and four Evangelists—seem to be by Giovanni. Other remains, also by him, for instance, a base with the eight sciences—are now in the Campo Santo, No. 136.

[2] This inscription is incomplete, and gives only the date of the completion of the pulpit. But it appears (*annot.* to Vas., vol. i., p. 277), from another inscription in a pilaster outside the church, that the monument was commenced in 1302.

[3] Benedict XI. died in 1304, and was buried at Perugia.

[4] On the faces of the cover four half-figures of prophets.

a bishop and a monk presenting a kneeling ecclesiastic. Yet in the style of the sculpture a softer and less energetic manner than that usual to the Pisan might be traced. Still it is possible that he may have entrusted the design to some of his pupils.[1]

As regards the bas-reliefs on the front of the cathedral of Orvieto, which Vasari assigns to Niccola, Giovanni, and other artists whom he generalises under the name of "Tedeschi," [2] it is at the present time impossible to fix either the date of their completion, or the names of the numerous sculptors who assisted in producing them.[3] Della Valle, in the *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto*, had reason to complain of numerous gaps in the collection of records which he consulted. He therefore assumed some facts and invented others, and thus added to the confusion which he might have helped to clear. A few facts may to a certain extent elucidate the question. The Duomo of Orvieto was commenced in 1290, and the foundation was laid amidst great rejoicing by Pope Nicholas IV. in that year. The author of the original plan has hitherto remained unknown, and Della Valle's assertion, that Lorenzo Maitani of Siena was appointed to make it, is supported upon no records. It is suspected indeed by the diligent Gaetano Milanesi,[4] that Lorenzo Maitani was not born till 1275, so that he would have been fifteen years old when the Duomo was founded.[5] The greatest sculptor employed at the cathedral in the first years after its foundation was Ramo di Paganello "de ultramontis," a master who, after the commission of some offence against the laws of Siena, had been exiled and then pardoned in 1281. Ramo remained in Siena, and found employment in 1288 in the Duomo under Giovanni Pisano, who was then chief of the works. That the Orvietans should have engaged Ramo is almost a proof that they were unable to secure the services of his superior Giovanni Pisano—nor indeed is there any record to confirm the assertion of Vasari that Giovanni laboured there. With Ramo di Paganello in 1293 were Jacobus Cosma of

[1] Vasari notices a Virgin and Child with two kneeling children on one side, and the Emperor Henry II. by Giovanni above the portal of the Duomo facing the Campanile, and Morrona saw the ruins of it. See Vas., vol. i., p. 278.

[2] And who are probably men of Como.

[3] [*Cf.* L. Fumi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri* (Rome, 1891), and L. Douglas, *Orvieto Cathedral*, in *Architectural Review*, June, 1903. The reliefs on the pilasters of the façade were executed between 1310 and 1321, in part by Lorenzo Maitani, in part under his supervision.]

[4] *Doc. Sen.*, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 173.

[5] [Lorenzo Maitani was appointed *capo-maestro* in 1310. He was brought from Siena to buttress the falling walls of the Duomo.]

Rome,[1] Fra Guglielmo of Pisa, Guido, and a number of other sculptors from Como. No trace of a superior or guiding spirit is to be found at the works of Orvieto Cathedral in the earlier time of its erection. They had been sufficiently advanced in 1298 for Boniface VIII. to read the Mass there; but the state of the edifice, and the irregular manner in which it had been raised, were made evident in 1310, when the council of the cathedral, upon the election of Lorenzo Maitani to the office of *capo-maestro*, was fain to confess that the church threatened to fall in, and that it was necessary to rebuild the wall "*ex parte anteriori*." The bas-reliefs of the front sufficiently prove that sculptors of different periods executed various parts of them; and as the labours of the edifice lasted till 1356 under Lorenzo and his son Vitale Maitani, it is apparent that, in addition to works that might have been completed in the loggia at an early time, others of a much later period were used.[2]

The principal ornaments of the front are four pilasters, of which the two central ones are finely composed, and exhibit figures in bold action and broad drapery, but short and square in frame. The two pilasters on each side are a mixture of two or more styles, the upper portion of both being in the manner of the central ones, the lower of a later character. Taking, for instance, the first pilaster on the left, representing scenes from the Creation to the settlement of the children of Noah: the Creation of Adam and Eve, in the lowest course, is a fine composition, full of truthful and natural movement, no longer in the conventional and sculptural forms peculiar to Niccola and the continuators of his manner, but by one who sought to follow, and if possible to improve upon, nature. The nude had not hitherto been rendered with more spontaneity or force; nor is it possible to find anything approaching it except when, later, Giotto shed his influence on the schools of Italian sculpture. They may therefore be by Andrea Pisano.[3] The Temptation, and Adam and Eve hiding at the voice of the Lord—the Expulsion, and our first parents labouring by the sweat of their brow—the sacrifice of Cain and Abel, and the murder of the latter, were of that advanced art which seemed to foreshadow the manner of Pollaiuolo. Noah teaching his children, Tubal Cain and Seth in the uppermost course, were no longer in the same style, but revealed, in their short and square figures, the manner of the followers of Niccola. The second pilaster was devoted to the genealogy of the

[1] [Boito says Jacobus was more than eighty years old when he worked at Orvieto. *Cf.* Boito, *Architettura del Medioevo in Italia* (Milano, 1860), but L. Douglas, *op. cit.*, tells us he was among the first masters at work there.]

[2] See for all these facts, *Doc. Sen.*, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 173.

[3] He is proved to have been *capo-maestro* of Orvieto with his son Nino in 1347–9. *Annot.* to Vas., note to vol. iii., p. 11.

house of David, and terminated at the upper part by a relief of the Crucifixion. The third was occupied by incidents from the life of the Saviour, admirably composed and grouped, but recalling, like the second, the styles of Niccola and Giovanni's followers. In the fourth pilaster, the upper course, representing the Saviour in glory, was of the same class; but the lower compartment, far different, exhibited more modern types, and seemed the perfection of the manner of Giovanni Pisano.

It would have been difficult to find a more fertile fancy, greater skill in rendering form, more vigour or character in the beginning of the fourteenth century, than were exhibited in the resurrection of the dead from their graves, and in the agonies of tortured souls in the Inferno. Here, Lucifer was no longer the quaint hybrid of Niccola and Giovanni, but a monster in a more human form, writhing with bound hands, and supported by hissing dragons, whose scaly frames were twined round his. The most inexhaustible invention seemed hardly taxed by the variety of pain inflicted and endured by the sinners; nor would it be easy to find more truthful imitations of nature in the most varied motion than in the figures of those in the grasp, or hanging from the jaws, of the devils. Such life and motion might well have caused wonder in Signorelli when he laboured in this very Duomo, and in Michael Angelo, whose imaginative mind might be struck with the ingenuity of one in whom he could recognise a spirit akin to his own. The author of these reliefs no longer rendered the short and heavy forms of the school of Niccola, but more slender and active ones, in good motion, with well-jointed limbs and extremities, and animated features.[1]

Above the architrave, a carved and coloured Virgin and Child was represented, by Andrea Pisano, seated beneath a dais supported by six angels.[2] In the front of the edifice were statues of prophets,[3] some of which have been considered to recall the style of the later Sienese, Agostino and Agnolo.[4]

Giovanni Pisano died, says Vasari, in 1320,[5] leaving unfinished the works of the cathedral of Prato, but having completed at least the chapel of the Sacra Cintola. He was buried in the Campo

[1] Above the pilasters are the symbols of the Evangelists in bronze; one of them modern.

[2] See the authoritative statement of this in notes to VASARI, vol. iii., p. 11.

[3] Three of which are modern.

[4] The first notice of Agnolo of Siena is of 1312, the latest 1349. (*Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 206.)

[5] According to CIAMPI, Giovanni had a son, Bernardo, who laboured in the Duomo of Pisa between 1299–1303, *Notiz. ined.*, p. 45.

Santo of Pisa by the side of his father.[1] Yet if he be the author of the monument of Enrico Scrovegni erected at the Arena of Padua in 1321 and signed "JONĪS MAGISTER NICCOLI," his death must have occurred later than Vasari states.

The progress of sculpture has now been traced to show the state to which it had been reduced previous to Niccola, and the changes which it underwent in his hands. It is evident that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as in earlier ages, sculptors existed in every part of Italy, but that, having lost the true idea of form, they had preserved merely the traditions of Christian composition. In the South of Italy, however, a vein of the imitative antique had extended, and still derived life, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, from a source which elsewhere had been clearly exhausted. That Classicism, suddenly transported to Central Italy by Niccola, should naturally create wonder amongst men reduced to an almost primitive generalisation of art, was only what might have been expected. Conventional as Niccola's manner was, it could not but create emulation and rivalry in the study of mere form; and the examples of Pisa in this sense were of advantage to all the schools of Italy. But whilst Niccola infused a new spirit into the minds of his countrymen, he could lay no claim to the creation of Christian types. His art, had it remained unsupported by the new current of religious and political thought so sensible in the thirteenth century, would perhaps have perished without leaving a trace behind it. Mere classical imitation could not suffice for the wants of the time; and thus it was that, whilst Niccola created on one side an emulation that was to produce the noblest fruits, he was himself convinced that, without a return to the study of nature, no progress was possible. In his attempt to graft on the conventional imitation of the antique a study of nature he failed; nor would his son and pupils have succeeded even in the measure which is visible in their works but for the examples which were created for them in another and greater school, the Florentine. The spirit which had been roused throughout Italy by the examples and miracles of S. Francis contributed to the development of an art based on nobler principles than those of mere imitation, and that spirit, of which Giotto[2] was the incarnation, spread with uncommon speed through-

[1] That Giovanni had the intention of leaving his bones at Siena is proved by the following inscription now in the front of the Palazzo Arcivescovile: "HOC EST SEPULCRUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS QUONDAM MAGISTRI NICOLAI ET DE EJUS EREDIBUS." *Annot.* to VAS., vol. i., p. 280.

[2] ["Giovanni Pisano," writes Burckhardt, "was the most influential artist

out the whole of the Peninsula, affected the schools of sculpture, and assisted them also in the development of a new life. Thus, whilst Niccola revived the feeling for true form, others gave to that form a new meaning, created the Christian types of this and succeeding ages, and laid the foundation for the greatness of Italian art.

of his time ; without him Giotto would not have existed, or at least he would have been other than he was, and more embarrassed by his art. Giotto owes certainly to Giovanni more than to his own master Cimabue. Thanks to a prodigious activity, that influence went quickly through Italy, and it is from his enthusiastic genius spring in the two capitals of Tuscany, Florence and Siena, a legion of original masters who close the cycle of the plastic school of Pisa and bring in the period of Italian Gothic. And as these masters went from Tuscany north and south throughout Italy, everywhere they gave a new impulse to a kind of local art which took essentially for model Giovanni Pisano" (*Ciccrone*).]

CHAPTER V

PAINTING IN CENTRAL ITALY

To the general picture of the degeneracy of Italian painting from the earlier times to the middle of the thirteenth century, it may be now useful to add more particular notices of special schools; and as the rise of sculpture at Pisa has been traced, the course pursued by painting there and in the neighbouring Lucca, Siena, and Arezzo may naturally claim the first attention.

In the absence of all public spirit and enterprise, the Dark Ages could not yield great monuments of painting; and artists are accordingly found chiefly confining themselves to the reproduction of one great and universal subject, that of the Saviour on the Cross. In proportion as the movement was slow and gradual by which the martyrdom of Christ was allowed to become a fit object for delineation, in the inverse ratio was the speed with which artists yielded to the tendency of representing His sufferings and agony. With steps hesitating and reluctant at first, they accompanied Him on the road to Calvary, withholding from the masses the spectacle of His shame, when, carrying His Cross, He was dragged to the place of execution. Slowly, this sentiment of repugnance gave way, till in the eleventh century the whole tragedy was unfolded. Yet whilst the sentiment of painters led them to the final resolution of actually presenting the Redeemer as He stood upon the Cross, a remnant of respect for the ideas that swayed early churchmen forbade them to delineate any signs of grief or pain. So in the earliest Crucifixions the Saviour was presented, as has been seen, erect, with each foot nailed to the Cross, open-eyed and either serene or menacing. The modification of this last feeling can be traced with surprising accuracy in the Crucifixes of Lucca, Pisa, Siena, and other places, until S. Francis, with the miracle of the Stigmata, may be said to have changed the current of religious thought in this respect in a final and irrevocable manner. The number of Crucifixes which is to be found in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries proves at once the general nature of the requirements of the faithful of all classes, and the substitu-

tion of the material symbol for its presentation on the walls of edifices. The mere delineation of the Saviour on the Cross was not however considered sufficient and was never taken alone; but in order to complete the holy history, and fitly to convey the idea of the sacred tragedy, the Evangelist John and the Virgin were usually painted at the extremity of the arms, the Saviour in glory and benediction at the top, and the scenes of the Passion at the sides, of the Cross.[1]

Amongst the earliest Crucifixes of this kind is the colossal one in San Michele in Foro at Lucca,[2] where an artist of the eleventh century represented the Saviour erect, of good proportions, and fairly designed with simple but somewhat rough and dark outlines, open-eyed, and with the feet separately nailed.[3] The head, slightly inclined to the right, was somewhat long, the nose equally so, and the mouth and eyes small. The form, imperfectly rendered, did not betray an effort at reproducing the false anatomy of later examples.[4] Plastic had been used to assist the painter's art in the reproduction of relief; and whilst the whole figure was painted of an uniform colour, somewhat darkened by time and restoring, the idea of rotundity was given by the projection of the frame, which, culminating at a central line, merged into the flat at the neck, wrists, and feet. These last, feeble and pointed, were painted on the flat like the head, which, however, with its nimbus, projected forward, that it might be more visible to the spectator. The whole of the figure was painted on a primed canvas beaten into the gesso which covered the wood.[5] A later example of the same

[1] One may notice the similarity of this form of composition and that of churches built in the shape of the Latin Cross with side chapels added to it.

[2] On a pilaster to the right of the arch of the tribune.

[3] The stature and position of the Saviour is the same as that in the Crucifixion at S. Urbano alla Caffarella at Rome, and that of the MS. miniature at the Minerva at Rome, and in that of the bronze gates of Bonanno at Monreale.

[4] The hair, divided in the middle, falls down the shoulders, and a gold drapery is fastened by a jewelled girdle to the hips. The Cross is painted blue on a gold ground. An ornamented border runs round the panels at the sides. The outlines have suffered from restoring.

[5] The Saviour at the top of the Cross was represented in the act of benediction and holding the book, with a green halo, and vestments of the traditional colours. At His sides knelt two angels in adoration. One of these is modern. Beneath the Saviour in glory are the words on a label: "JESUS NAZARENUS REX JUDEORUM." At the extremities of the branches were the symbolic figures of the Evangelists and an angel in flight. Right and left of the Cross, and beneath the horizontal limbs, were three courses of small panels, representing the Virgin and S. John the Evangelist, the Crucifixion of the Thieves, Christ Deposited in the Tomb, and the Maries at the Sepulchre, rudely executed in the old typical forms common to the paintings and

kind is the Crucifix of S. Giulia at Lucca, painted on wood without relief, and representing, besides the Saviour, Evangelists, saints, and angels, the same scenes of the Passion as that of San Michele. But the decline even of this art might be noticed in the forms and attitude, and in the mode in which the painting was executed. The figure was still erect, but the head a little more bent than before. The outlines of the nude were more defective. Green half tints contrasted with reddish shadows. The modelling of the parts was rendered as geographers are wont to represent the swells of hills, by meandering lines, the features by closely repeated red, black, and white, and the anatomy by black streaks. This Crucifix, which is connected with a miracle of the year 1209,[1] may be of the latter half of the twelfth century. Two more Crucifixes, exactly similar in character and plan, but somewhat damaged by time, are in S. Donnino,[2] and S. Maria de' Servi at Lucca, and thus prove the existence of painters there in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. That the art of painting, far from improving, retrograded at Lucca, except perhaps in certain technical modes of execution, is evident from the works of the Berlinghieri, a family of artists which can be traced back to about A.D. 1200. Amongst the names of men who signed the treaty of peace with Pisa in 1228 occur those of five painters. Lotharius and Ranuccius, of whom no works are known, and Bonaventura, Barone, and Marco Berlinghieri.[3] Of the latter the names are repeated in another record of the same period, from which it appears further that Bonaventura and Barone were the sons of one Berlingherus, a Milanese.[4] The latter still lived in 1228.[5] Marco, according to the capitular records of Lucca, was a miniature painter and the author of an illuminated Bible executed in 1250.[6] Barone had, according to the same authority, executed several Crucifixes, one for the Pieve of Casabasciana in 1254, another for S. Alessandro Maggiore at Lucca in 1284.[7] Of Bonaventura, whose works have alone been preserved, panels and wall-paintings were known to have been completed

miniatures of earlier centuries. On a small panel at the foot of the Cross, Peter might be seen seated, listening to the questions of the servant.

[1] See the *Opusculo* of TELESFORO BINI (Lucca), pp. 13, 18.

[2] This Crucifix is damaged by time and repairs.

[3] TELESFORO BINI, *ubi sup.*, p. 15.

[4] Ibid., same page.

[5] *Atti della R. Acad. di Lucca*, vol. xiii., p. 365.

[6] *Archives of the Chapter of Lucca*, lib. LL. 25, fol. 78, in BINI, *ubi sup.*, p. 15.

[7] *Archives of the Cancelleria del Vescovado* (Lucca), lib. vi., fol. 10, in BINI, *ubi sup.*

in 1235 and 1244.[1] It is not many years since a picture, assigned to Margaritone in the church of San Francesco of Pescia, was subjected to a rigid examination by Professor Michele Ridolfi, who discovered that, according to a practice not uncommon in past time, the head of the principal figure was on a lower panel, whilst the rest was painted on another, superposed.[2] This later addition having been removed, a standing figure was laid bare, of S. Francis, holding a book and showing the Stigmata, with two archangels at his shoulders, and six incidents of his life in a triple course of panels at his sides. Beneath his feet were the following lines :

A.D. M.CCXXXV.
BONAVĔTURA BERLĨGHERI DE LU . . .

S. Francis was of a long form, in cowl, frock and cord. His shaven head, of regular shape, was of a lean and bony form, with sharp features and a wrinkled brow, and supported on a very thin neck. The figure seemed to hang in air, with a pair of very ugly feet pointing downwards. The flesh tints were of a bronzed yellow, with green shadows stippled in black, and broadly defined by dark outlines, the lights marked by streaks of white. The execution was perhaps more careful and the idea of rotundity less feebly conveyed than in the Crucifix of Santa Giulia, but the method was the same in both. The drapery of the frock, being all of one colour, was indicated by lines.[3] The angels, mere half figures with embroidered dresses in the old motionless style, and the episodes of the saint's life were rendered with childish simplicity, coloured in sharply contrasted keys of colour. There was indeed in the resolute intention of conveying the subjects something approaching to the ludicrous. S. Francis might be seen talking to sparrows

[1] Bonaventura painted on the wall in Lucca in 1244. (*Arch. of the Canca. of the Vescovado*, lib. LL. 18, fol. 115.) He painted in 1243 a panel for the archdeacon of Lucca (lib. xvii., fol. 12). Barone was summoned to complete within a given time a Madonna which he and Bonaventura had commenced at S. Alessandro of Lucca. Lib. L. No. 3, fol. 2, in *Lettera del Prof. M. Ridolfi al Marchese Selvatico* (8vo, Lucca, 1857), p. 15. Again Barone promises to paint a room for the canons of the cathedral of Lucca in 1240. Same *Arch.*, lib. LL. 18, fol. 115, in *Lettera, ubi sup.*, p. 16.

[2] TELESFORO BINI, *ubi sup.*, pp. 18, 19.

[3] The picture is on gold ground, S. Francis over life size. At Modena, in possession of Count Montecuculi, is a picture of S. Francis inscribed : "BONAVENTURA BERLINGERI ME PINXIT DE LUCCA. A.D. M.CC.XXX.V." Painted in oil on canvas, it is a copy, and the signature a forgery. Yet there is a very pretty quarrel of pamphlets respecting its originality. See the Marquis Campori's sensible remarks on this subject. (*Gli Artisti Italiani e Stranieri negli Stati Estensi*, 8vo, Modena, 1855, p. 86.) The picture of Count Montecuculi is from the Castle or Rocca of Giulia. See also LANZI, *Roscoe's trn., Bohn*, vol. ii., p. 343, 1847, and vol. i., p. 37.

of a gigantic size, perched on trees growing out of a conical hill. His cure of the lame was shown, not merely by the straightening of the limb of one sitting on a rock in a stream, but by the figure of another retiring whole with his crutches on his shoulders.[1] This was an art as primitive as that of the sculptors who had preceded Niccola Pisano in Central Italy, an art which, assisting itself at first by the use of plastic form, improved but slightly in technical execution, and never could rise even to mediocrity. The student who cannot visit Lucca may satisfy himself of the infantine nature of Lucchese art in the thirteenth century, by examining in the Academy at Florence a Crucifixion [2] with the usual episodes.[3] He will see in this work, originally executed for the nuns of S. Chiara of Lucca, the decline of the school of the Berlinghieri, and the Saviour hanging dead on the Cross with sunken head and closed eyes, as it was customary to depict him, when it became meritorious to represent the Divinity in the lowest stage of human suffering.

After the Berlinghieri came Deodato Orlandi, the author of a Crucifix now in the magazines of the palace of Parma, after having been in S. Cerbone,[4] and in the ducal chapel of Marlia. Deodato lived in the close of the thirteenth century; and his Crucifix is inscribed:

A.D. M.CCLXXXVIII DEODATI FILII ORLANDI DE LUCH. PINXIT.

He represented the Saviour on the Cross in a more defective and unnatural shape than the Berlinghieri, with a long and ill-proportioned frame, overhanging belly, and a sunken head;—with scarcely any brow, but a caricature of expression. The features were contracted by angular lines; and the beard or massive hair was indicated by a series of curves. The frame betrayed an effort at representing play of muscles without any knowledge of their real form. The shoulders were broad, the waist thin, the joints swollen and without any promise of motion, the feet and hands defective.[5] A tawny green general tint prevailed in the flesh, piercing through the muslin drapery on the hips. The lights were painted and stippled in over a local tone of verde, whilst

[1] The remaining subjects are S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, restoring the child to life, giving alms, and expelling devils. In the last some figures of males and females, possessed, offer a variety of ugliness. The little devils fly quaintly out of their mouths.

[2] [No. 101], gold ground, almost gone.

[3] The Virgin fainting in the arms of the Maries, the Evangelist convoying Christ on the road to Calvary, and the Virgin and Child between SS. John the Baptist, Peter, Clara, and five other saints.

[4] Two miles outside the gate of S. Pietro at Lucca.

[5] Yet this is no worse production than those of the period generally. See, later, a Crucifix assigned to Cimabue in the sacristy of Santa Croce at Florence, and the deformities attributed to Margaritone.

the cheeks and lips were tinged with red. The head of the Saviour, in the act of benediction at the top of the Cross, contrasted in so far with that of the crucified Redeemer, that it was of an oval and regular shape, whilst the Virgin and S. John Evangelist, lamenting at the extremity of the arms, were mean and vulgar, revealing the deficiency of the artist in the power of imparting expression otherwise than by contraction of brow and features.[1]

Deodato still painted as late as 1301, when he executed a Virgin and Saints in five arched compartments inscribed :

AD. M.CCCI. DEODATUS ORLANDI ME PINXIT

now in the gallery of Fine Arts at Pisa.[2]

He gave to the Madonna the high forehead, the small chin and neck of the Virgin in the foregoing Crucifix. To her features he imparted the usual painful expression by wrinkles and contraction of brow, whilst, as regards colour, he apparently gained some lightness from the study of new examples which were now increasing in numbers under the impulse of the Florentine revival.

Here, then, was a school of painting which, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, had merely prolonged the agony of Christian art in its decline, and which even in the person of Deodato showed no traces of improvement. Were local historians to be credited, that artist succeeded at last in producing one picture worthy of admiration, yet this picture has less the character of the school of Lucca than that of a Sienese painter of the fourteenth century.[3]

[1] The outlines in the Crucifix are of a certain tenuity and cut into the surface. The nimbus as usual projects. The blue mantle and red tunic of the Saviour in glory have been retouched. The latter is shot with gold lights. The Saviour crucified is also retouched here and there.

[2] The Virgin and Child enthroned between SS. James, Damian, Peter, and Paul.

[3] Padre Antonio da Brandeglio, in a life of S. Cerbone, alludes to Deodata's Crucifix of 1288, and adds that the same Deodato was commissioned to paint "una imagine" for the nuns of S. Cerbone. In 1295 the convent was on fire, and the Crucifix, with a picture of the Virgin and Child in the midst of saints, was saved with difficulty. Ridolfi, *Atti uffiziali della Reale Acad. Lucch.* (Lucca, 1845), xii., p. 20. There is now at S. Cerbone a picture of the Virgin holding the Saviour tenderly, in good movement and well draped, with the narrow eyes, peculiar to Simone and Ugolino of Siena —of clear flesh tints, and neat outlines—of S. John Evangelist with a long flowing beard and a face full of character coloured with much impasto. Both figures, painted on the verde for flesh tint with shadows stippled in red, red cheeks and lips, betray the manner of the school of Siena, and a far later date than 1301. But even if of 1301, how could this picture be saved from fire in 1295 ? And again how could Deodato paint a better picture before 1295 than that of 1301 ?

But in Lucca there were mosaists as well as painters and sculptors. Rumohr quotes Brunetti [1] for the interesting fact that in 754–763 Astolph the Lombard employed a Lucchese mosaist of the name of Aripert. But the mosaists, who in the thirteenth century represented Christ in a glory carried by angels and the twelve apostles on the front of the church of S. Frediano were entitled to very little consideration. They displayed indeed in a disproportioned figure of the Redeemer, in angels of vehement and exaggerated movement, in apostles of excessively defective forms, no greater art than their comrades in painting or sculpture.

As at Lucca, so at Pisa, painters existed apparently in very early times. There are notices of Enrico a miniaturist at Pisa in 1238.[2] As far back as 1275, it appears that money was voted by the "commune" for the purpose of restoring or repainting "the images of the Virgin Mary and other saints on the gates of the city," because they were then well nigh obliterated.[3] The earliest examples of painting are however again Crucifixes, the oldest of which, at S. Marta, has a general likeness, as regards the position and expression of the Saviour, to the Crucified Redeemer in S. Angelo at Capua. The body is low in reference to the position of the arms, but the frame is still erect, the eyes open and menacing, and the feet apart. This Crucifix probably belongs therefore to the eleventh century.[4] Its side panels are interesting.

A composition of the Capture repeated in a MS. (Greek) of the twelfth century at the Vatican, of which Agincourt gives an engraving (vol. ii. pl. lvii.), is remarkable in this sense, that the artist thought it necessary to show the superiority of the Redeemer by a certain prominence of stature, in the midst of a crowd of smaller mortals. To the left, Peter, erect, smites Malchus, whilst in the miniature of the Vatican the latter is prostrate and S. Peter kneels as he threatens him with the sword. In a Deposition, one of the Maries stands on a stool and assists to lower the body held by Joseph of Arimathæa, whilst the Virgin kisses the hand and Nicodemus extracts the nail. In the last subject, the angel sits on the tomb and the Maries listen with surprise

[1] Rumohr, *Forschungen*, vol. i., p. 188.

[2] See Ciampi, *ubi sup.*, pp. 86 and 141; *Doc.* xxi.

[3] Bonaini, *Notizie Inedite*, pp. 87, 88.

[4] The bust of the Saviour in glory, apparently broken off from the top of the Cross, is now placed immediately above the projecting nimbus of the crucified Redeemer. The figures on the arms of the Cross as usual represent the Virgin and S. John, but the episodes at the sides slightly differ in arrangement and subject from those of Lucca. In the upper course is the Capture, and Christ before Pilate; in the next the Saviour Crowned with Thorns and Flagellated; in the last, the Deposition and the Maries at the Sepulchre.

to his announcement of the resurrection, whilst a soldier still sleeps at the foot of the sepulchre.

These subjects[1] deserve to be noticed, because they may be seen repeated in the same traditional forms and grouping by later and more able artists. They were represented in the crucifix of S. Marta with some animation of movement, with distances of red houses on gold ground, and they were painted with considerable body of colour. On two little compartments, at the foot of the cross, S. Peter sits before a fire, and a figure may be seen knocking at a door.

Another Crucifix of the same period has been recently discovered in San Sepolcro of Pisa, in which the Redeemer is represented in a position more erect than before, and as usual in fair proportions.[2] The painter of this Crucifix was a rude executant. He lined the forms with red in the lights, and black in the shaded side. The features are everywhere marked by lines as if in profile; the nude feebly defined, and the colour of an uniform reddish tone unrelieved by shadow. The face of the Saviour is indicated by elementary lines—the eyes large, and the nose bent.

That the painters of Pisa and Lucca, in their mode of representing the Saviour, merely followed customs familiar to them by numerous examples of an earlier time, has been sufficiently proved at Rome and in South Italy. If additional proofs were required, they would be found in the Crucifix of Sarzana, in character like that of S. Marta of Pisa, where the open-eyed Saviour was placed erect on the Cross in the simple attitude familiar to the eleventh century.[3] They would be found likewise in a Crucifix at S. Giovanni e Paolo of Spoleto,[4] inscribed at the foot as follows:

A.D. MCLXXXVII. M. OPUS ALBERTO SOM. . . .

Without describing the attitude of the Saviour, which does not essentially differ from that of the Redeemer in the Cappella del Martirologio at Rome, it may be remarked that this Alberto gave to the

[1] Some of the small scenes are partly damaged by time and restoring.

[2] The Saviour in glory at the top is wanting; and instead of the Virgin and Evangelist on the arms are two small pictures of the Last Supper, and Christ Washing the Feet of his Disciples. Again, instead of S. Peter and the servant, at the foot of the Cross, the Descent of the Holy Spirit is introduced. The six side compartments contain, the Capture, Crucifixion, Maries at the Sepulchre, Meeting at Emmaus, Last Supper, and Final Interview with the Apostles.

[3] With the usual episodes of the Passion at the sides.

[4] This church or chapel is held in peculiar reverence, and is difficult to enter.

head the bullet shape occasionally to be found in pictures and mosaics at Rome after the seventh century, combined with a high forehead, hair falling in waves along the sides of a slender neck, round eyes, and a nose protruding at the end like a ball. The feet and hands are long and pointed, and the forms bounded by a continuous wiry outline, broad at the thorax retreating towards the waist. Some little shadow of a reddish hue relieves the general yellowish tone. The cheek is a little rouged, and the whole carried out on a parchment stretched on the wood.[1]

Superior to this, but doubtless of a later date, is the Crucifix in the Cappella Maggiore of the Campo Santo at Pisa, in which the lean figure of the Redeemer on the Cross is marked by a certain yielding elasticity.

The bending head and closed eyes indicate here the development of a later religious conception, though as yet the sense of pain was rendered without exaggeration of expression and rather by a quiet mournfulness. Still the drawing is not without the usual defects of the time. The features are rudely made out, the diaphragm and stomach indicated by lines, and the extremities thin and pointed. The attendant episodes are the same as before, but more animated and somewhat truer in action.[2]

The date of this Crucifix may be fixed with accuracy, by the attitude and expression of the Saviour, between A.D. 1150 and 1190.[3] Hence it is difficult to assent to the opinion of those who assign it to Apollonius a Greek, whom Vasari rescues from oblivion, but who seems, if Del Migliore be not mistaken, to have lived a century later.[4]

[1] The loins of the Saviour are enveloped in a transparent green cloth bordered with red. The head and nimbus project as usual. The Saviour's hair is a dull red as at S. Elia of Nepi. The blood from the wounds flows into a death's-head below, the emblem of the first man; and at the sides, instead of the usual scenes of the Passion, are two panels representing the Virgin and the Evangelist.

[2] They represent the Deposition, almost in the same form as at S. Marta, the Maries at the Sepulchre with the angel sitting on the tomb—the Pietà—in which the body of the Saviour lies on the lap of the Virgin, saints at each side, and three angels above—Christ at Emmaus—the Entombment, and the Incredulity of S. Thomas. At the extremities of the arms, the Virgin and Evangelist occupy one panel, whilst the other is devoted to the three Maries. On a second horizontal limb the four archangels are represented, with the orb and sceptre, and at the foot the Saviour appears in Limbo.

[3] This Crucifix was formerly in S. Matteo of Pisa, where MORRONA, *Pis. Illust.*, vol. iii., p. 184, mentions it as an "anticaglia" possibly by Giunta. It was previously in the suppressed convent of S. Lorenzo. ROSINI, *St. della Pittura* (Pis., 1839), vol. i., p. 83.

[4] Commentary on the life of Tafi, in VAS., vol. i., p. 288. Del Migliore pretends to have read a record of 1279, in which were the words: "MAGISTER APOLLONIUS PICTOR FLORENTINUS."

The progress of the mournful in the conception of the Saviour was marked with greater force in a later Crucifix at S. Pietro in Vinculis, now S. Piorino of Pisa,[1] in which, though the feet of the colossal Saviour were still separately nailed to the Cross, the belly and hips hung outwards and gave realism to the idea of death. At the same time, grim care and age were expressed in the face. The oblique brows, forehead, and closed eyes were furrowed with wrinkles, and created strange corrugations by their contraction. Anatomy seemed to have been studied in vain, and the execution showed the gradual decline of art even from the standard of previous years, in dark strong outlines and a thin yellowish colour.[2]

With this doleful representation of the Divinity of the Saviour, the spectator is introduced to the degenerate style of Giunta Pisano, who, though not the author of it, carefully copied its defects. Giunta, so far from exhibiting the characteristics of one destined to regenerate art, merely followed it in its decline. Art, thus reduced to the representation of one figure, which in itself should combine all excellence, had reached in him a level below which it was only just possible to fall. He executed, in the Crucifix of S. Raineri e Leonardo at Pisa, a work more calculated to repel than to invite observation.[3] Whilst he preserved the custom of keeping the feet of the Saviour apart, he realised the idea of death and pain, as regards the figure, by the overhanging belly and hips, and as regards the head, not merely by its total abandonment to its own weight, but by a hideous exaggeration of grief. It would be difficult to find anything more vulgar or repulsive than the angular contractions and swollen muscles of the brow, the vast and unnatural forehead, the large nose cut into two or three sharp planes, the mapped out hair lined at angles as it lies in masses on the shoulder, or worse proportion in the long, falsely anatomised body, short arms, and long, pointed feet. The head of the Saviour

[1] To the right on the wall behind the high altar.

[2] The medallion of the Saviour in glory at the top is supported by two angels in flight, and on a tablet below it the Descent of the Spirit is depicted. Between the two is the following inscription: "MORTIS DESTRUCTOR, VITÆ REPARATOR ET AUCTOR." Rosini, *Stor. della Pittura* (Pis., 1839), vol. i., p. 87, doubts the genuineness of this inscription. But why? At the ends of the horizontal limb two archangels stand holding the orb and sceptre. The Virgin and S. John are on the sides, as in the crucifix of Spoleto, and at the foot, S. Peter and the servant—the whole painted on a primed canvas, stretched on the gesso. This Crucifix is as usual on gold ground, and the projections at the sides an ornament of black and red fillets.

[3] This Crucifix is inscribed below the feet of the Saviour: "JUNCTA PISANUS ME FECIT," and hung in the time of Morrona (*Pis. Illust.*, vol. ii., p. 135) in the kitchen of the convent of S. Anna of Pisa.

in glory at the top of the Cross corresponds singularly with that of the crucified Redeemer, in so far as its lean bullet shape, round gazing eyes, and enormous wig are ugly and repulsive—a character to which the Virgin and Evangelist at the extremity of the limbs are equally entitled.[1] Painting in Pisa was evidently at a low ebb at the time of Giunta, and no better proof of this fact need be sought than that afforded by the rude works of S. Pier d'Arena, now S. Pietro in Grado, outside the town, on the road to Leghorn. In the first half of the thirteenth century the chief aisle of this edifice was painted in the style then usual throughout Italy—that is, with a due subordination of the pictorial to the architectural adornment.

In the upper course beneath a painted cornice, angels were depicted as if appearing at open or half-closed windows, made by a rude sort of perspective to imitate recesses and openings. In a lower course, episodes from the lives of S. Peter and S. Paul were depicted, amongst which the martyrdom of both are fairly visible. Lower again, a series of painted arches were filled with portraits of popes, some of which are now modern. The whole of the architecture, real or feigned, was coloured in raw and startling tones. The figures were heavy and square in proportions, and large of forehead and head, the features being indicated by profile lines of angular or oblique direction. The eyes were large and round, the mouths small and expressed by three lines like half of a hexagon, the beards by three or four strokes of a brush. The outlines generally were red. Yet in all this rudeness the painters still preserved the characteristic traits of S. Peter and S. Paul. The technical execution was that well-known method which consisted in covering the space within the outlines in verde, over which the yellow lights were laid with a red patch to mark the cheeks.

If Giunta be not the author of these paintings, there can be no doubt that the artists were of the school from which he comes. Here indeed is no more trace of the Greek manner, respecting which so much has been said by the historians of Italian and chiefly of Pisan art, than is to be found in all the works of this period. Nay, in one sense the rude paintings of S. Pietro in Grado are so far different in design from such Greek works as the mosaics of Monreale and of the chapel of S. Silvestro [2] at Rome, that the figures have not an affrighted glance, but an air of comparative repose. But it is probable that even the moderns share with Vasari a certain

[1] Here the episodes of the Passion are wanting. The figure of the Saviour in glory is on gold ground.

[2] SS. Quattro Coronati.

dislike for works which are surely not to be highly prized, except by those who may contemplate in them a useful source, from which to derive a correct idea of the state of Italian art in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Besides the paintings of S. Pietro in Grado, other works exist in Pisa itself, which betray a lamentable barbarism. Such, for instance, are the damaged wall paintings in the *Opera* of the cathedral,[1] a work darkened by time, coarsely outlined, and painted with much body of tempera colour.[2]

With little better art, and in the mixed architectural and pictorial manner of S. Pietro in Grado, the nave of the Lower Church of S. Francesco at Assisi seems to have been painted, between 1225 and 1250, with scenes from the life of the Saviour on the left hand and scenes from the life of S. Francis on the right.[3] An effort may be traced in the artist to give animation to his slender figures, which in type and mode of execution are like those in the paintings of San Pietro in Grado. An interesting scene is that which still represents part of the form of the naked Saviour lying on the sepulchre, whilst the Virgin falls backwards in a swoon into the arms of the Maries, who in their features express the agony of their grief. The painter had a clear intention and exhibits some dramatic power. In this and other points there is a slight superiority at Assisi over the paintings of S. Pietro in Grado.[4] It is difficult, however, to explain why these paintings should be assigned to Greeks, unless it be resolved that everything poor in art is Greek in the thirteenth century, and in that case Giunta would be the most genuine of all the Byzantines.[5] Whatever may have been this painter's real birthplace, there is no doubt that he is claimed by the Pisans, and in this they are authorised by the signatures on his paintings, in which he calls himself Pisanus. Ciampi has published a contract of sale executed in 1202 [6] at Pistoia between one Struffaldus and one "Juncta quondam Guidotti pict.," and another of 1229 in which the same name appears, but the link

[1] Where the Virgin and Child are enthroned between S. John the Baptist and S. John Evangelist in niches.

[2] See a print of this rude work in Rosini, *Storia della Pittura, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 76.

[3] Vasari, vol. i., p. 223, assigns these paintings to Cimabue.

[4] [For a description of these paintings *cf.* Fratini, *St. della Basilica e del Convento di S. Francesco in Assisi* (Prato, 1882), pp. 35–39.]

[5] Still earlier wall paintings were noticed by Rumohr in the crypt of S. Francesco of Assisi (*Forschungen*, vol. i., p. 193); but they have since been obliterated.

[6] But the record was in the Archivio Diplomatico of Florence. See Ciampi, *Not. Ined., ubi sup.*, p. 140.

which should confirm the identity of the party to the contract with Giunta is wanting. In the last-named document, Guidottus is called "de Colle," upon which Morrona jumps at the conclusion that Giunta is of the noble family *dal Colle*.[1] A more satisfactory record is that which preserves the name of "Juncta Capitenus pictor," as having sworn fealty in 1255 to the Archbishop Federigo Visconti of Pisa.[2]

That Giunta painted in the first half of the thirteenth century is a fact confirmed as much by the foregoing record as by the evidence of style; and as in the Crucifix of S. Raineri e Leonardo a genuine example of the master is extant, one may accept or reject the works assigned to him, according as they approach or recede from the original pattern. Setting aside, for this reason, two Crucifixes in the Cappella Maggiore of the Campo Santo,[3] a third, colossal, in the hospital of Pisa, so dark from age and position that it can hardly be distinguished, and a fourth in S. Caterina of Siena,[4] Giunta may be followed to Assisi where after 1220 he is said to have painted in the Upper Church of S. Francesco. The annalists of Pisa, Wadding and Father Angeli, vouch for the truth of statements according to which Giunta painted a Crucifixion with Father Elias, the first general of the Franciscans, embracing the foot of the Cross, on a large panel which hung until 1624 on a transom in this edifice.[5] The inscription:

FRATER . ELIAS . FIERI FECIT
JESU CHRISTE PIE
MISERERE PRECANTIS HELIE
GIUNTA PISANUS ME PINXIT A.D. 1236.
IND. 9

would fix the date of Giunta's presence at Assisi, and his residence there. And the probability of this fact is confirmed by the existence of a Crucifix in S. Maria degli Angeli, inscribed with the words—

. . . NTA PISANUS
ITI P. ME FECIT.

Though here the head of the Crucified Redeemer, as well as that of the Saviour in glory above it, is almost gone, the forms and

[1] Colle is a village near Florence.
[2] See MORRONA, *Pis. Illust.*, vol. ii., p. 116 and following.
[3] As being by other hands, and repainted.
[4] From S. Crestina of Pisa, MORRONA, *Pis. Illust.*, vol. ii., p. 142.
[5] See the passages quoted in MORRONA, *Pis. Illust.*, vol. ii., p. 126 and following.

execution closely resemble those of the Crucifix of S. Raineri e Leonardo at Pisa; whilst they also display, with more distinctness than the latter, those of the Crucifix of S. Pierino. The usual half figures of the Virgin and Evangelist on the horizontal limb likewise betray the style of Giunta, whilst two figures at the sides which are in the manner of Niccola da Foligno may be taken as additions of a later period.

Time has almost obliterated the painted decorations of the transepts and choir of the Upper Church of Assisi, assigned partly to Giunta and partly to Cimabue.[1] That the former laboured there is affirmed by Wadding and Angeli on the authority of the conventual records,[2] and probable from the style of the work, which is that of a rude artist of the early part of the thirteenth century; but by the side of these early paintings are others, likewise of early date, of no very high pretension, but in a different manner; and, with all deference to the opinion of Rumohr,[3] it may be possible and not unimportant to determine which are the earlier of the two, always bearing in mind, however, that great part of what remains is mutilated and damaged as regards colour, whilst in general the contours remain, where the plaster has not fallen or been removed. A large stone altar in the western side of the south transept has almost entirely cut away a Crucifixion, of which the upper part is obliterated, whilst a half figure of the Virgin falling backwards in a swoon, and pieces of figures, nimbuses in relief, and angels are all that can be seen of the lower. In this figure of the Virgin the spectator may yet discern in the long head, projecting brow, and depressed nose, in the broad red outlines and angular draperies, coarsely traced in black, the defects of a painter who, like Giunta, lived before the revival of art. In the large flaws, he may remark that the painting was upon a single intonaco, and that the original design was sketched on the bare wall, whilst, as regards colour, a slight shade of yellow in the flesh, apparently laid in as tempera, is all that remains. Along the arches of the colonnade which divides the upper from the lower course of the edifice and serves as a practicable gallery, medallions seem to have contained the forms of angels, and prophets to have adorned the

[1] The paintings of the choir are assigned by VASARI, vol. i., p. 223, to Cimabue.

[2] See in MORRONA, *Pis Illust.*, vol. ii., p. 119.

[3] RUMOHR (*Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 37) thinks it impossible and unimportant to attempt discovering the masters who may have painted in the Upper Church of Assisi in the thirteenth century.

walls of the gallery itself. In the lunette, the Transfiguration was originally depicted. All this, where the design exists, reveals the same hand, which may be traced likewise in the three divisions of the end wall of the transept. Of these one is obliterated whilst the two others represent in mere outline the Crucifixion of S. Peter, and Simon Magus carried away by the ministers of Satan. In the latter, the vehement action of the old style may be noticed, and would alone suffice to prove that the painter preserved the forms and peculiarities of an art approaching extinction.[1] In the lunette above the window are the figures of the angel appearing to Mary. The east face of the transept is bare ; but in the pentagonal choir are still remains of painting. In the first side, the artist evidently intended to delineate the Saviour and the Virgin on a common throne with angels singing about it, and on the colonnade of the gallery, prophets ; in the second, the Death of the Virgin of which that portion remains which depicts her carried to heaven in an elliptical glory by angels ; in the third, above a great throne, two portraits of popes; in the fourth, the Death of the Virgin, of which all that is now visible is a figure of the Saviour with her infant form in his arms ; in the fifth the Birth of Mary, with S. Anna lying on the bed in the antique attitude. In the lunettes of the choir were scenes from the Old Testament. Painting here generally was subordinate, as in the Baptistery of Parma, to a general architectural arrangement, the arches, recesses, cornices, and columns being coloured, and, with the painted subjects, subservient to a general harmony.

The end wall of the north transept was divided, like that of the southern, into three parts, in which are vestiges of the Saviour enthroned in an elliptical glory supported by four angels blowing trumpets ;—vague remains of four winged skeletons, with heads of aged men and horns in their hands in a landscape, and between these two compositions, one, figuring a throne with the symbols of the Four Evangelists and angels. The Saviour in glory is characterised by paltry forms and a large head. A vast circular wig of hair with a heavy forelock overhangs a broad forehead and semicircular eyebrows. The nose seems to start from a projecting triangular root and is flattened at the end ; and the face is terminated by a small pointed chin and beard. These were features less characteristic of Giunta than of Cimabue's manner. The blue draperies, of which the red preparation alone remains, are

[1] See a print of the painting in AGINCOURT.

less angular than those of the fainting Virgin in the opposite transept. The hands and feet are defective and broad. The angels blowing trumpets are of a heavy and rotund form, with short round noses and chins, and expanded cheeks. The whole is painted over verde, which served for the semitones, whilst the shadows are red. Above the gallery are angels and saints, as in the colonnade of the western face, where they are of a colossal character, but in a great measure obliterated. Taking the paintings of both transepts into comparison, it is obvious that those of the southern are older in date and inferior in character to those of the northern. The paintings of the choir, assigned by Vasari to Cimabue, it may be difficult to judge, but those of the northern transept certainly make a nearer approach to the style of Cimabue than to that of Giunta.

It is but natural that Giunta, having lived and painted about the time when the fame of S. Francis had been increased by canonisation, should be associated in name with the so-called portrait of the saint in the sacristy of the great sanctuary. This work,[1] if examined more particularly in an artistic sense, did not differ much in execution from that of the successors of Giunta, but was painted with much body of yellowish colour, shadowed in dark tones, and outlined in black, and might date as far back as the close of the thirteenth century. The pictures in the small compartments are composed of figures in the usual exaggerated manner of the time. The effigy of S. Francis was repeated an hundred times in this form in the convents of his order, and a sample, nearer in style to the foregoing than others, may be seen somewhat damaged in the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican.[2]

After Giunta, art did not revive at Pisa. It maintained itself at a low level in every sense, improving neither in types, form, nor execution, yet producing still with an industry truly tiring. Nor are examples of this nature confined to Pisa. A specimen of the feeblest kind may be found, in the shape of a Crucifix, at S. Bernardino of Perugia, inscribed "ANNO DOMINI MCCLXXI. GREGORII P. P. X." At Pistoia, in the ante-chamber of the chapter of the cathedral, is a Crucifix, exaggerating all the defects previously noticed,[3] and repeating the well-known scenes of the Passion, almost as at S. Marta of Pisa. Yet it cannot be said that the painter was a Pisan since artists obviously existed at Pistoia as elsewhere, and

[1] See *postea*, comparison between this and other portraits of S. Francis.
[2] Case No. 19.
[3] Livid in flesh tone, but light in general colour, and the high lights almost white; much impasto.

the name of Manfredino d'Alberto is preserved as the author in 1290 of frescoes in the sacristy of S. Procolo.

Another unpleasant example of Crucifixes in this century may be found at S. Eustorgio in Milan, probably by one Fra Gabrio of Cremona,[1] which combines every sort of defect, and represents the Saviour hanging out from the Cross in the most contorsive movement.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century at Pisa, the names of painters become more frequent in records. "Giucchus, pictor, filius Bindi Giucchi pictoris," appears in a chart of 1290–1300,[2] whilst in the works of the Duomo, several mosaists and painters are mentioned immediately previous to the arrival of Cimabue. Amongst these, the chief, no doubt, was Francesco, who in 1301 (new style) held the office of *capo-maestro* for the mosaics of the great tribune, and who afterwards, with his assistant Lapo and his son Vittorio, was the colleague of the Florentine in that work.[3] In subordinate employ were Gavoccius,[4] Barile, Cagnassus, Parduccius, Povagansa, and Turetto,[5] Tanus, and Ghele di S. Margarita.[6] Contemporary with these, but not regularly employed in the Duomo, though equally unknown by their works, were Vanni of Siena, supposed to be the father of a line of painters,[7] Bordone di Buoncristiano, his son Colino,[8] Vivaldo and Paganello,[9] all living at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Yet of pictures as old as the thirteenth century Pisa possesses few; and these are by no means productions of merit. The oldest that

[1] Consult MS. Chron. of the Dominican, Galvano Fiamina at Milan, who assigns this Crucifix to the year 1288 and to Fra Gabrio of Cremona.

[2] Bindus had painted in the cloisters of S. Catherine of Pisa. See *Mem. d'Illust. Pis.*, vol. i., p. 258, by TEMPESTI, extr. in *Arch. Stor.*, vol. vi., p. 495, The chart mentioned in text is No. 1110 of the *Archivio Arcivescovile* in BONAINI, *Notizie Ined.*, p. 88.

[3] Uguccio Grugni and Jacobus Murci were then superintendents of the Duomo. Francesco's daily pay was 10 soldi, the same as Cimabue afterwards received. Vittorio works later (1302) for 4 soldi 8 den. See BONAINI, who quotes the original records, and corrects Rosini's statement that Francesco was *capo-maestro* after Cimabue. (*Notizie Ined.*, pp. 90, 91, 92.)

[4] As "puer" or "famulus" at 8 den. per diem. Ibid., p. 86.

[5] The first four seem mere labourers; Turetto was a mosaist, and has been confounded probably with Fra Jacopo (di Torrita) by VASARI (vol. i., p. 285). Ibid., p. 89.

[6] These two are painters. Ibid., p. 92.

[7] Vannes *quondam* Boni painted in 1302 for 9 lire the hall of the Compagnia d'Arme della Cerva Nera, and gilded a Virgin and Child above the portal of the Duomo. BONAINI, pp. 88, 89.

[8] The first is known as a painter of banners; the second had more extensive employment. BONAINI, p. 90.

[9] The latter, alive 1304; the former dead in the same year. Ibid., p. 94.

can be pointed out is perhaps a Virgin and Child in the Academy of Pisa, with S. Martin on horseback on the pediment, and incidents of the life of the Saviour at each side. This picture, assigned to Cimabue [1] has something of his manner in the action of the ugly infant Saviour, whilst the Virgin betrays, in the depressed nose and black outlines, the hand of one continuing the style of Giunta. Another picture in five arched compartments in the same Academy, representing half figures of the Saviour in the act of benediction between the Virgin and S. John Evangelist, S. Sylvester, and S. Catherine, has been assigned to Giunta,[2] but displays the defects common to the beginning of the fourteenth century, combined with that lighter style of colouring which may already be noticed in the latest work of the Lucchese, Deodato Orlandi. Nor indeed is there much difference, in the mode of drawing the sharp features and ugly hands of the Redeemer, between this and the third-rate productions of the painters of Lucca.[3]

Pisa therefore in the thirteenth century, though great for its school of sculpture, was feeble as regards painting. Her artists produced, besides Crucifixes, vast works such as those of S. Pietro in Grado and Assisi; but they displayed no peculiarities which can be called exclusively Pisan. They betrayed, on the contrary, a character common to painters throughout the whole of Italy, to the artists of Parma, of S. Angelo near Capua, and even of Rome. The list might be increased indeed by the productions of those early workmen who in 1237 executed, in the palace of the Podestà at S. Gimignano, the incidents of a hunt of which some vestiges still exist—men of small attainments, and more rude in talents than those who painted the central aisle of the Lower Church of Assisi.[4]

At Siena, the parent stock of S. Gimignano, art shared the mediocrity of Pisa and of Lucca. In the oldest example of a school which was afterwards to occupy the second rank in Italy, a lunette fresco of the Saviour, with one arm raised, and the other holding a scroll, in the front of the church of S. Bartolommeo,

[1] [By an artist very close to Cimabue, says VENTURI, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 55 *et seq.* He gives a full description of it.]

[2] MORRONA, *Pis. Illust.*, vol. ii., p. 142. This picture was, in Morrona's time, in the church of S. Silvestro of Pisa.

[3] The tones of the draperies in this picture are light, gay, and shot with gold.

[4] In November 1237, a number of young Florentines obtained permission to hunt in the woods of the "Comune" at S. Gimignano; and the expense was borne by the city. See PECORI (Cano. Luigi), *Storia della Terra di S. Gimignano* (8vo, Flor., 1853), p. 565.

the slight figure, regular head, and sharp features, the straight draperies and stippled execution, betrayed no characteristics by which the painter could be distinguished from those of his class elsewhere. In a Virgin and Child preserved at the oratory of S. Ansano in Castel Vecchio,[1] the system of mixed relief and painting betrayed a community of thought and education between the artist and those of neighbouring cities. The execution was feebler indeed than that of the Crucifix of the earlier period at Lucca; yet if it were true that this Virgin was produced in commemoration of the decisive battle of Monte Aperto (1260), it might be considered that the painter was one of the ablest of his time. The Madonnas of Tressa, of the Carmine, and of Betlem, of which so much has been said, and to so little purpose, may be passed over, as no excuse is needed for withholding an opinion upon works so extensively repaired, but others of the early part of the thirteenth century only confirm the belief that Sienese art shared the common degeneracy. The custom of combining the plastic and pictorial was maintained; and altarpieces are preserved in the Academy of Arts sufficient to demonstrate the poverty of that species of production. Without multiplying examples, it may be sufficient to notice a "paliotto"[2] of 1215 representing the Redeemer in the act of benediction in an elliptical glory between two angels and the symbols of the Evangelists, in which the latter, as well as the Saviour, are painted reliefs. In later pictures, where relief was not used, equal feebleness may be traced, as in the Saviour blessing and holding the book between the Virgin and Evangelist;[3]—in S. John enthroned and blessing, with a diadem stuffed with glass stones, whilst, on each side are six scenes from his life, composed of animated figures, painted in a clear tempera of much body in the lights and verde in the shadows;[4] in S. Peter, likewise enthroned, with three incidents of his life in small panels on each side;[5] and finally in a Crucifix from S. Chiara of S. Gimignano, in which the Saviour is presented in the old attitude with the usual

[1] [Now in Museo del Opera del Duomo, Siena. VENTURI gives a photograph (*op. cit.*, v. 37, fig. 28).]

[2] [No. 1 Galleria of Siena.] Three little incidents are at each side, representing gaily coloured, but ill drawn, episodes of the Passion. This altarpiece is inscribed: "ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO CCXV. MENSE NOVEMBRI HÆC TABULA FACTA EST." It comes from the church of the Badia Berardenga.

[3] [Nos. 3, 14, and 15 Galleria of Siena.]

[4] The pictures are from the suppressed convent of S. Petronilla agli Umiliati.

[5] [No. 15 Galleria of Siena.] See also the same general features in others of the same collection.

scenes of the Passion at His sides.[1] Yet if Sienese painters failed to give an impulse to art, the cause lay in no wise in want of encouragement, or in the absence of rivalry. The early school of the old Ghibelline state is, in the thirteenth century, richer in names than the Florentine. The building of its cathedral was commenced and diligently pursued. Mosaics were commissioned for its front.[2] Pictures, commemorative and votive, were ordered for churches and public edifices, amongst which the Palazzo Pubblico was the chief. Justice and law owed some of their efficacy perhaps to artists who painted the likeness of criminals, pilloried in effigy on the great square of the city. Banners and flags were adorned,[3] and even the registers of public offices were covered with portraits of the officials who kept them, or with the arms of the people and "comune."[4] The commissions for most of these paintings unfortunately, in most instances, outlived the works themselves; but amongst the latter class some specimens have been preserved which reveal the style and manner of Gilio[5] and Dietisalvi.[6] The latter appears indeed from 1264 to 1276 as a monopolist of this sort of work in Siena. Four book covers, adorned with portraits of the clerks of the Camarlingo di Biccherna, are preserved in the Archivio di Stato. The first by Maestro Gilio, representing a monk of S. Galgano in a white dress, seated in profile on a chair, is dated 1257. Two others by Dietisalvi, of 1264 and 1269, are portraits of one Ildobrandino Pagliarese; the fourth, of 1276, likewise by Dietisalvi, represents Jacobo di Rodilla.[7] These four figures, interesting on account of their age and authen-

[1] [No. 11 Galleria of Siena.]

[2] Of Michele de Ser Memmo, a goldsmith and mosaist, who executed for the façade a figure of the archangel Michael, and who lived between 1340 and 1370. (*Doc. Sen.*, MILANESI, vol. i., p. 103–4.)

[3] Painters of banners in 1262 are Piero, Bonamico, and Parabuoi. See *Arch. della Biccherna* in RUMOHR (*Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 23).

[4] [On this subject *cf.* among others LISINI, *Le Tavolette Dipinte di Biccherna e di Gabella di R. Archivio di Stato in Siena* (N.D.), and HEYWOOD, *A Pictorial Chronicle of Siena* (Siena, 1902).]

[5] Gilio is noticed in DELLA VALLE, *Lettere Sanese*, vol. i., p. 241.

[6] Dietisalvi Petroni appears first in records of 1267 as painter of the arms of the Camarlingo; in 1269–70 as painter of the books of the Camarlingo, for which work he received 10 soldi. Again, of similar work in 1281–2, and finally in 1290 of a picture of a "Majesty" in the Palazzo Pubblico. See RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 25, and DELLA VALLE, *Lettere Sanese*, vol. i., p. 241. In 1292, one Vigoroso painted books for the Camarlingo, and there are notices of Guido Gratiani, of whom a word later, Jacomino, Morsello Cili, and Castellino Pieri, painters. RUMOHR, *ubi sup.*, pp. 24, 25. [*Cf.* HEYWOOD, *op. cit.*, p. 23, *note* 5.]

[7] [The Tavoletta of 1276 bears a portrait of Dom Bartolommeo, monk of S. Galgano. It is by an unknown artist. *Cf.* HEYWOOD, *op. cit.*, p. 106.]

ticity, are painted with a viscous colour of much impasto on a general ground of verde, shadowed in black and tinged on the lips with dark red. They reveal no sensible progress in the art of the time.[1]

Omitting here a Madonna assigned to Dietisalvi in the convent church of the Servi at Siena,[2] which appears to have been the work of Coppo di Marcovaldo, a Florentine, and a St. George of the fifteenth century in the sacristy of S. Cristoforo at Siena, engraved by Rosini as the work of Salvanello,[3] a Sienese artist of the early time, it will be interesting to pause before a picture in the Academy of Arts at Siena, assigned to Guido,[4] representing a half figure of the Virgin and Child in a frame, at the angles of which are two flying angels.

The Virgin, vast in shape, points with her right hand to the Infant on her knee, who gives the benediction and grasps a scroll in His left hand. Her round head, a little bent, and supported on a slender neck, is most disagreeable to contemplate. The nose, starting from a projecting angular root, terminates in a broad depression, flanked by two large nostrils. The arched lines of the brow are but the continuation of a long curved lid extending towards the temple far beyond the outer corner of the eye. The canthus, instead of forming a loop as in nature, is drawn at a drooping acute angle. The iris, instead of being round, is oblong, and thus conveys an unnatural expression of ecstasy. The mouth is indicated by dark lines and by two black points at the corners. Outlines, red in light, black in shadow, bound the form, which is coloured in flat tones of enamelled surface, placed side by side as in works of

[1] A complete series of examples of this kind may be seen in the collection of M. Ramboux at Cologne, and though of slight importance, being small matters and damaged, may yet be noticed. The series extends from the earliest times of Sienese art to 1492. In it one may remark No. 338, a portrait by Dietisalvi of Don Bartolommeo di Alexis, paid at the rate of 8 soldi—date 1278. 339, a similar portrait of Guido, a monk, by Rinaldo —date 1279. No. 340, portrait dated 1282, assigned to Duccio on the strength of a record of the time. No. 341, date 1296, and so on. Finally, No. 354, a figure of the "Reggimento" of Siena, with persons around holding attributes, such as may be noticed later, date 1363.

[2] Engraved by Rosini in the atlas to his *Storia della Pittura*—table vi., as by Dietisalvi; but see later.

[3] Salvanello is mentioned by Della Valle, *Lettere Sanese*, as a painter at Siena in 1274. The S. George is so obviously of the fifteenth century, that it is difficult to understand Rosini's error. It represents the saint striking at the dragon, whose tail is wound round the leg of the horse. On the breast grip of the martingale are the arms of Siena. In the distance, a landscape, with the usual female, is relieved on a golden sky. The costume of S. George is of the fifteenth century, the drawing very precise and in the style of the painter Giovanni di Paolo, though better than in the usual run of his works.

[4] [No. 16 Galleria of Siena.]

marquetry. The hands are thin and inarticulate. The mantle, falling over a close cap to the shoulders, and partly covering a red tunic, shot with gold, is fairly accurate in fold, but lined with mazes of angular and meaningless strokes. The nimbus is full of glass stones. The same class of features, design, and draperies marks the infant Saviour, whose ears are of an enormous size.

In character, this painting reveals the hand of one who lived between A.D. 1250 and 1300, and, if it be by Guido, would prove that he was of the close, not of the rise of the thirteenth century. This minute description was necessary, as it may help to elucidate a question which has long engrossed critical attention, and involves Sienese and Florentine claims to the title of regenerators of Italian art. It is well known that the church of S. Domenico of Siena contains a picture by Guido,[1] which apparently establishes the supremacy of Siena over Florence.

This picture represents the Virgin and Saviour enthroned in an arch of three curves, above which three angels stand at each side. In the triangular pinnacle, now in the convent of the Benedictines of Siena,[2] the half figure of the Saviour with the book, in the act of benediction, stands between two angels. The vast throne in which the Virgin sits is adorned with abundant tracery, and lined with a drapery. She points with her right hand to the Saviour, who sits crosslegged, in a yellow and gold tunic, on her lap. In her large and angular form, as in that of the angels and of the Saviour in glory on the pinnacle—in the drawing and draperies, the peculiarities and defects of the latter half of the thirteenth century may be traced. A striking resemblance may indeed be noticed, in this respect, between the Virgin of the Siena Academy and that of S. Domenico. The hands of the Madonna are thin and inarticulate, the outlines red in light and black in the shadows. The draperies are shot with mazes of gold lines. In the Christ on the pinnacle, as well as in all the figures of angels, the features are drawn in the style of the Virgin of the Siena Academy: the former, with a vast circular wig and forelock, a wrinkled forehead, arched brows and long tailed eyelids, the angels with ugly

[1] [Now in Palazzo Pubblico.]

[2] The convent of the church of S. Domenico. This pinnacle was in its place when RUMOHR wrote. See *Forschungen*, vol. i., p. 335. The whole altarpiece, according to Tizio, was in his time on the altar of the Chapel de' Capaci to the left on entering the church of S. Domenico, and had been previously in the church of S. Gregorio. It was originally a triptych, and Tizio says that the wings hung apart from the centre on the walls of the church of S. Domenico. According to Padre Carapelli in *Chronotaxis Sancti Dominici in Camporeggio*, the altarpiece, which had been long above the portal in S. Domenico, was in 1705 placed on the altar of the chapel of the Venturini. See MILANESI (GAET.), *Della Vera Età di Guido, Pittore Sanese* (8vo, Siena, 1859), pp. 3, 4.

faces and paltry forms. The flesh tints are mapped out in abrupt and sharp tones, and side by side, without fusion; the lips and cheeks spotted with red. If, however, the head of the Virgin and Child be examined, a new and different style may be observed in them; and one may remark that beneath the painting of those parts, such as they stand at present, the engraved outlines of other and larger forms can be traced, whilst at the same time the lesser and newer ones are in a style totally different from that of the rest of the picture, or generally of the thirteenth century.

That artists of the fourteenth did not disdain to repaint pictures of earlier masters is proved by a record of the year 1335, in which Ambrogio Lorenzetti contracts to execute anew "the face, hands, and book of the Virgin of the Duomo." [1] The flesh parts of the Madonna's head in the altarpiece of S. Domenico are executed in the technical method common to Cimabue, for instance, in the picture of S. Maria Novella at Florence, to Duccio, Ugolino, Simone Martini, and others of the Sienese school of the fourteenth century. Although that school was celebrated for maintaining old and typical forms, it did not remain so faithful to one, exact and immutable, but that one may follow the difference between types and outlines of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The type, outline, and drawing of the heads of the Virgin and Child of S. Domenico are those of the fourteenth century, and quite as good as those of Duccio and Ugolino. The shape is more pleasing, the eyes more natural and regular, but, above all, the execution is different from that of the rest of the altarpiece. Instead of sharply contrasted tones without fusion, a light flesh is painted over a general tone of verde which forms the shadow, and is fused carefully in the passage to half shades. The lips and cheeks are of a more natural colour. So again with the head of the Infant. The type is newer, more pleasant and less grim, the colour carefully melted together.[2]

At the base of the picture is an inscription all but perfect in its letters, but, strangely enough, carried up at its close from the border of the panel to that of the Virgin's dress. It reads as follows:

ME GU . . . O DE SENIS DIEBUS DEPINXIT AMENIS;
QUEM X̃PS LENIS NULLIS VELIT AGERE PENIS: AÑO D[I]
MCC[O]XXI.

[1] G. Milanesi, *Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., p. 195.

[2] The dress of the Virgin has been repainted in parts and at various periods, some patches being in oil. One of the angels—that to the Saviour's right, on the pinnacle—was totally renewed apparently in the fourteenth century.

That this inscription has often been retouched and, in some places, even repainted in oil, is evident from inspection. Gaetano Milanesi [1] affirms indeed that the whole signature is in more modern character than was used in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Be this as it may, the picture, had it remained unchanged as regards the heads of the Virgin and infant Saviour, would have created no controversy, but have been classed—with the Madonna of the Academy assigned to Guido—amongst the works of the thirteenth century, which indicate that art merely existed at Siena at the same level as in Lucca, Pisa, and elsewhere. The heads of the Virgin and Saviour in the altarpiece of S. Domenico alone justify the encomiums lavished on Guido; but as they are evidently not by him, but by a later painter of the Sienese school, the wonder ceases, and Cimabue remains entitled to the position of first regenerator of Italian art. The arguments against Guido are not, however, exhausted by the evidence that painting till late in the thirteenth century maintained itself at a comparatively low standard in Siena, or that the picture assigned to the year 1221 bears an altered inscription. All the industry of Della Valle, of Rumohr, and of Milanesi has failed to discover records of a painter named Guido earlier than 1278. One Guido Gratiani is noticed in an account of the Camarlingo di Biccherna of that year [2] as the painter of a banner. He superseded Dietisalvi in 1287, 1290, 1298 as painter of the books of the Biccherna.[3] He executed in 1295 a "Majesty between S. Peter and S. Paul" in the Public Palace of Siena, and gilded 300 letters for an image of the Virgin. In 1302, he produced the portraits of twelve forgers for the front of the Tribunal of Justice.[4] Guido was one of three sons of Gratiano, and lived in the Parocchia di S. Donato ai Montanini, the painters' quarter, celebrated for its street called the Via de' Pittori. He brought up to his profession a son named Bartolommeo, or Meo,

[1] Gaetano Milanesi, *Della Vera Età di Guido Pittore Sanese*, *ubi sup.*, p. 7. He finds between the MCC and the XX space for an L and after XX space for two other letters; for this reason he thinks the picture by Guido Gratiani, of whom something must be said hereafter. Thus, even the more modern restoration would, according to this view, have been partly obliterated.

[2] G. Milanesi, *Della Vera Età*, &c., p. 9.

[3] Ibid., and Rumohr, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 24.

[4] In the Ramboux collection at Cologne, under No. 24, is a Nativity, of the Sienese school, of the close of the thirteenth century, whose execution and style recall that of the angels in the altarpiece of S. Domenico by Guido. This would justify the name given by M. Ramboux. The composition is repeated by Duccio a little later in the great altarpiece of the Duomo.

who afterwards settled at Perugia (1319) and painted for the church of Montelabate. Guido's brothers, Mino [1] and Guarnieri or Neri, were artists also. The former, in 1289, painted a Virgin and Saints for the hall of the Great Council in the old Palazzo Pubblico of Siena. He worked in another part of the same edifice in 1293, and in 1298 produced the portraits of several false witnesses. In 1303, he executed a S. Christopher in the Palazzo, and, 1329, disappears from the public records. Of Guarnieri nothing is known but that he left behind him three sons, Giacomuccio or Muccio, Ugolino, and Guido, who in 1321 was matriculated as a painter in the Company of Surgeons and Grocers of Florence.[2]

Siena can lay no claim to superiority in art during the thirteenth century. She was indebted to Niccola and Giovanni for the chief ornament of her cathedral; and, under the guidance of these and other strangers, the school of which Agnolo and Agostino were the ornaments arose in 1300. Her children rivalled the Florentines in the art of painting, but only after Cimabue. Whilst her Duccio, Ugolino, Simone, and Lorenzetti are entitled to well-deserved admiration, their influence remained ever second to that of Florence.

Painting may be said to have followed much the same course at Arezzo as at Lucca, Pisa, and Siena. Crucifixes, portraits of S. Francis, and a few Madonnas were the staple of its production, and these were of a more decidedly repulsive character than the works of other Italian cities. A small Crucifix, of the close of the twelfth century at S. Maria della Pieve, in the old form, in which the Saviour, half size of life, stands erect and open-eyed; another, of the same character and date, in the Chapel del Sacramento, contiguous to the Collegiata of Castiglione Aretino; and a third, colossal, of a later period, in S. Domenico of Arezzo, in which the

[1] See the amusing error of Della Valle in the *Lettere Sanese*, vol. i., p. 282, who confounds Mino with Torriti. See also, later, the question of Mino and Simone Martini as to whether the former had a share in the large fresco of the Virgin and Saints in the Sala del Consiglio of the Palazzo Pubblico. Sacchetti, in his 84 *Novella* (*ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 45), gives a picture of Mino's shop, in which stood six Crucifixes, four of which were of carved wood and two painted, all leaning against the wall of the bottega and standing on a desk, ready for customers. Mino one night surprises his wife, who seems to have been of frail manners, and her gallant saves himself by assuming the attitude of the Redeemer against one of the crucifixes.

[2] See G. Milanesi, *Della Vera Età*, &c., p. 9. Other painters of this period, equally unrepresented by authentic works, are mentioned by Della Valle, *Lettere Sanese*:—1262, Ventura di Gualtieri; 1271, Rinaldo; 1281, Romano di Paganello; 1289, Guccio; 1293, Rinforzato, Minuccio di Filipuccio; 1298, Vanni di Bono, already recorded at Pisa.

feet of the Saviour are still separate, but the belly and hips overhang, mark the progress of the same decline at Arezzo as elsewhere.[1]

Margaritone inherited and prolonged the agony of this degenerate style. He stood in the same relation to Arezzo as Giunta to Pisa, and would never have emerged from obscurity had not Vasari been moved by a laudable desire to rescue the art of his native city from oblivion. He was born apparently about 1236,[2] had certainly reached the age of manhood in 1262,[3] and lived long enough to shrink before the praises so justly due to Cimabue and Giotto.[4] He is said to have laboriously executed frescoes in S. Clemente of the Camaldolese of Arezzo; but they are certainly not to be regretted,[5] if they resembled other productions from his hand, such as a Madonna and a colossal Crucifix with S. Francis at the foot of the Cross, in S. Francesco of Arezzo,[6] both darkened in colour and executed without spirit, knowledge of design, or movement.[7] These two works of Margaritone are, it is true, without authentic signatures; but they are noticed by Vasari, and are exactly in the style of two altarpieces signed with Margaritone's name, lately in the Ugo Baldi collection. The first of these has found its final resting-place in the National Gallery. It represents the Virgin and Child in an elliptical glory supported by angels, with the symbols of the Evangelists; and, on the sides, scenes from the life of S. John the Evangelist, S. Catherine, S. Benedict, and S. Margaret.[8] The second represents S. Nicholas in cathedra, with four episodes of his life at the sides.[9] Both these

[1] This Crucifix has indeed much the character of those of Margaritone. The yellowish lights are painted over a general tone of verde.

[2] VASARI, vol. i., p. 308.

[3] A record of the convent of S. Michael at Arezzo contains the name of *Margarito pictor filius quondam Magnani*, and the date 1261. *Annot.* to VAS., vol. i., p. 302.

[4] VASARI, vol. i., p. 302.

[5] They perished with the church in 1547.

[6] [Now in the Museo.]

[7] These works are assigned to Margaritone by Vasari, and still exist. See VAS., vol. i., p. 303.

[8] This picture, now in the National Gallery [No. 564], was long considered lost, having disappeared when the great transom of the church of S. Margaret of Arezzo, on which it hung, was removed. It is signed "MARGARIT. DE ARITIO ME FECIT." Vasari's wonder at the duration of this work would be increased had he lived till now. Yet one may express surprise at his remark that "a picture on canvas should have been preserved so long" (vol. i., p. 303). The canvas in question is primed and stretched on gesso like all others of the time. See LANZI's curious error in reproducing Vasari's remarks, vol. i. (*Roscoe's translation*, Bohn, London, 1847), p. 37.

[9] Vasari notes a picture at S. Niccola of Arezzo, which is probably this one. VAS., vol. i., p. 307.

works are repulsive, coloured like playing cards, and of that childish style common to the Lucchese, Pisan, and Sienese schools of the thirteenth century. Yet Margaritone was not without a spark of pride as to the value of his works, if it be true that as a token of gratitude for the spirit with which Farinata degli Uberti saved his country from danger and ruin, he presented to the great Florentine a colossal Crucifix "alla greca."[1] This Crucifix, adds Vasari, "is now in Santa Croce between the Peruzzi and Giugni chapels." Now, such an one, assigned to Margaritone, is suspended in an antechamber common to the sacristy and chapel of the novitiate of that church, but displays less the feeble manner of the Aretine than that of a second-rate painter of the fourteenth century. A second, in the same edifice, of older date than the foregoing, may likewise be seen in the sacristy. The attitude of the Saviour and the parted feet indicate an artist of the close of the thirteenth century, and therefore a contemporary of Margaritone and Cimabue; but the warm flesh tones, shadowed in grey, are less characteristic of the former than of a Florentine who laboured in the vicinity of the latter. Less distant from the style of the Aretine is a Crucifix, much damaged and darkened by age, in a passage leading to the sacristy of S. Francesco at Castiglione Aretino, in which the Saviour is made fast with four nails, the Magdalen grasps the foot of the Cross, and the usual episodes complete the ornament of the fatal instrument. Nothing can be more curious or more calculated to convince the spectator of the deep decline of art, than the effort to render the anatomy of the human body—an effort, which consisted in representing the veins of the legs in relief.[2]

Margaritone's chief industry seems, however, to have been the constant reproduction of the figure of S. Francis, of which numerous examples are preserved. The least repulsive is perhaps that which hangs in the convent of the Cappuccini at Sargiano, near Arezzo, where the saint is represented a little less than life size, holding the book, showing the Stigma on his right hand, in frock and cowl, and on tiptoe.[3] The head may be called regular in form, the figure stout, and in this contrasting with the portrait

[1] Vasari, vol. i., p. 304. This would have occurred in 1260.

[2] Vasari assigns to Margaritone a Crucifix on a transom in the Upper Church of Assisi, thus unconsciously robbing Giunta of one of his works.

[3] Does Vasari, when he speaks of this as "*ritratto di naturale*," mean that it was painted from life, or only life size? Surely the latter. Vas., vol. i., pp. 303–4.

by Berlinghieri. The features are, however, expressed in the most elementary manner, the mouth with a zigzag stroke of red, wrinkles with parti-coloured streaks. The extremities are rude and ill drawn, with the nails of the fingers and toes out of place, the draperies tortuous, and the colour, of full body in lights, superposed above a general tint of grey.[1] In Santa Croce at Florence the altar of S. Francesco is honoured by one of these portraits, with eight episodes on each side, four below the feet, and a tree of the order between two angels at the top.[2] The name of Cimabue has been falsely exchanged here for that of another painter, whose enamel colour, darkened by age, whose general style are very like those of Margaritone;[3] nor is this a solitary example. A S. Francis with sixteen side pictures, of old assigned to Lippo Memmi,[4] may be seen in the Cappella Bracciolini at S. Francesco of Pistoia, another in the convent of S. Francesco of Pisa.[5] The same figure in S. Francesco outside Sinigaglia, signed "Margaritonis devotio me fecit," has not been preserved,[6] but in its place is one without a signature. Three more exist—in S. Francesco of Castiglione Aretino, in the Academy of Arts at Siena,[7] and in the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican.[8] The first, in part covered by another picture, represents the saint upright, cowled, with a cross in his right and a book in his left hand; and is inscribed "MARGARIT. DE ARITIO ME FEC." The second, painted with a hard enamelled surface, is signed "MARGARIT DE ARETIO M. F.," and is excessively ugly, short in stature, and gazing. The last, equally repulsive, bears the mutilated inscription: "... DE ... O ME FECIT."[9]

That a good painter may also be a good architect and a talented sculptor is so fully exemplified in the history of Italian art that it creates no surprise; but that a bad painter should become a

[1] This picture on panel covered with a primed canvas, fast to the gesso, is in part restored and bears the inscription "... RGARIT DE ARETIO PINGEBAT," the latter word retouched.

[2] [In the Cappella Bardi.]

[3] This picture is assigned to Cimabue by VASARI, vol. i., p. 221.

[4] See TOLOMEI, *Guida di Pistoia, ubi sup.*, p. 130. The original of Memmi has perhaps existed and been replaced by this which falsely bears his name.

[5] This also is assigned by VASARI, vol. i., p. 222, to Cimabue. According to Tronci MSS. in *Archiv. Stor.*, vol. vi., p. 406, there were two pictures by Margaritone in the church of S. Catherine of Pisa, one representing S. Francis, the other S. Catherine.

[6] *Annot.* to VASARI, vol. i., p. 304.

[7] No. 18. [8] Case No. 18.

[9] The commentators of VASARI, vol. i., p. 304, notice a fourth as recently exported from Florence, a fifth mentioned by Vasari as still existing at Ganghereto sopra Terranuova di Valdarno. Ibid., p. 305.

good architect and sculptor passes all belief. Yet Vasari vouches for the fact, and says that Margaritone executed the model of the Palazzo and of S. Ciriaco, at Ancona,[1] and the tomb of Gregory X. in the episcopal palace of Arezzo. The palace of Ancona has undergone a total change since the sixteenth century,[2] and the church of S. Ciriaco dates from the tenth century, but the portal of the latter edifice is filled with heads of apostles which display the rudeness peculiar to the thirteenth, albeit nothing characteristic of Margaritone. The monument of Gregory X.—in the cathedral, and not in the episcopal palace at Arezzo—displays the style of the pupils of Niccola Pisano. The body of the pontiff lies on a slab under the trefoil arch, at the point of which the Saviour in the act of benediction is represented in a medallion. The statue of Gregory is naturally and broadly treated, whilst in three statuettes at the pinnacle fair action is coupled with shortness of stature, a characteristic feature in the works of Arnolfo and other Pisan sculptors.[3] Is it necessary to add that there is no resemblance between this monument and the sculpture of the portal of S. Ciriaco of Ancona?

Vasari, however, notices in the life of Arnolfo, one Marchionne, who, after executing works at Rome and elsewhere, produced certain sculptured figures on the front of the cathedral of Arezzo,[4] which by their rude execution rival the paintings of Margaritone. The biographer may have confounded two names which are not unlike each other in sound; but his mistake is more difficult to pardon if one considers that the painter Margaritone and the sculptor Marchionne could not have existed at the same period.

Whilst Margaritone and Marchionne thus stamp the art of Arezzo as inferior even to that of the cities in its vicinity, another painter did honour to the birthplace of Vasari, and this is Montano.

A glance at the history of these days may reveal the influence which the house of Naples wielded in Italy at the close of the thirteenth and rise of the fourteenth centuries, during the struggles

[1] Vasari, vol. i., pp. 307–8.

[2] *Annot.* to Vasari, vol. i., p. 308.

[3] A modern inscription at the base of the monument declares, does not prove, that it was executed by Margaritone.

[4] The inscription on the front of the cathedral of Arezzo, which can only refer to the sculpture, as the greater part of the front and church are of 1300, runs as follows: "ANNI D. MCCXVI. MŠ MADII. MARCHIŎ SCULPSIT PBRMATHUS MUNERA FULSIT ITPE ARCHIPBI Z." Vasari also gave to Marchionne the tomb of Honorius III. in S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, which in his second edition he assigns to Arnolfo. Vasari, vol. i., p. 244.

of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. Charles I. and II., and Robert the Wise played a conspicuous part in the politics of Florence. Niccola, Arnolfo, and Giovanni had, it is said, been employed in the latter part of the thirteenth century in the construction or enlargement of the castles which overawed Naples, or made the city a strong place of arms. Churches had been built and endowed; and, according to the custom of the time, painting was required to complete the adornment of the latter as well as that of the royal chapels within the fortresses. Numerous as were the mosaists and sculptors of South Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, painting seemed to have been less successfully pursued, and though Dominici records the names of artists of most fabulous antiquity, his statements are doubtful and seldom trustworthy. One might indeed repeat respecting him the opinion of a late lamented author, who affirmed that Dominici's book was hardly less fabulous than the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. The oldest painting in Naples which has really the character of the close of the thirteenth century is a fresco in the *cortile* of the monastery of S. Lorenzo Maggiore, above the door leading into the church.

The Virgin, a slender and small-eyed figure, holding the infant Saviour on her knees, plays with one of His hands, whilst He, with not ungraceful motion, grasps a flower. The fingers of the hands are thin, but coarse at the extremities. A small figure at the Virgin's feet kneels in prayer, whose shield hangs to the right.[1]

This work would dinicate that painting at Naples had sunk to the general level of the thirteenth century all over Italy. Montano d'Arezzo had more talent probably; and the works which he undertook were vast and important. He painted in 1305 in two chapels of the Castel Nuovo,[2] and in 1306 in two chapels of the Castel del Uovo.[3] He had been the favourite of Philip of Tarento, and on the death of that prince became the "familiar" of King Robert, who (1310) knighted him and endowed his title

[1] On gold ground.

[2] In the Register No. 1305, letter G, folio 226, verso, of the Royal Sicilian Archives, is the following: "*Magistro Montorio* (? *Montano*) *pictori pro pictura duarum capellarum Castri nostri Novi Neapolis et aliis necessariis ad pingendum capellas easdem, unciarum V. Datum Neapoli die* 20 *Augusti. Indict. III. an.* 1305." In *Lettere sulla Chiesa dell' Incoronata*, etc., by Giuseppe Angeluzzi (8vo, Naples, 1846), p. 12.

[3] In the same records, Register fol. 228: "*Magistro Montano pictori pro pictura duarum capellarum Castri nostri Ovi unciarum VIII. Sub die ultimo Augusti. Indict. III., an.* 1306." Ibid., p. 14.

with lands near Marigliano.[1] A chapel in the monastery of Montevergine near Avellino, for which King Robert had a special reverence, was adorned by his hands, and he is, by tradition, the author of a Madonna at that honoured shrine. The head of the image is said to have been brought home from the Crusades; but this is a fable sedulously maintained with the aid of a fictitious reading of old records and by a diligent concealment of all but the features under an ornament and diadem of jewelled silver. Nor would it have been easy to form an idea as to the value of a picture exhibited at a shrine of such celebrity but for the circumstance that, not long since, the whole figure was laid bare for the sake of being copied, and it became possible to remark, first, that the whole altarpiece is the work of one hand, and secondly, that it corresponds in style to that of a painter living in the first years of the thirteenth century.

The Virgin, of large size, enthroned in a chair, holds on her knee the Infant, who grasps the dress at her bosom and is clothed in a red tunic shot with gold. With her left hand she firmly supports Him, whilst with her right she seems to draw attention from herself to Him, an action common to the early schools. Two small angels wave censers at the upper angles of the chair, at the foot of which are six of the

[1] In the same records Regist. Let. E, F 27 a tergo an. 1310: "Robertus rex universis presentes litteras ispecturis, tam presentibus quam futuris. Inducti nos instituis naturalibus et ratio ut cum . . . affectibus in hiis maxime per quæ et sequentibus merita digna pervenit, et opera munificentiæ per quoddam honestatis debitum, nec indigno clarescunt sane Montanus de Aretio pictor et familiaris carissimi fratris nostri Filippi principis Acahie et Taranti fidelissimus in presentia nost. Majestatis . . . quod idem princeps, de Grata servitia quæ idem Montanus sibi hactenus prestatum est præstabat suæ dirigens considerationis intuitum specialem sibi fecit gratiam et cessit que proinde litteras suo pendenti sigillo munitas quas nostro cospetui presentavit tenoris, &c. Philippus clare memorie . . . servitiis quæ Magister Montanus de Aretio pictor familiaris noster nobis exhibuit et exhibere non cessat maxime in pingendo capellam nostram tam in domo nostro Neapolis quam in Ecc. B. Mariæ de Monte Virginis, ubi specialem devotionem habemus eidem Magistro Montano et ejus eredibus utriusque sexus et ejus tempore legitime descendentibus natis, jam et in antea nascituris in perpetuum de a R. terra olim nemoris seu silva Larje quæ est in terra nostra comitatus acerrarum, sita inter Marilianum et Summam, quam Silvam in toto trahi et extirpari," &c. Ibid., p. 15.

The manner in which the foregoing has been altered for an evident purpose may be seen in the following extract from *Privilegi Incepti e Baronali* (fol., Naples, vol. ii.):—

"1310. Privilegio del Re Roberto con cui dona a Montanara d'Arezzo, pittore, una stanza di Maggia 100, sito tra la Cerra e Marigliano per aver dipinto il busto del Quadro di nos. Sign. de Montevergine e la cappella del D. Re in Napoli."

There is not a word of the Virgin of Monte Vergine in the record, still less of her "bust."

heavenly messengers. The form of the Infant, small for that of the Virgin, the diminutive size of the angels, impair the balance of the group. The Madonna is of a slender and not quite ungraceful shape. The head is of a regular outline, but, like that of the Infant and angels, reveals in the painter a lingering attachment to old forms, and a mixture of the manner still visible in Cimabue with that of the Giottesques. The hands are long, and the fingers slender but coarse at the extremities. The draperies, with gilt embroidered borders, fall with a comparatively easy fold, and are all shot with gold. It is a work which may be classed betwixt those of Siena and Florence, graceful enough to remind one of the former, without the breadth peculiar to the latter, but not so talented as to explain the high position of Montano at the Neapolitan court at a time when Giotto was already famous. It must, however, be borne in mind that the whole picture has been rubbed down, so that in the heads of some angels the original drawing may be seen. The gold ground is gone, and the colour, now hard and raw, seems to have been thinly painted on a slightly primed panel. The shadows are still, however, warm in tone.

The fabulous history of the head being a relic of the Crusades arose from a very natural desire to increase the reverence due to the shrine, but seemed confirmed by the fact that this part of the panel, being formed of a separate block, projects with its nimbus at an angle to the plane of the picture, a practice common to all the schools of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

But besides the evident presence of the same hand in every part of the work, the projection is of the same wood as the rest of the panel. The record of Montano's knighthood in no wise supports the fable of a relic brought home from Constantinople, but merely states that the painter laboured at Montevergine in 1310. The picture seems to have been executed at that period, and may therefore be assigned to Montano, the more, as there are vestiges of painting of the same kind in one of the chapels of the church.

In Naples, little remains that recalls the style of a painter whose industry was so great, except a half figure of a bishop in episcopals, in the act of benediction and aged about threescore, in the dormitory dei Giovanetti of the Seminario Urbano.

This figure is not without grandeur, and seems to be one of a series of three, the remainder of which have perished. Above the figure of the bishop stands S. Paul with the sword and book, of good features and character, more modern in style than Cimabue, and somewhat Giottesque in type. The contours are a little black, the colour rubbed down. Montano may possibly be the author.

CHAPTER VI

RISE OF ART AT FLORENCE

The rise of the Florentine school may be said to date from the period when Jacopo the Franciscan adorned the tribune of the Baptistery of S. Giovanni with mosaics; but there are written records of old date to prove the existence of art at Florence as early as the eleventh century. One Rustico, "clerk and painter," lived there in 1066. The memory of one Girolamo di Morello, also a "clerk and painter" in 1112, is preserved in a document of the time; and these names not only prove the existence of artists, but that they were chiefly of the religious orders. In 1191 Marchisello of Florence painted a picture which still existed at the time of Cosimo de' Medici on the high altar of the church of S. Tommaso. In 1224, the prior of S. Maria Maggiore of Florence was indebted to one "Magister Fidanza dipintor,"[1] and sold a house to satisfy his creditor. In 1236, Bartolommeo, a painter, lived at Florence.[2] One Lapo di Florentia painted on the front of the cathedral of Pistoia in 1259;[3] and as early as 1269, one of the streets of Florence already bore the name of Via de' Pittori.[4]

The earliest artist mentioned by Vasari, is Andrea Tafi, who, according to a doubtful chronology, was born in 1213.[5] Tafi, "being not the most talented man in the world, and considering that mosaic, because of its durable qualities, was in greater estimation than any other kind of painting, proceeded from Florence to Venice, where certain Greeks were working in that material. Having become their companion, he succeeded, by means of money and prayers, in bringing a Greek painter named Apollonius to Florence, who taught him the art of baking mosaic cubes and of making the

[1] Rumohr, *Forschungen*, gives the original record, vol. ii., pp. 28, 191.

[2] Gaye (*Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 423, 8vo, Flor., 1839) quotes from a record of Aug. 1292 at Florence, one Fino, "pictor," who executed work in the "palatium comune."

[3] Ciampi, *ubi sup.*, *Doc.* xxi., p. 142. The subjects were the Virgin and Child between two saints, half figures.

[4] See also for these early artists, commentary on the life of Cimabue in Vasari, vol. i., pp. 233–4.

[5] Vasari, vol. i., p. 285.

putty for joining them." [1] Without denying that Tafi visited Venice, or that Apollonius [2] abandoned the works of S. Mark for those of S. Giovanni, it may be observed that the art of mosaics required no new rules in the thirteenth century, and that, even at Florence, Fra Jacopo perfectly succeeded without the aid of Greeks in producing (1225) the mosaics of the tribune in the very edifice which Tafi afterwards helped to complete. This obvious fact apparently puzzled Baldinucci, who cleared the difficulty by making Fra Jacopo a pupil of Tafi,[3] mindless of the fact that the latter being, according to Vasari, born in 1213, and in reality perhaps later, he could not have taught a mosaist who laboured in 1225. Andrea Tafi indeed was more probably a pupil of the Franciscan, as is very truly observed by the commentators of the Aretine, who quote, much to the point, a passage [4] in which Tafi and Gaddo Gaddi are made to assist Fra Jacopo, and this at a time when Tafi had become "famous throughout Italy." [5]

The Baptistery of Florence was, according to Vasari, executed jointly by Tafi and Apollonius,[6] one figure alone being due to the undivided industry of the former.

In the converging sides of the cupola, the Saviour erect, in the act of benediction and holding the book, is surrounded by thrones, virtues, the emblems of rule, angels, archangels, powers, and dominations. Beneath the Saviour in glory, and above the entrance to the tribune, a colossal Redeemer sits on a rainbow in Judgment: at His feet the Resurrection of the Dead, and in three courses at His sides, the Angels sounding the Last Trump, the Apostles, Paradise, and Hell. These three courses, continued round the octagon, are filled, in the upper, with scenes of the Creation from the Separation of Light and Darkness to the Deluge, the second with incidents from the life of Joseph and his brothers, and the third with episodes from the history of the Saviour. The fourth and lowest row is devoted to the mission of John the Baptist.

All this is not the produce of one, or even of two hands, but of many. The distribution and general arrangement may be of

[1] Vasari, vol. i., p. 281.

[2] The existence of Apollonius is doubtful. Del Migliore, MS. notes to Vasari in the Magliabecchiana (*com.* to Vasari, vol. i., p. 288), pretends that he read in a record of 1279 "magister apollonius pictor florentinus." Richa, *Chiese Fiorentine*, vol. v., p. xlii., says he saw the name of Apollonio in the records of the Baptistery; but the records themselves are not to be found.

[3] Baldinucci (F.), *Opere* (8vo, Milan, 1811), vol. iv., p. 93.

[4] Vasari, vol. i., p. 285.

[5] Vasari, vol. i., p. 284.

[6] Vasari, vol. i., p. 282.

the thirteenth century, but it is very doubtful whether the whole was at once completed. The mosaic, imposing by its symmetry and the due subordination of the architectural and pictorial parts, reveals various periods of labour and restoration, and a consequent loss of original character. Amongst the least defective, and probably earliest, parts are those immediately to the right of the Redeemer in Judgment, and especially one in which a half figure of the Eternal, standing with raised arms and creating the sun and the moon, is distinguished by regularity of proportions. Yet in the sequel of this series different periods may be noticed. The first mentioned, however, make a nearer approach to the tribune mosaics than the rest, and the latter, whatever Vasari may have thought or pretended, are superior to those of the octagon.[1] The course devoted to the life of the Saviour displays a more modern style, the legs of the Crucified Saviour being nailed over each other, contrary to the practice of the thirteenth century. The most feeble and defective figure in the Baptistery is the much damaged and restored one of the colossal Redeemer in Judgment, specially assigned to Tafi, which is remarkable for the size and grimness of the head, the deformity of the extremities, and the overcharge of gold in the confused draperies. Akin to this figure in its faults, the angels and apostles of the Judgment betray, in their vehement and ill-rendered action, the general character of the works of the thirteenth century, and seem but a continuation of the style of S. Angelo in Formis near Capua. That Tafi should have much credit for this colossal figure is surprising and probably untrue. In the Inferno, the figure of Lucifer, sitting upon dead bodies, with serpents hissing from his ears, was conceived much in the spirit which prevailed later in Giottesque pictures, and may possibly be a restoration by one of the Gaddi.

If Tafi is one of the feeble artists of the last period of the decline, and does not charm by any species of talent, he may still amuse us by his timidity and superstition, which Franco Sacchetti [2] has ridiculed with as much gusto as Vasari rallies his grotesque style. That style the Aretine affected to consider purely Greek, starting from the wilfully erroneous opinion that everything feeble in art

[1] See Vasari's depreciatory remarks on all these mosaics, but especially on those of Fra Jacopo, vol. i., p. 284.

[2] Franco Sacchetti, *Novel* 191, Edit. of Gaetano Pogliani (8vo, Milan, 1804), vol. iii., p. 136. Sacchetti, according to Bottari's preface to the above edition, p. xxii., was born about 1335, a year before the death of Giotto, and completed his Novelle about the year 1376.

in Italy should be attributed to foreigners. He might have been nearer the truth had he affirmed that Tafi combined the defects common to Italians and Byzantines at this period; for there was a feeble Greek art, but by its side a feeble Italian style; and both were so degenerate as to be hardly distinguishable. Tafi being no more Greek than Italian in manner, might have learnt quite as much from masters of one as of the other nationality.

Of Tafi's supposed works in Pisa no record has been preserved. He died, according to his biographer, in 1294.[1] It might have been interesting to compare with his mosaic at the Baptistery those of S. Miniato, outside Florence, executed, as is proved by an inscription, in 1297. Those of the front, as well as those of the choir, were in existence in the time of Rumohr, who describes the first as of the eleventh century, and without a trace of Byzantine character, the second as in Greek taste.[2] At the present time the mosaics of the front, which had almost been obliterated, have been renewed, whilst those of the choir have undergone the worst sort of repair.[3]

Vasari notices as a curious circumstance that, when Alessio Baldovinetti, and after him Lippo, restored the mosaics of the Baptistery, it might be seen that the design was previously drawn and coloured in red on the stucco.[4] This was a common custom, and may be noticed at Cefalù. All artists used the same method, whether for mosaic or for fresco, and it may be seen in the cathedral of Assisi and, as late as the fifteenth century, in the frescoes of Benozzo Gozzoli at the Campo Santo of Pisa. In mosaics, the cubes were simply laid according to the design on the stucco.

[1] Vasari, vol. i., pp. 285–6. Of his pupil Antonio di Andrea Tafi nothing further is known than that he is inscribed in 1348 in the Company of S. Luke at Florence. Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. ii., p. 37. Of Bonamico or Buffalmacco, a word later.

[2] Rumohr, *Forschungen*, vol. i., pp. 354–5.

[3] This mosaic represents the Saviour between the symbols of the Evangelists, with the Virgin erect and stretching out her arms on the left, and S. Miniato presenting a crown on the right. Ornaments with medallions of apostles, animals, and birds, form the border. The mosaic has the mutilated inscription: "ap o dñi mccxcvii. tẽp p̃œ p. p . . . sto opus." This mosaic has been restored on the system pursued in S. Mark at Venice, namely removed and re-executed after tracings had been taken of the remains. It is needless to say that the character of the original has been lost in the copies. It is surprising that an art commission like that of Florence should in the year 1861 countenance such practices, particularly when elsewhere the palace of the Podestà has been so ably restored, and when at Pisa, the conscientious and able Pietro Bellini has restored the cathedral, superintended the works of the Baptistery and Campo Santo, and renewed, exactly in its original style, S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno.

[4] Vasari, vol. i., p. 283.

In drawing for wall painting, the artist first transferred, either to the raw surface of the wall, when the work was to be on one intonaco, or to the first intonaco, when two were used, the original design. This was done by means of comparative squares, by which a small original drawing in the painter's hand was transferred in larger proportions to the space intended for it. After this transfer, the necessary improvements having been made on the wall, were transposed as corrections to the original small drawing. The final intonaco was then laid on in portions, and retraced with the assistance of the squares on the still uncovered parts and on the corrected design. The use of a single intonaco lasted to the close of the thirteenth century. Two were introduced at the time of Giotto, and continued by his successors; and it was not till the fifteenth century that cartoons were pricked and pounced.

Contemporary with Tafi was Coppo di Marcovaldo,[1] a Florentine painter, who possessed no qualities superior to those of his predecessors. In a picture of the convent church of the Servi at Siena, assigned to Dietisalvi, he displayed no better acquirements than his neighbours.[2] The subject of the Virgin enthroned in a vast chair, and holding the infant Saviour, with two angels at the upper angles, is rendered in the old manner; and in the composition, attitude, and features, as well as in the draperies and ornaments, Coppo continued the defective manner of the period—differing perhaps from the Sienese in this, that his forms had something of the Florentine weight. As a colourist he cannot be criticised, because the surface of his picture has been rubbed down, darkened by age and restoring; but, if one can judge from the remains, his tones were mapped out in sharp contrasts on a rough surface of gesso. The date of this work, if credit can be given to records, was 1261. There are further notices of Coppo as having

[1] [Coppo di Marcovaldo was perhaps the most noteworthy among these early Florentines. He was born at Florence early in the thirteenth century. Prof. Bacci has written of him (*Coppo di Marcovaldo e Salerno di Coppo*) in *l'Arte*, vol. iii., p. 32 *et seq.* His finest work is in the Chiesa de' Servi in Siena—a Madonna and Child, which is like a forerunner of the Rucellai Madonna. A Crucifix which is still in Pistoia seems to have been the joint work of him and his son Salerno. He fought at Montaperti, and was taken prisoner, as his Madonna in Siena seems to assure us. *Cf.* Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. v., pp. 52–54.]

[2] This picture has been engraved by Rosini as a work of Dietisalvi of Siena, *Atlas*, tab. vi. But Padre Filippo Buondelmonte, in his chronicles of the convent church of the Servi, says that the picture was by Coppo di Marcovaldo, whilst, in a MS. description of Siena, by a doubtful author, but of the seventeenth century, it is stated to have been signed and dated: "M.CCLXI COPPUS DI FLORENTIA PINXIT." See *comment.* to Vasari, vol. i., p. 235.

executed wall paintings in 1265 at the Cappella S. Jacopo of the Duomo in Pistoia, and a Virgin, in 1275, in the choir of the same edifice.[1]

Such was the state of art in Florence when, according to Vasari, the governors of the city thought fit to invite Greek painters to restore that which he declares to have been totally lost in Italy.[2] Without wasting further time or space to refute an assertion which is confirmed neither by facts nor by record, and remembering that, not only in Florence but throughout Italy, painting was indeed reduced to a low ebb, but, so far from being lost, was in the full possession of life, it is a sensible relief to the student to mark the gradual revival which took place under Giovanni Cimabue, who, born in 1240 of the respectable family of the Cimabui,[3] was led by a natural inclination to the study of design, and, in the course of time, infused life into the old school from which he sprung. Cimabue was destined to stand out in history as the forerunner of a new era. He was to reanimate old and worn-out types, to infuse energy and individuality into empty forms, to soften the harshness of a degenerate school, and to shed over a barbarous time the poetry of sentiment and of colour. Surrounded by examples which are the evident groundwork of his style, for he did not issue beyond a certain measure from the rudeness of his age, he had no need of the Greek masters who are supposed to have taught him. It would seem indeed as if Vasari, anxious to carry out in literature that law of contrasts which is so essential to the painter, should have thought it necessary to place his hero under the most despicable of tutors, that his superiority might shine out the more splendidly afterwards. In pursuit of this system, he chose for the teachers of Cimabue certain Greeks who, he affirms, in pursuance of the imaginary invitation of the Florentine government, painted the chapel of the Gondi in S. Maria Novella.[4] Unfortunately for his theory, it is proved that Santa Maria Novella was only commenced forty years after Cimabue's birth.[5] Succeeding authors, desirous to support the falling edifice

[1] See Ciampi, pp. 86 and 143. Tigri, *Guida di Pistoia*, pp. 122, 138. Tolomei, p. 16. Ciampi mentions (p. 86) a Crucifix by Coppo in the cathedral of Pistoia, dated 1275. The frescoes of the Cappella S. Jacopo were removed to make room for others by Alesso d'Andrea and Bonaccorso di Cino, in 1347.

[2] Vasari, vol. i., p. 219.

[3] Vasari, vol. i., p. 219.

[4] Vasari, vol. i., p. 220.

[5] [The foundation-stone of the new church of S. Maria was laid by Cardinal Latino in 1279; but before that there had existed the smaller

of Vasari's history and chronology, supposed that the paintings of the so-called Greeks were rude ones executed in the chapels of S. Anna and S. Antonio, in the old church beneath the sacristy of S. Maria Novella. These, representing the Birth of the Virgin, and scenes from her life, were engraved by Agincourt in ignorance of the fact that they were of the fourteenth century. Della Valle and Lanzi,[1] in the same path, fell back at last upon some older paintings discovered beneath the foregoing, which they assigned to the Greeks of Vasari, but which merely exhibited the rude hand of one amongst the feeble artists common to Italy in the thirteenth century.

It is sufficient to know that, whatever Vasari may have thought and written respecting the early education of Cimabue, he was right in affirming that the Florentine was the best painter of his time, and that he was the regenerator of the art of his country. Whether, in Cimabue, the struggle towards a truer expression of nature was a consequence of the general tendency in the age to emerge from barbarism, abate corruption, and acquire liberty; or whether some special cause might have led him to feel the abject condition of an art which had merely consisted at last in the perpetuation of defective models consecrated by time and custom, is a question which the silence of history does not give authority to answer. It may be presumed, however, that with the new spirit which arose in religion, politics, and letters, the progress of art must needs go hand in hand. That Cimabue was not merely sensible of the necessity for a change, but proud of having given the first impulse towards it, may be learnt from the pages of one who lived and wrote but thirty years after his death.[2] Nay, it is even said that he was vain of the progress which he had caused, though, in the author of the *Divina Commedia*, he found a more lenient judge, and a milder verdict than was accorded to one who was not the teacher of Giotto.[3] Dante, indeed, contri-

building which forms the present transepts. It is therefore not impossible that for once Vasari is right. *Cf.* Wood Brown, *The Church of S. Maria Novella* (1902). The Gondi chapel apparently formed a part of the older building.]

[1] Lanzi, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 41.

[2] See the text of these comments in Vasari, vol. i., p. 227. The author was the first illustrator of the *Divina Commedia*, and is usually called the Anonimo.

[3] Oderisio da Gubbio. See in the *Purgatorio* the well-known passage:

> Credette Cimabue nella pintura
> Tener lo campo; ed ora ha Giotto il grido,
> Sì che la fama di colui oscura.
>
> Canto xi., v. 94.

buted to the fame of Cimabue, who shared with Giotto the halo thrown around the Florentine master by a poet, honoured, hated, and afterwards deified by his countrymen. Cimabue's pictures, known by tradition less than by record, were admired by his contemporaries, and, when he had finished the colossal Madonna of the Rucellai for S. Maria Novella,[1] it was carried in a festive

[1] [Filippo Villani speaks of Cimabue, but mentions no pictures. Landino does the same. F. Alberti (1510) speaks of several. Billi and the Anonimo give more than a few. Vasari gives him everything in the Byzantine manner.

From the point of view of the "scientific critic" there might seem to be nothing affirmative to say about Cimabue, since no picture at present known to us can be proved to have come from his hand. Richter (*Lectures on the National Gallery*, London, 1898), finds himself in agreement with Wickoff and Langton Douglas in asserting that nothing we at present possess can with any certainty be given to him. The Rucellai Madonna, that has for so long represented Cimabue to most of us, must reluctantly be given up, though not necessarily to Duccio, as Langton Douglas so ably argues (see *Cimabue* in *Nineteenth Century*, March 1903, and *Duccio* in *Monthly Review*, August, 1903), but at any rate to a Sienese painter. Wood Brown (*The Church of S. Maria Novella*, Edinburgh, 1902) is of the same opinion as Langton Douglas, who goes so far as to assert that Cimabue is not the author of any of the paintings attributed to him. Berenson seems to think that the fame of Cimabue, and to some extent of Giotto also, is due to the commentators of Dante. *Cf.* B. Berenson, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art* (Bell, 1901), vol. i., p. 446.

A very good defence of Cimabue has been made by Roger Fry in his article on *Giotto* in the *Monthly Review* for December, 1900, and by Alessandro Chiappelli, *Pagine d'Antica Arte Fiorentina* (Firenze. 1905). They insist that the Rucellai Madonna is Cimabue's. I find myself, however, in agreement with Suida (in *Jahrbuch der K. Preuss Kunstsammlungen*, 1905), who is of opinion that the Rucellai Madonna is neither by Cimabue nor by Duccio, but by a third, a Sienese artist. Venturi (*op. cit.*, vol. v., pp. 63–80) discusses the whole subject with acuteness and a measure of impartiality. If, however, we are to give up the Rucellai Madonna, it does not seem necessary to deny that certain works may well be from Cimabue's hand, though it may be impossible to prove that they are his. Such works are the Madonna of the Louvre, which has been given to the school of Duccio, the Madonna of the Accademia of Florence, and the fresco of Madonna between four angels with S. Francis in the Lower Church of S. Francesco at Assisi. But the whole question scarcely concerns the æsthetic critic, for whom all art seems more and more alone to exist. He will not care overmuch what names are given to the pictures which for him are real and living things. What will move him, however, is the fact that such discussions as these of the "scientific critics" do not destroy names merely, but beauty also, by reason of the credulity and superstition of fools. There was, not long ago, in Florence, among many beautiful things, one that was full of mystery. We approached it with a certain awe, timidly to gaze as it were on the shrine of a goddess. Need I say that I am speaking of the Rucellai chapel in S. Maria Novella, which held the picture concerning which there has been all this foolish and egotistical vapouring? Well, the Florentines began at last to take notice. The Germans had written books, more than one English critic sallied forth to this battle of windmills. The Florentine was amazed. "What!" said he, "they come to see that old picture? Monna Mia, but they can't see it!" So they cleaned out the Rucellai chapel, they put white glass in the windows, they took away the altar; they pulled down the picture, and took it out of its frame. Then,

procession of people and trumpeters, the fame of its beauty having been spread through the city by a visit from Charles I. of Anjou, in the company of a numerous suite of high-born dames and gentlemen, to the painter's atelier.[1]

In this altarpiece, the largest that had yet been seen, the spectators might notice the Virgin, whom they held in so much veneration, in a red tunic and blue mantle, with her feet resting on an open worked stool, sitting on a chair hung with a white drapery flowered in gold and blue, and carried by six angels kneeling in threes above each other. A delicately engraved nimbus surrounded her head and that of the infant Saviour on her lap, dressed in a white tunic and purple mantle shot with gold. A dark coloured frame surrounded the gabled square of the picture, which was delicately traced with an ornament, interrupted at intervals by no less than thirty medallions on gold ground, each of which contained the half figure of a saint. In the face of the Madonna, the admiring beholder might praise the soft and melancholy expression; in the form of the Infant, a certain freshness, animation, and natural proportion; in the group, affection but too rare at this period. He might sympathise with the sentiment in the attitudes of the angels, in the movement of the heads, and in the elegance with which the hair was wound round the cinctures, falling in locks on the neck. He would be justly struck by the energetic mien of some prophets; above all, he would have felt surprise at the comparative clearness and soft harmony of the colours. The less enthusiastic spectator of the present day will admit, but qualify this praise. In truth, a certain loss of balance is caused by the overweight of the head in the Virgin as compared with the slightness of the frame. The features are the old ones of the thirteenth century, only softened, as regards the expression of the eye, by an exaggeration of elliptical form in the iris, and closeness of the curves of the lids. The nose still starts from a protuberant root, is still depressed at the end; and the mouth and chin are still small and prim. In the Saviour, the

in a bare, cold, and very ugly room that had once been a chapel where men prayed, but is now a mere *sala*, as it were, of a gallery, and wretched at that, they hung Madonna, without any frame at all or any altar, on the bare wall in the hard, white light; so that the Germans could count her toes and the Americans measure her nose, and the English say: "After all, who knows? —she is bad enough, and ugly enough to have been painted by some Florentine."]

[1] It has been inferred from the silence of such historians as Malespini and Villani as to this visit, which is only recorded in VASARI (vol. i., p. 225), that its truth may be contested. There is, however, nothing improbable in it. The further statement that the quarter in which Cimabue lived, "Borgo Allegri," derived its name from the public joy on the occasion, is proved to be untrue. See notes of commentators to VASARI, vol. i., pp. 225–6. [This story occurs first in the *Libro di Antonio Billi*, written at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is a work of brief notes, as it were a sort of forerunner of the *Vite* of VASARI. See *Il Libro di Antonio Billi* (Berlin, Grote'sche Verlag., 1892).]

same coarse nose will be found united to a half-open mouth and large round eyes; and the features will be considered less infantine than masculine and square. The hands of both Virgin and Child will attract attention by the thinness and length of the fingers, their wide separation, as they start from the palm, and by joints which have something of the lay figure, whilst the feet are similarly defective. In the angels, the absence of all true notions of composition may be considered striking. Their frames will appear slight for the heads, yet their movements more natural and pleasing than hitherto. One, indeed, to the spectator's right of the Virgin, combines more tender reverence in its glance than any that had yet been produced. In the flow of his drapery, Cimabue made no sensible progress; but he might be justly proud of the change which he introduced into the methods of drawing and colouring practised in his time. After somewhat softening the hardness of the fine engraved outlines, he gave to the flesh tints a clear and carefully fused colour, and imparted to the forms some of the rotundity which they had lost. With him vanished the sharp contrasts of hard lights, half tones, and shades. He abandoned the line shadowing, ignoring form, for a careful stippling which followed and developed it. He relieved the general light verde underground with warm shadows and pale, but warm, lights. A ruddy tinge lighted, without staining, the cheeks and lips. Unity and harmony were given to the whole by a system of final glazes, which, having now in part disappeared, exaggerate the paleness of the flesh lights. His draperies were painted in gay and transparent colours; reds, gently harmonising, by their lightness, with the flesh and with the light, but brilliant, blues and rosy pinks. In ornament, he followed the practice of his predecessors, but infused into it more taste and a better subordination to the remaining parts.[1]

From the date of this altarpiece the pre-eminence of the Florentine school begins to develop itself, expands later in the person of Giotto, to reunite in Ghirlandaio all the branches of its progress, and finally to culminate in the greatness of Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Leonardo da Vinci. The altarpiece of S. Maria Novella would alone suffice to explain the superiority of Cimabue over his predecessors and contemporaries, the rise of Giotto and the principles on which he started. Without it the principal link of artistic history at Florence would be lost and Giotto's greatness unexplained,[2] because neither the Madonna

[1] Time has unfortunately not spared portions of the picture; which, besides being longitudinally split in three places, is damaged as regards several of the saints in the border medallions.

[2] [As we shall presently see, Giotto owed much to other masters, to the work of Pietro Cavallini, to the work of Giovanni Pisano. Yet that Cimabue was Giotto's master, that he was a great painter, and not almost a myth as

MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH S. FRANCIS

? Cimabue. Assisi.

Lombardi.

MADONNA AND CHILD

Coppo di Marcovaldo. Chiesa de' Servi, Siena.

Brogi.

MADONNA AND CHILD

? CIMABUE. Academy Florence

Brogi.

MADONNA AND CHILD

SIENESE SCHOOL S. Maria Novella Florence.

of the Academy of Arts at Florence nor that of the Louvre give a just idea of the master. The altarpiece of the Academy of Arts may, it is true, rank higher than that of the Rucellai as regards composition and the study of nature; but the old types are more obstinately maintained there; and, above all, the colour has been so altered by time and restoring that the excellent qualities of Cimabue in this respect can hardly be traced any longer.[1] Cimabue here gave the Virgin a more natural attitude and a less rotund head, but a weightier frame, stronger outlines, and a less careful execution than before. He characterised with a wild energy the two prophets in the centre niche, and gave them individuality of features and expression.[2] In a Madonna of the same form as those of S. Maria Novella and the Academy, now in the Louvre,[3] the old ornamented frame with its twenty-six medallions is reminiscent of the Virgin of the Rucellai chapel, and shares much of its character, but seems less carefully executed, and has since lost some of its value from necessary restoring, the glazes being removed, and the green of the shadows as well as yellows of lights being bared. The draperies, which were of old shot with gold, are now repainted, the gold ground and nimbuses regilt, and many of the

modern criticism would have it, I must believe, with Crowe and Cavalcaselle, unless the words of his great contemporary Dante Alighieri are also at the behest of modern criticism to vanish away, as seems already to be threatened. See Langton Douglas and Arthur Strong in a *History of Painting in Italy*, by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i., App. to Chap. vi., pp. 187–193. Ghiberti, who, long after, calls Cimabue a painter in the Greek manner, tells us of no other master of Giotto. He, too, seems to regard the revival as in some sort due to Cimabue. Yet Ghiberti has been used with much effect by those who have sought to destroy Cimabue altogether. But see F. Wickoff, *Der Zeit des Guido von Siena* (*Mittheilungen des Institut für osterreichische Geschichtes Forschung.*, Innsbruck, 1895).]

[1] The Virgin, enthroned, with the Infant in the act of benediction on her knee [Academy, Sala dei Maestri Toscani, No. 102], on a chair supported by eight guardian angels; —the throne upon a floor resting on niched supports in which the four prophets stand who foretold the Saviour's coming; such is again the simple subject of the altarpiece at the Academy of Arts at Florence, whose gable form has been modernised into a rectangular one.

[2] In these indeed, as well as in the two occupying the side niches, and looking up to the Madonna, he surpassed himself in the rendering of form, giving to one animation, to others a staid gravity. In the drapery no change is to be noticed. This Madonna was originally in the Badia of S. Trinità at Florence. Another Madonna and Child enthroned with angels adoring, lately in the Ugo Baldi Gallery and now in the National Gallery [No. 565], partakes to a certain extent of the character noticed in Cimabue, and is supposed to be that mentioned by Vasari as at S. Croce (Vasari, vol. i., p. 221). Time, however, and retouching have done much to impair its value. [This seems indeed to be of Duccio's school.]

[3] [No. 1260 of *Louvre Catal.* This seems to be by the painter of the Academy Madonna.]

heads in the medallions renewed in oil. Originally in S. Francesco of Pisa, the presence of this altarpiece there might be taken as evidence of the painter's stay in that city, were it not already certain that, in the last years of the century, he was appointed *capo-maestro* of the mosaics in the Pisan Duomo. To Pisa therefore, neglecting the series of works falsely assigned to the painter by Vasari and others,[1] Cimabue may be followed with advantage.

[1] Before proceeding to notice the works assigned to Cimabue, it may be advisable to state that the following, mentioned by Vasari, have perished, viz.—The wall paintings in the hospital of the Porcellana (VASARI, p. 221); S. Agnes, a panel with side pictures of the life of the Saint, of old in S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno at Pisa (ibid., p. 223); wall paintings representing scenes from the life of the Saviour in the chiostro di S. Spirito at Florence; and paintings sent by the master to Empoli (ibid., vol. i., p. 225). In the Academy of Arts at Florence, a Virgin and Child (No. 46), from S. Paolino of Florence, is assigned with a query to Cimabue, but is evidently not by him. Vasari mentions as one of Cimabue's first works an altarpiece in S. Cecilia at Florence (vol. i., p. 221). A picture in the Uffizi formerly in S. Cecilia, and later in S. Stefano, has been supposed that to which Vasari alludes. It represents S. Cecilia enthroned with a book in her left hand and her right raised. At the upper angles of the throne two angels wave censers. On each side are four episodes of the life of the saint. This picture is executed according to the methods, form, and proportions characteristic of the beginning of the fourteenth century, more in the Giottesque manner in fact; and this may be noticed specially in the principal figure. No one who has seen the dead colour paintings in the Scrovegni chapel at Padua will hesitate as to the school in which the painter was educated. A noble attitude, the improved forms, broad draperies, and elegance of the school of Giotto, exclude, as they were unknown to, Cimabue. The small incidents are very animated, the figures long and with small heads. Some of the latter, it is true, are marked with the old type; and the action is at times exaggerated, yet not in the manner of Cimabue. In a Baptism, administered by a bishop, the same mode of composition may be observed as in a group of women in wonder at the resurrection of a female, who revives to be confessed by S. Francis, as in one of the series of frescoes of the life of that saint, in the Upper Church of Assisi. Unfortunately this altarpiece at the Uffizi creates a disagreeable impression by its colour, which is damaged by time and restoring. Vasari assigns to Cimabue the S. Francis of Santa Croce, which has already found a place amongst the works of Margaritone; and a Crucifix in the same church, which, in technical execution, makes some approach to the Florentine master, but is rather of his time than by the painter himself. Kugler attributes to Cimabue a picture in a dark passage leading to the sacristy of S. Simone at Florence. This represents S. Peter in the act of benediction and holding a cross, enthroned, bareheaded, in pontificals, with two angels at each side of him, and the inscription: "ISTAM TABULAM FECIT FIERI SOCIETAS BEATI PETRI APOSTOLI DE MENSE JUNII SUB ANNIS DOMINI MCCCVII." The date alone excludes Cimabue. The heads of the angels are repainted in oil. As for the remaining parts, the execution is rude, the shadows dark, the outlines black, and the feet large and defective. Yet the colossal figure of the saint is imposing in attitude.

Vasari finally attributes to Cimabue the S. Francis of S. Francesco of Pisa, which exists, and is, in style, worthy of Margaritone, to whom it will be found assigned in the foregoing pages (VASARI, vol. i., p. 223).

In the late Campana Gallery at Rome was a picture of S. Christopher, supposed to be the same which, according to Vasari, was painted by Cimabue in his house in Borgo Allegri at Florence (VASARI, vol. i., p. 225).

That the Pisans should employ him in the mosaics of their Duomo, and supersede for his sake their old *capo-maestro* Francesco, that the latter should think it consistent with his pride not only to yield to Cimabue but to labour in a subordinate situation under him, is one of the strongest proofs that the Pisans were unable to find in their own school one equal to the Florentine.[1]

The Saviour enthroned in glory, or as the records of the time have it, the "Majesty," between the Virgin and S. John Evangelist in the apsis of the Duomo of Pisa, was probably the last of Cimabue's labours, as, according to Ciampi, the latter figure remained unfinished. Unfortunately the mosaic has suffered excessive damage. In the Saviour the feet and other parts, in the Virgin the face, and in St. John subordinate portions, have been deprived of their original character by restoring. Yet in the forms and features of these figures, and in the colossal overweight of the Saviour, the manner of Cimabue can be discerned. He gave the Redeemer a melancholy rather than a grim expression, and a certain majestic air of repose in the attitude and features. The Christ's head was still of that bullet shape which had never been lost in Italy, since it was first conceived by an artist in the Roman catacombs.[2] The brow was still heavily projected and wrinkled, but the eyes had lost the gaze of the degenerate period; nor were the features without regularity and proportion; and thus Cimabue, who had reformed in a certain measure the type of the Virgin, raised that of the Saviour from the depth of degeneracy into which it had fallen in the hands of his predecessors. To the bending figure of the Evangelist he also gave a certain languid reverence peculiarly his own. Finally, as a mosaist, he proved himself superior to the artists of the Baptistery of Florence and even to Gaddo Gaddi, whose

This picture, however, besides being extensively damaged, is too evidently a work of the first half of the fourteenth century. Richa, vol. iv., p. 306, notices a Crucifix by Cimabue in the convent church of S. Jacopo di Ripoli at Florence. [For the S. Cecilia picture and its likeness to certain works in the Upper Church at Assisi, see Roger Fry, *Giotto*, in the *Monthly Review*, December, 1900, p. 156 *et seq.*]

[1] In Ciampi (*Notizie*, p. 144) is a record of 1301–1302, in which Cimabue's name appears as receiving in company of his "famulus," pay at the rate of 10 solidos per diem, for the execution of the "Majesty" in the Duomo of Pisa. Bonaini (*Notiz. Ined.*, p. 91) corrects Rosini, who affirms that Francesco only laboured in the Duomo after Cimabue. See Rosini, *Stor. della Pittura*, vol. i., p. 258. It is an error of the annotators of Vasari, note 2 to p. 226, vol. i., to state that Cimabue only executed the figure of the Evangelist in the mosaic of the Duomo. The document given in Ciampi says: "Cimabue pictor magiestatis sua sponte confessus fuit se habuisse . . . &c., lib. decem . . . de figura S. Johannis quam fecit juxta magiestatem." Thus he had already completed the "Majesty" when he commenced the figure of S. John.

[2] See the Christ of the Pontian catacomb inscribed "De donis," &c.

works at S. Maria Maggiore in Rome are likewise an example of the impulse given to Florentine art.[1]

Of Cimabue's presence at S. Francesco of Assisi there is not the slightest reason to doubt. But as the study of his works there involves the whole question of the rise of Giotto, it will be necessary to devote to this sanctuary a special chapter.

[1] Ciampi, *ubi sup.*, p. 91, pretends that the mosaic of the Duomo was left unfinished; because he finds by an inscription that it was completed, "having been left unfinished," by one Vicinus, a painter in 1321. Vasari affirms that Cimabue died in 1300 (vol. i., p. 226). This is evidently an error, as he still appears in the records of Pisa in 1301–2.

CHAPTER VII

THE BASILICA OF ASSISI

Assisi, the sanctuary of the oldest mendicant order, was celebrated in the earlier centuries by the martyrdom of Rufinus, and had already received some pictorial adornments at the time of the Lombard rule. Famed in the thirteenth century as the final resting-place of one whose life and miracles were audaciously compared with those of the Redeemer, it attracted the devotion of the peasants of Tuscany and Umbria, who humbly made pilgrimage to the shrine of S. Francis. The example of a wealthy youth, who had willingly surrendered his worldly substance to live a life of poverty and abstinence, was well calculated to strike the minds of a people which, though coarse and superstitious, was yet alive to the prevalent vices of both laity and clergy. But the power of an Order which might boast that it had revived the spirit of religion, and supported the degenerate Church, was no slight cause of its further increase. Many a strong man esteemed it of equal advantage to his temporal and spiritual welfare to share the power and enjoy the blessings of the mendicants, and for that reason enrolled himself at least in the ranks of the lay brothers.[1] Great was the enthusiasm, large the contributions to the Order; and S. Francesco of Assisi arose, a monument of the zeal, the religious ardour, of Umbria and Tuscany. One church was piled over another in honour of the saint; and pictorial art made manifest to the pilgrims at the shrine his miracles in juxtaposition to the incidents of the life of the Saviour. Subjects, entrusted at first to rude artists of S. Francis' own time, were repeated by the ruder hand of Giunta, who in his turn yielded precedence to Cimabue. A whole school of artists then formed itself in the sanctuary. Out of this emerged Giotto, and others, who carried Florentine art to the ends of Italy, whilst in competition with them the school of Siena lent the talents of Simone and Lorenzetti to contend for the palm of excellence. Assisi thus became equally famous in a religious and pictorial sense, and is now visited by the curious

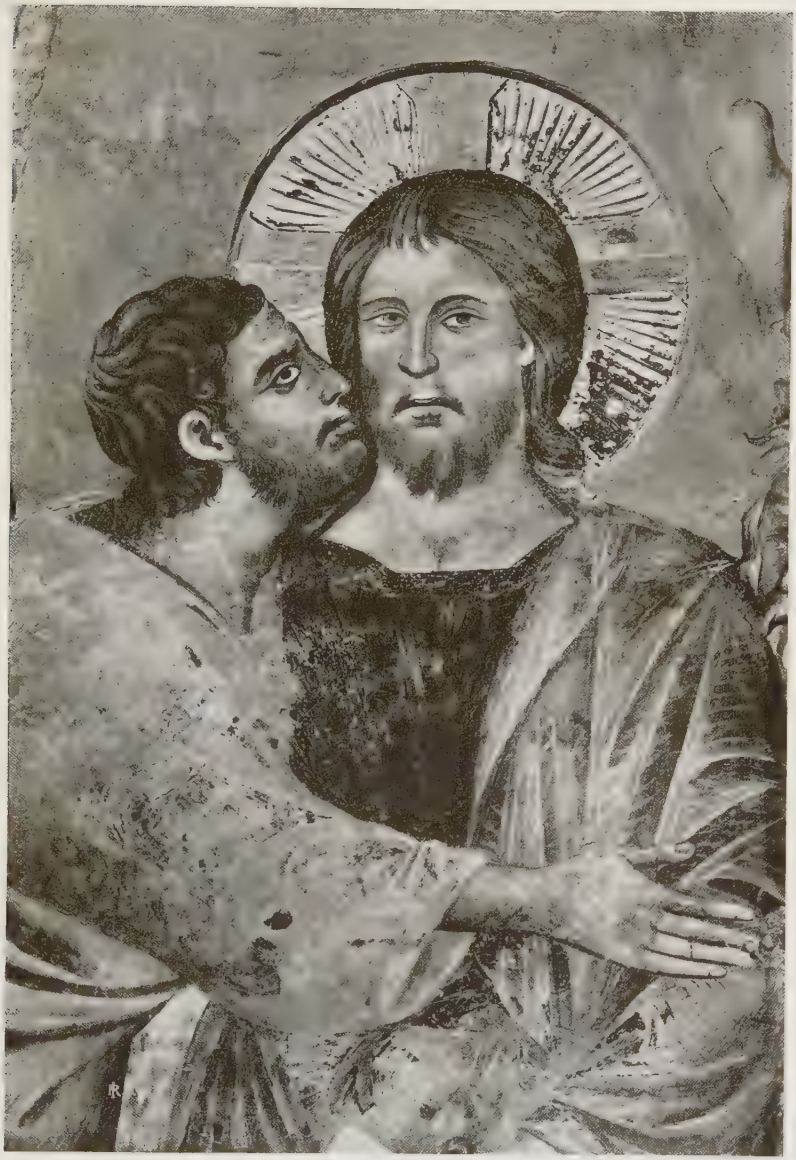
[1] [The authors mean apparently the Third Order.]

from all parts of Europe, with little less frequency than of old by the pilgrims who came for the "pardon" of S. Francis. In the Lower Church, whose aisle had been painted in the early part of the century, Cimabue probably adorned the south transept.[1] Amongst the works of Giotto on the west side of this portion of the edifice is one of an earlier date representing a colossal Virgin and Child between four angels. Placed above the altar of the Conception, and much damaged by repainting, it reveals the manner of Cimabue.[2] Its position amongst the frescoes of Giotto indicates that it existed previous to his time, and was thought worthy of preservation when the rest were sacrificed to afford room for a more talented painter. To Giotto indeed may well be ascribed that reverence for the works of his master which would induce him, like Raphael, to spare a memento of one who had trained him in the path of art. Equally old and remarkable is a large figure of St. Francis, close to that of the Virgin and Child.

In the Upper Church of Assisi, however, Cimabue may have been also employed, but not alone. It is not possible to contemplate the series of works which decorate its transepts, choir, aisles, and vaulted ceilings, without coming to the conviction that here lies concealed the history of early Florentine art; that years elapsed before the whole of the space was decorated; and that at least two generations of artists succeeded each other there. Nothing can be more interesting than to trace on those walls the progress of the art from Giunta to Cimabue, from Cimabue to a series of artistic hands of inferior genius, but moving forward with the times, and exhibiting at least a technical progress; and finally, from these, to Giotto, whose style developed itself under the influence of the numerous examples which might here instruct his mind, his eye, and his already skilful hand. From the poor productions of Giunta in the southern to the superior ones in the northern transept, a step towards the revival of form might be noticed. In the figure of the Enthroned Saviour, whose remains are visible in the latter, the character of Cimabue might be traced. Its outlines indeed revealed the hand of him who had produced

[1] VASARI, vol. i., p. 223, assigns not only the aisle paintings, but those of the ceilings, to Cimabue.

[2] [It has been asserted that this fresco is not by the same hand as the Rucellai Madonna (*e.g.*, *cf.* LANGTON DOUGLAS and ARTHUR STRONG in *A History of Painting in Italy* by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (Murray, 1903), vol. ii., p. 2, *note* 3). We may agree, but it does seem to me to be by the same hand as the Madonna of the Louvre and the Madonna of the Florence Academy, which for me are the work of Cimabue.]



Anderson.

THE KISS OF JUDAS

ROMAN SCHOOL. Upper Church, S. Francesco, Assisi.

THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC

ROMAN SCHOOL. Upper Church S. Francesco, Assisi.

THE NATIVITY

ROMAN SCHOOL. Upper Church, S. Francesco, Assisi

the altarpiece of the Academy of Arts at Florence, whilst, in comparison with the mosaic of the apsis in the Duomo of Pisa, it displayed a slighter and feebler character. The angels in the western side of the northern transept likewise revealed the somewhat angular and heavy style of Cimabue in the altarpiece just cited; and the continuation of the same manner appeared with little alteration in the central ceiling of the transept. Here the space was divided into the usual diagonals, whose ornament, issuing from vases and enlivened with quaint conceits, recalls the late Roman style of Jacopo Torriti.

The Evangelists, with their symbols, sit enthroned in stately chairs, inspired to the task of composing the Gospels by angels, flying down from heaven to lay their hands upon their heads. Deprived by time of their colour, these figures, of slight frames and weighty heads, betray in their outlines the hand of the painter of the northern transept, whilst the angels, with their slender forms, exhibit some progress in the art of rendering motion; but, where traces of colour remain, the tones are raw and sharply contrasted. A different spirit marks the ceilings of the aisle, two of which, adorned with figures, alternate with two more which merely represent a blue sky studded with golden stars. In that nearest the transept, the diagonals form an ornament growing out of vases; at each side of which stands an angel bearing the host and the labarum. Snakelike the green tracery and foliage on a red ground open out into ellipses filled with Cupids, whilst blossoms seem to give birth to horses. In the four spaces of the ceiling, medallions are set, representing the Saviour in the act of benediction, S. John, the Virgin, and S. Francis. Compared with the Redeemer in the apsis of the cathedral of Pisa, or in general with the works of Cimabue, the figure of Christ displays more nature than had heretofore been bestowed upon Him, especially in the forms of the features and chiefly of the eyes. The latter indeed were more an imitation of reality than those of Cimabue, who, as before remarked, sought to produce expression by long closed lids and an elliptical iris. The Virgin offers the same peculiarities in the features, united to more regular proportion and better action than was to be found in the altarpiece of the Rucellai, whilst, in the drawing of the hands, the artist abandoned the long pointed forms for small and short ones. But whilst, in these and the two remaining figures, a certain progress in the study of nature may be noticed, the sentiment of Cimabue has disappeared and made room for a more spiritless art, but little dissimilar from that which will be found to mark the nerveless and ungenial works of Filippo Rusuti at Rome.[1]

[1] [If the works I have considered as Cimabue's are really his, these frescoes might seem to be from another hand: whose they are it is still impossible to say.]

Yet another and a different style is displayed in the ceiling nearest the portal, where, in the intervals of an ornament rising out of vases, supported by Cupids, and enlivened with flowers and animals, the Four Doctors of the Church inculcate their lessons to the clerks of the Franciscan Order.

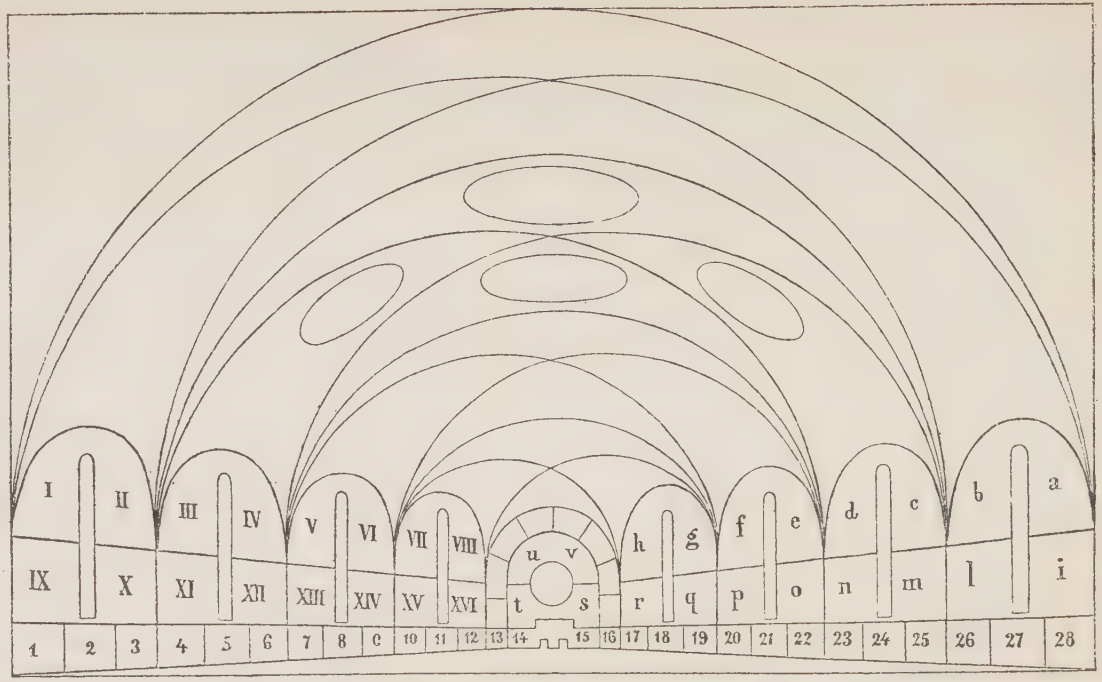
Sitting in high chairs opposite to the monks who attend to their words, they collect or dictate their thoughts.[1] In the centre of the ceiling, the Saviour, winged, seems to give a heavenly sanction to the spiritual teaching of the Doctors.

Here again, regularity and truer proportion than those of Cimabue were allied by the artist to a colossal or weighty style, equally devoid of expression and of sentiment; whilst in the conception of the whole the spectator is impressed with the idea that everything had been made subservient to a conventional decorative principle, grand of its kind, and an improvement on the art which took its rise at S. Clemente of Rome and culminated in the works of Jacopo Torriti, but inanimate and soulless as the mosaics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Even the artifice of colour reminds one of mosaics of raw and sharp contrasts peculiar to the previous age.[2]

In the upper recesses of the aisle above the gallery on each side, the painters of Assisi unfolded in two courses of frescoes the history of the Jews from the Creation to the finding of the cup of Benjamin, and the Life of the Saviour from the Annunciation to the Resurrection, and in the wall above the portal, the Ascension and the Descent of the Holy Spirit. Following the old consecrated forms of composition, which they sometimes improved and sometimes marred by a mixture of the homely, they grouped their figures with more art, and gave them occasionally more repose and better proportion than their predecessors, but they frequently, on the other hand, exaggerated animated action, neglected the drawing of nude form, and produced ugly features; and they seldom rose above their age in design or execution. The importance

[1] S. Gregory speaks under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which in the usual form of the Dove whispers in his ear. S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, and S. Jerome, combine or express their ideas in a similar manner.

[2] Shadows of an orange-red, semitones of verde, and lights all but white, red stains on the cheeks, reveal the decorative artist, whilst the broad rectangularly disposed outlines, the straight draperies, are like the piece-work of the mosaist. The ceilings of the aisle, imposing by their general distribution and effect, exhibit in fact the progress of artists accustomed to deal with the decoration of large spaces, intended to flatter the eye at a distance only.



PERSPECTIVE OF THE UPPER CHURCH OF S FRANCESCO, ASSISI.

of these frescoes as a guide to future investigation will justify the following somewhat dry catalogue of subjects, which, however, must remain incomplete on account of the total obliteration of the paintings of several of the compartments.

I. God creates the World. Part gone.
II. God creates Man. Part of the figure of the Eternal may be seen, seated on a globe, giving life with a gesture of command to Adam recumbent on the right.
III. The Creation of Eve.
IV. The Temptation, in which the ugly nude of the figure of Adam alone remains.
V. The Expulsion from Paradise.
VI. VII. VIII. obliterated.
IX. The Building of the Ark.
X. Obliterated.
XI. Abraham offering up Isaac. The angel and background are gone; and in the two principal figures, the vehemence and exaggerated action of the old style may be noticed.
XII. Obliterated.
XIII. Jacob's Blessing.
XIV. Esau with the pottage before Isaac.
XV. Joseph in the well. Almost obliterated.
XVI. The Steward finding the cup in the sack of Benjamin.

a. The Annunciation.
b. Obliterated.
c. The Adoration of the Shepherds.
d. Obliterated.[1]
e. The Presentation in the Temple. Almost obliterated.
f. The Flight into Egypt. S. Joseph and part of an ass remain.
g. Effaced.
h. The Baptism of the Saviour.
i. The Marriage of Cana. Of rude execution, and in great part gone.
l. Obliterated.
m. The Capture on the Mount. Well preserved.
n. Obliterated.
o. Christ bearing his Cross.
p. The Crucifixion.
q. The Pietà.
r. The Maries at the Sepulchre.
s. The Ascension.
t. The Descent of the Holy Spirit.
u. *v*. S. Peter and S. Paul in medallions.

[1] [Fragments of the Adoration of the Magi (*d*) remain. The Adoration of the Shepherds (*c*) is rather the Nativity.]

In the Creation of Eve,[1] fair proportion and repose mark the long form of the first man.

To our first parents, ignominiously leaving Paradise, the painter gave an ugly form of nude, and a lame motion, whilst in the action of the angel kicking out Adam with his foot the most vulgar triviality prevails.

Natural motion and fair proportion mark a party of sawyers in the Building of the Ark; but the faces of the patriarchs are ugly and repulsive. A reminiscence of the antique may be traced in the figure of Isaac, lying on his bed and feeling the hairy hand of Jacob; whilst in the neighbouring composition of Esau presenting himself with the pottage before Isaac, the surprise of the latter, and the group of Esau and his mother are very fairly rendered.

The Adoration of the Shepherds is one of those scattered traditional compositions, which betrays the distance at which the early artists of the thirteenth century remained from their more talented followers of the fourteenth.[2] This subject had been so conceived and preserved for centuries, and is similar here to that of Cavallini in S. Maria in Trastevere at Rome, and to that of the miniature (1613) of the Vatican.[3]

The Baptism of the Saviour is an exact reproduction of the arrangement which had become typical in the seventh century and remained fixed from that time.[4]

In the Capture, the Saviour is of a superior size to the rest of those around him, and of a stern but serene bearing.[5] Trivial

[1] The artist depicted the Eternal sitting on the globe of the world, enveloped in a red mantle, making a gesture of command, upon which the form of Eve seems to rise from the side of Adam, who sleeps recumbent with his head on his hand, and in a reverent action to extend her arms towards the Creator.

[2] The Virgin sits by the side of the Infant in His cradle—S. Joseph, pensive on the right, whilst the shepherds advance with their sheep in the foreground, looking up at the angel, whose figure is in part concealed by the hill forming the background. So in the relief by Niccola Pisano in the pulpit of the Baptistery of Pisa. Two angels on high holding a scroll between them seem to sing Hallelujah, whilst a third looks downwards.

[3] [This seems to give us some clue to the painters, but see below, p. 184, *note* 1.]

[4] The same in the Vatican MSS. No. 1643.

[5] Embraced by Judas, He seems with the right hand to sign to Peter, kneeling over the prostrate Malchus on the left, to cease resisting. The crowd of soldiers with lances, and spectators surrounds Him, but is better divided into groups than in the old typical compositions, reproduced, otherwise almost without change, from the period of the Crucifix of S. Marta. In this episode in the Crucifix of S. Marta, S. Peter is erect, here kneeling. See also the same episode in MSS. Vatican of the twelfth century engraved by Agincourt, plate lvii.

conception marks the scene of the Saviour carrying His Cross, where, on account of the excessive weight of the fatal instrument, the Redeemer appears to express weariness, whilst in the faces of the bystanders a foolish wonder is rudely delineated. The Saviour on the Cross has the overhanging belly and hips and sunken head of the lowest decline. Two angels wailing above the Cross seem torn by the most vehement grief. The Pietà, though better balanced in the groups, is but a repetition of the same scene in the Crucifix of the Cappella Maggiore of the Campo Santo at Pisa.[1] The attitudes and expression of the figures, which are unfortunately mutilated, are not free from exaggeration; but the composition is more like that which Giotto afterwards conceived than any other before or since. The Maries at the Sepulchre[2] is a composition in the typical form already observed in the small episodes of the Crucifix of S. Marta of Pisa.[3] The roof of the church at the bottom of the aisle, being supported by an arch, painted to imitate a series of superposed niches, each of these recesses is filled with standing figures of nuns and monks, some of which remain, whilst others have been in part or totally effaced. A rose window lights the church from the space above the portal, and high on each side of it are medallions of S. Peter and S. Paul. Below, but still above the practicable gallery, are the remains of the Annunciation and the Descent of the Holy Spirit. Immediately above the portal the Virgin and Child between two half figures of angels sit enthroned.[4] "All this work," says Vasari,[5] "was so truly grand, rich, and well conducted, that, to my mind, it must have filled the world in those times with wonder, painting having so long remained in total blindness. To me, who saw it again in 1563, it seemed very fine,

[1] The Saviour, of long and colossal dimensions, lying outstretched on the ground, is raised by the Virgin and supported on her lap, whilst behind her to the right and left the wailing Maries kneel in grief. The prostrate S. John embraces the Saviour's hand, whilst the Magdalen kisses His foot. In the background, to the left of a bare and arid rock, a figure stands and points with one hand towards the lifeless frame of the Redeemer, with the other seems to foretell by a gesture towards heaven His Ascension. Two figures in collected attitudes listen on each side. To the right of the rocky background two other figures look on, and three angels (of old four, as may be seen in AGINCOURT, plate cx.) in vehement action, look down upon the scene.

[2] Receiving from two angels the news of the Resurrection, whilst the soldiers, four in number, sleep in various attitudes in the foreground.

[3] The upper part of the figures of the Maries and angels is gone, the single intonaco having fallen and laid bare the stones—on which, however, the first drawing in red is visible.

[4] Of the paintings in this part of the aisle the colour and intonaco have in great part disappeared.

[5] VASARI, vol. i., p. 224.

as I considered how Cimabue could have enjoyed so much light in the midst of such darkness." Yet Vasari cannot really have failed to notice the variety of hands which characterises the paintings of the transept, ceilings, and upper part of the aisle. Had he thought the matter more worthy of observation, or been less intent on giving to Cimabue alone the credit of reviving the degenerate art of Italy, he might have traced in the south transept the passage from the manner of Cimabue to that of one following his style, but deficient in sentiment; he could have dwelt on the change which art again underwent in the paintings of the ceilings; how, under a succession of artists, impressed essentially with the weighty style of the school of Florence, a certain technical progress declared itself, and more attention was paid to the equilibrium of masses, and to the principles of art than before. He might have seen that, in the paintings of the Upper Church, the grave and weighty character of Tuscan composition manifested itself; and thus he could have inferred the presence at Assisi of more than one Florentine artist.[1] All this he neglected to do, but, attributing to Cimabue the whole of a series of paintings which bears the impress of numerous hands, he condescended to stop there, and to say that Cimabue had hardly entered upon the lower series of paintings which were to illustrate the life of St. Francis, when he was called

[1] [The problem these frescoes offer us is probably insoluble. To separate the work of Cimabue himself, if any, from that of others who seem to have as vague an existence might seem scarcely worth while. The authors seem to me to have arrived at the only possible conclusion when they say that "a variety of hands" is responsible for the work here in the transept, the ceilings, and the upper part of the aisle. I incline to the opinion that practically all the work (Nos. i.–xii. at any rate) on the north side of the upper church above the work of Giotto is by the school of Cavallini; as is the work in the second arch on the north side (*d*, *c*, *n*, *m*): for the rest, it seems to me Tuscan work. It is well to remember, however, that STRZYGOWSKI, in his little book *Cimabue und Rom* (Vienna, 1888), p. 88 *et seq.*, asserts that Cimabue had been to Rome, quoting a document signed in June 1272 by Cimabue—"Cimabove Pictore de Florencia." Even if this proves all it seems to, it is not enough. For if we regard Cimabue as the painter of the Nativity and the Baptism it does nothing to explain the difference there is between these works and those usually regarded as his. And what are we to make of the likeness of the Nativity to the Old Testament series? That Cimabue was the author of that I refuse to believe. We know nothing of Cimabue save that he was a great painter, the greatest in Florence, perhaps in Tuscany, in his day (*cf.* Dante *u.s.*). That all his work should have disappeared while much of that of his contemporaries remains, seems impossible. From time immemorial certain works have passed as his. One by one we have been asked to give them up, not always to any definite man, but as not from his hand. Yet if there be no authentic work of Cimabue's in existence, it is absurd to ask us to give up work traditionally his to some unknown painter: for that unknown painter may have been Cimabue. The Rucellai Madonna and frescoes I have named in the Upper Church at

away, and left the incomplete work to be finished "many years after" by Giotto. Yet when one contemplates the lower series of frescoes in the aisle of the Upper Church of S. Francesco at Assisi, it is obvious that the same technical style was displayed there as had already marked the subjects of the upper courses, and that here again was a continuation and gradual development of Florentine art.[1] It would have been difficult for Vasari, looking at the twenty-eight scenes from the life of S. Francis in the order in which they were executed, not to admit that those which illustrate the earliest incidents of the life of the Saint, were executed in a rude and mechanical manner, hardly superior to that of the frescoes in the upper courses; that as the life of S. Francis unfolds itself, the power of the artists seems to increase, the compositions to win a better form, the figures to exhibit more animation and individuality, until, towards the close, an art apparently new, another language, expressive of higher thought, reveal the development of the talent of Giotto.

But the frescoes of the Upper Church of Assisi do not merely tell the story of art; they were intended to declare to a religious congregation the abstinence, the piety, and the miracles of S. Francis. And as a sketch of these from the legend may be welcome to the reader, here it is:

The son of Pier Bernardone, a rich citizen of Assisi, S. Francis was born to affluence, but preferred, even in those years in which the

Assisi are traditionally his, but they might seem to be in a different category from the rest of his work. The one is obviously, I think (and in this at least a vast majority of critics are in agreement), a work of the Sienese school. It might seem as obvious that these frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi are of the Roman school of Pietro Cavallini. As with the Rucellai Madonna, I give a list of opinions:—

Langton Douglas and Arthur Strong, in *Ed. cit.* of C. and C.'s *A History of Painting in Italy* (Murray, 1903), see here the work of the school of Pietro Cavallini, and of an unknown master of the school of Rome who came under his influence (vol. ii., p. 10, *note* 1, and p. 11, *note* 1). Hermanin agrees with Strzygowski (*op. cit.*, p. 177 *et seq.*) that part of the Old Testament series is the work of Cavallini. Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 131 *et seq.* also sees here the work of Cavallini and his school; but Zimmerman (*Giotto und die kunst Italiens im Mittelalter*, Leipsig, 1899) finds in the upper compartments the work of Jacopo Torriti, while the Ark and the Flood and the Sacrifice of Isaac he gives to Cimabue's school. To Cimabue himself he says is due the Three Angels (xii.)—this, however, is very much spoiled; while Jacob's Blessing and Esau with the Pottage, he gives to Giotto himself. The Joseph Sold (part of xv.) and Joseph and his Brethren (part of xvi.) he gives to Giotto's school.]

[1] [That Giotto was the painter, as well as the designer, of the majority of these frescoes may well be disputed; at any rate there seems to be very little of his work left, after the restorers and the damp have been at work on them for centuries.]

passions prompt youth to the pursuit of pleasure, the exercise of charity. Of a kindly and generous disposition, it is related of him that, though at first he was not free from worldly aspirations, his conduct became exemplary; so that, even before his mind had turned to the contemplation of spiritual things, he was reverenced by the poor and simple. He had excited the admiration of a man who threw his cloak into the dust, that he might tread on it,[1] and, like S. Martin, he did not hesitate to give his cloak to one who seemed to want it.[2] Then visions came upon him in the night; visions, which did not, like those of the Maid of Orleans, foretell that he should rescue his country from a foreign yoke, but that he should save the Church, which was obviously nodding to its fall. In a dream he saw a splendid edifice adorned with arms and ensigns and with the symbol of the Saviour's Crucifixion,[3] and this was the edifice of the Church which, by command of God, he was to restore.[4] This and other visions led him to expend the money given to him by a prodigal father in the erection of a church. But Pier Bernardone, who, before, could refuse no gratification of his son's pleasures, was angered by this species of extravagance, and cited Francesco before the consuls. The bishop interfered. But the father, followed by a crowd of relatives, called on his son to restore the funds he had spent. Francis, however, had nothing left but his clothes, which, stripping himself, he offered to his angry progenitor, saying, "Hitherto have I called thee, Pietro Bernardone, father; from henceforward I shall call upon our Father which art in heaven." The bishop covered the youth's nakedness with the episcopal robe; and as the children around caressed the stones which they intended for Francis, he entered *de facto* into the Order of the Mendicants.[5] Then followed the well-known series of incidents which led to the foundation of the Franciscan Order. Innocent III. saw the poor brother in a dream supporting the crumbling Church;[6] he approved the rules of the new order.[7] Disciples followed the path which he had opened, and spread the fame of his miraculous power. One of them saw from the pulpit his form in a heavenly car brilliant with light.[8] S. Francis saw a seat reserved for himself in heaven, and heard a voice which promised that he should one day occupy it.[9] The monks of the order cast out devils in his name.[10] He visited the lands of the infidel and—a second Daniel—went through the ordeal of fire before the Soldan and shamed the false priests.[11] He was in constant communion with the Lord, and had been seen by his followers, with awful reverence, kneeling in a cloud and receiving the instructions of the Eternal.[12] In obedience to supernatural orders, he represented the Adoration of the Shepherds at Greggio.[13] He quelled

[1] This subject is the first of the series at Assisi, and is marked No. 1 in the plan.
[2] No. 2 of plan.
[3] No. 3 of plan.
[4] No. 4 of plan.
[5] No. 5 of plan.
[6] No. 6 of plan.
[7] No. 7 of plan.
[8] No. 8 of plan.
[9] No. 9 of plan.
[10] No. 10.
[11] No. 11.
[12] No. 12.
[13] No. 13.

Alinari.

S. FRANCIS HONOURED BY THE POOR MAN

GIOTTO. Upper Church, S. Francesco, Assisi.

S. FRANCIS RENOUNCING THE WORLD

GIOTTO. Upper Church, S. Francesco Assisi.

the thirst of a man by a miraculous draught of water.[1] He could discern that the sparrows twittered praises to the Almighty, and at his bidding they forbore and flew away.[2] He prophesied sudden death to his host, who accordingly died immediately after confession.[3] He preached with such fervency before Innocent III. and his cardinals as to convince them that his words were the real wisdom of God ;[4] and, though absent in the flesh, he comforted the Blessed Antony of Arles, as he preached in the cathedral, by appearing to him in the act of benediction—a vision seen likewise by Monaldus and other brethren.[5] The supreme proof of his communication with heaven was, however, when, on the rugged rock of La Verna, the Saviour appeared to S. Francis in the form of a Seraph, crucified, and impressed miraculously on his hands, feet, and side, the Stigmata.[6] A church had already been erected, with the contributions of the faithful, at Santa Maria degli Angeli ; but S. Francis frequently came away from this, the first asylum of his order, to the episcopal palace of Assisi, where, a short time before his death, he was staying. Here, foreseeing his approaching dissolution, he resolved to withdraw to Santa Maria, and being unable to walk, he was carried by the brethren and followed by a respectful crowd. Outside the town, he stopped and, looking back at Assisi, gave it his blessing. Retiring then into Santa Maria, he lay down on his humble pallet, and on the 4th of October 1226 departed to another world. It was observed by one of the brethren that his form had ascended to heaven.[7] At this very moment the bishop of Assisi, who was on a journey and then stopping at S. Michele di Monte Gargano, was miraculously assured of the death of him whom twenty years before he had covered with his protection, as he forsook the world for a life of poverty.[8] The miracle of the Stigmata had not so much credence but that some still doubted of its reality, and accordingly one Girolamo, a doctor of Assisi, made his way into the cell of S. Francis, as he lay after death, for the purpose of testing its truth. With his finger in the wound he imitated the incredulity, and gained the conviction, of a second S. Thomas.[9] The body was brought in great pomp from S. Maria or La Porziuncula to Assisi, where, in the church of S. Damiano, his "sister" S. Chiara embraced his remains.[10] He was canonised in S. Giorgio at Rome by Gregory IX.,[11] whose unbelief had ceased when S. Francis, in a vision, presented him with a vial containing blood from his side.[12] His apparitions after death were numerous and convincing. To a lady near Beneventum, who had never confessed, and was about to die, he spared a heavy penalty in the next world by arresting her death till she had made her peace with God.[13] Before this, he had, at Ylerda, saved the life of a wounded man given up by the doctors,[14] and he liberated a prisoner of Assisi confined by the orders of Gregory IX.[15]

[1] No. 14. [2] No. 15. [3] No. 16. [4] No. 17.
[5] No. 18. [6] No. 19. [7] No. 20. [8] No. 21.
[9] No. 22. [10] No. 23. [11] No. 24. [12] No. 25.
[13] No. 27. [14] No. 26. [15] No. 28.

Such was the life of S. Francis as depicted on the walls of the Upper Church of Assisi. That it was a life abounding in subjects worthy of the pencil, is not to be doubted. Many of the incidents were indeed essentially fitted for pictorial delineation, and afforded ample opportunity for the display of the greatest qualities in art, distribution, action, and expression. But if the spectator start from the first pictures in the southern wall of the aisle, nearest the transept, and sets aside No. 1 in the plan as a composition of a superior order; he will remark that, up to No. 15 many of the defects which mark the frescoes of the upper course and ceilings are reproduced; although it may be admitted that a broader style of drapery, more freedom of hand, and a more studied composition prevail.[1] In the scene where the angry form of Pier Bernardone may be noticed grasping the clothes of his son, and with difficulty held back by his relatives from assaulting Francis, whose nakedness is covered by the mantle of Guido, there was room for a display of the most varied action and expression—of anger in the father, of supreme trust in the bounty of heaven in Francis, of surprise or compassion in the bystanders, of triumph in the bishop and clergy. The intention of action and expression is manifest, and its real absence the more noticeable. Two children with their clothes tucked up evidently contemplate throwing the stones concealed in the folds of their garments; and here may be traced that tendency to combine in a solemn subject one of those simple ideas which have been urged as one of the blemishes in the style of Giotto.[2] Baron von Rumohr dwells indeed upon this peculiarity in the great Florentine with unnecessary harshness, applying to it the epithet of burlesque, and affirming that it was exclusively a Giottesque tendency; but the tendency was in the age, not in the man, nor is it possible to find in Giotto such bathos as that which disfigures the Expulsion from Paradise at Assisi, where the guardian angel seems literally to kick our first parent out of Eden. That a simple bit of nature enhances, rather than detracts from, the beauty of compositions, even of the most solemn order, may be considered a truism. Giotto did introduce such incidents, and in doing so displayed a deep observation of nature. He was not the first to do so, however; but as he carefully avoided the ridiculous, he is entitled to the credit of having, even in the humorous mood, preserved the majesty and grandeur of

[1] Nos. 3, 4, and 5 have been damaged by time.
[2] The hand of the Eternal appears in the sky of this scene.

art.[1] The human form was rendered by the painter of this scene with a certain amount of truth, but comparatively without feeling. One may find, indeed, in the stiff square nude of the youthful Francis, in the large and coarse extremities, and defective articulations, repose approaching to the inanimate, a character akin to that of some figures in the upper course of frescoes, and of the Four Doctors of the Church in the ceiling, and a manner not dissimilar from that which was developed at Rome by Gaddo Gaddi. The drawing is striking for its continuous dark wiry line and its mechanical rudeness. The leaden red shadows, verde half tints, the ruddy stain on the lips and cheeks, the white lights, the broken contrasts of tones, are those of a mosaist. The rest of the scenes up to No. 15 offer more or less the same general features, though even in these a general progress in arrangement, and sometimes in execution, is visible. A more sensible advance becomes striking in the northern side of the aisle. It would be hard to find in earlier Christian compositions one more forcible, expressive, and natural than that in which the gentleman of Celano "suddenly dies as he rises from table in fulfilment of the prophecy of S. Francis."[2] The latter, no longer of the square and stiff form which characterised the earlier numbers of the series, stands behind the table calm in the foreknowledge of the event, whilst the distracted relatives support the dying man, or exhibit their grief in a most natural manner. Without being free from the old vehemence, the figures have more nature and truth in form and expression, and are more deeply studied than they had been hitherto. Without stopping to analyse minutely the three next scenes, one may pause to examine the twentieth fresco, where S. Francis lies on a pallet, over which stoop the bending forms of his grieving brethren, one of whom, however, looking up, sees the radiant image of the founder of his Order carried in a glory to heaven by ten angels. Interesting as this picture must be to those who may wish to study the gradual progress of the art of composition in the Florentine school, it is

[1] Surely "the liveliness of movement and action" which Rumohr admits "as giving charm and interest" to Giotto's works, does not deprive them of the "greater earnestness of previous efforts," when we see on the contrary that the humour of Giotto is nobler and less childish than that of his predecessors. It is an ungrounded reproach which Rumohr makes, when he says that Giotto in a great measure set aside the noble refinement of holy and godly character, and led Italian painting to the representation of actions and passions in which, according to the habit of monkery, the burlesque found play by the side of the pathetic." See *Forschungen*, vol. ii., pp. 56, 57.

[2] No. 16.

still more so when considered with reference to the improvement of the human form as shown in the angels, who with gentle and elastic movement seem wafted through the air by their wings, and whose features already express that heavenly repose and noble kindliness which so strongly contrasts in the Giottesques with the vehement action and grimace of the angels of the old style. Nor is the semblance of flight merely a result of the attitude; but it is due also to the sensible improvement of the flying drapery, which, aiding the development of the form and its action, contributes to the pleasure of the beholder.[1] Fine as a composition, and beautifully arranged as regards the groups of monks with tapers and crosses, is the twenty-second fresco, representing the incredulity of Girolamo.[2] But superior still is that where the body has been carried on a tressel towards the church of S. Damiano. The bearers have just dropped their load; and S. Chiara bends in grief over the remains. Whilst two nuns kiss the hands of the cold corpse, others bend over it. A couple communicate their thoughts; and the crowd behind look on in lamentation. The grief of the monks issuing in a column to the left out of a neighbouring convent is well depicted; and an affecting sense of genuine regret is visible in all the faces. In the females, a graceful choice of form; in the head of S. Francis, a good expression of the repose of death and select features; in the figures generally, true proportion and flowing draperies, varied attitudes and individuality; in the artist an improved knowledge of drawing and of form—a great variety within the bounds of nature combine to convince the spectator of the progress already made by the artists of Assisi.[3] The fresco of the canonisation is unfortunately obliterated, with the exception of a group of women and children who witness the scene; but as regards composition, the next picture, which represents Gregory IX. in a dream receiving from S. Francis the flask of blood, is grand and well conceived.[4] A triumph of distribution, action and expression is to be found in the twenty-sixth fresco, where the wounded man is brought to

[1] This fresco has lost most of its colour; but the original design is everywhere visible. No. 21 is much damaged.

[2] The colour in No. 22 is in great part gone.

[3] Part of the intonaco of the foreground has fallen.

[4] S. Francis stands behind the couch on which lies the recumbent Pope, who raises his right hand to the offering, whilst the friar with his right points to the Stigma in his side. The figure of a sleeping attendant, two others in converse, and a fourth telling his beads, could not have been better arranged.

life by S. Francis, whilst his wife and servant dismiss the hopeless surgeon at the door. The latter with a shrug, and by his features and gesture, seems to say there is no hope. The lady who has followed him, bears her grief nobly, and still seems unconsciously to ask, Is all then over? The servant at her side cannot restrain her tears. In the meanwhile S. Francis has miraculously appeared behind the bed; and the sufferer raises his head, and smiles as he feels the wound healed by the hand of his deliverer. Behind, an angel holds a sceptre and a pot of ointment, whilst a second draws down the coverlet. The beholder may choose which he is disposed to admire most, the distribution of the figures and the noble truth of the attitude which, in the lady, recalls the antique—the grave and beautiful features of the latter contrasting with the weighty but not less expressive ones of the surgeon—or the fine proportion and simple flowing draperies. For harmony and equilibrium, for expressiveness in every sense, this is indeed a work of a high order. The same qualities of composition form the attraction of the twenty-seventh fresco, where the sick dame confesses to S. Francis, at the very moment when the clergy, with the cross and tapers, have appeared for the purpose of removing the remains.[1] An angel in the air claps its hands, and drives away the devil exorcised by S. Francis, an humorous incident, whilst in the heaven the Eternal grants the pardon of the repentant soul on the intercession of the saint. In the final scene of the liberation of the prisoner, the nude of the latter is well executed, and a figure of S. Francis ascending to heaven is fine in its motion; whilst, as regards the background, the usually accessorial nature of the edifices is in so far improved that a column is represented with exquisite bas-reliefs. Reverting to No. 1 of the whole series, it may only be necessary to say that it seems to have been executed by the same hand as the five last, and is vastly superior to the frescoes in continuation of it.

The art progressing throughout this succession of works, culminates at last in the comparative perfection of one who can be no other than Giotto; but Giotto, youthful and feeling his way, already in advance of his generation as regards composition, able and precise in design, but still imperfect in the technical processes of colour.[2] In this respect, indeed, a certain hardness and coldness

[1] A group of women on the right naturally renders the various looks, the movements, and impressions which such a scene might elicit from persons of different age and quality.

[2] In so far as can be judged from the parts that remain. Where the

must be conceded. The verde shadows, warmed up here and there with stippling of a wine-red colour, the lights, also stippled up, produce a certain rawness, and show the persistence of the system pursued by the older painters of Assisi, at the same time that some progress of handling is exhibited. Whether the compositions of the series are due to one leading spirit who is not Giotto, or whether they are in reality his, it is impossible to affirm. In the first case, Giotto, when his turn came to execute, altered and improved; in the last, inferior hands marred the beauty of his conception. Enough, however, has been said to justify the remark that the paintings of the Upper Church of Assisi comprise and explain the history of the revival of Italian art, and that this edifice is undoubtedly the most important monument of the close of the thirteenth century. Independently of names, it teaches the beholder to trace the progress of painting, as it changed and improved itself till, after casting off its old garments, it appeared in more youthful and promising ones. At Assisi alone can the first steps of Giotto be followed, as in Assisi the lover of the fine arts can see the culminating point of his greatness. But Assisi also conceals the names of other artists, and it is pertinent to this inquiry to determine, if not by records, at least by analogy, who those artists may have been. One may seek, for instance, amongst the works assigned to, or known to be by, artists of the thirteenth century, whether some analogy may not be traced between them and the authors of frescoes which, like those of the Upper Church of Assisi, follow those of Cimabue and precede those of Giotto. Two artists offer themselves to the inquirer, and these are Filippo Rusuti, of whom Vasari says not a word, and Gaddo Gaddi, respecting whom his biography is superficial.

On the front of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, a space now covered over by the portico is divided into two somewhat heavy courses of mosaics representing the Saviour and saints.[1] On the margin

colouring matter is gone the dead colour of the preparation is preserved. This is a proof that the frescoes of Assisi are a *secco* and not *buon fresco*. [*Cf.* Roger Fry, *Giotto*, in *Monthly Review*, December, 1900, p. 157 *et seq.* He is of opinion that the first and the last five frescoes are by another painter than Giotto—an unknown disciple, he thinks. Langton Douglas and Arthur Strong, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 21, *note* 1, agree with him.]

[1] The highest of which is occupied by a figure of the Saviour enthroned, in the act of benediction, in a circular glory, supported by four angels, of which two wave censers and two hold candelabra. The Virgin, S. Paul, S. James, and another saint are ranged to the left; S. John the Baptist, S. Peter, S. Andrew, and another apostle to the right. Above these figures, the symbols of the Four Evangelists and an ornament studded with figures of angels complete the mosaic.

S. FRANCIS AND THE BIRDS

GIOTTO. Upper Church, S. Francesco Assisi.

DEATH OF THE KNIGHT OF CELANO

GIOTTO. Upper Church S. Francesco, Assisi.

of the circular glory, surrounding the principal figure, the following inscription reveals the name of the author: "PHILIPP. RUSUTI. FECIT HOC OPUS." This mosaist laboured in a style different from that of the Roman school, as it is found in Torriti and the Cosmati, and displays the weighty manner of the Tuscans. The type of the Saviour and the forms of the angels are more regular and more modern than those of Cimabue, and have a resemblance of type and character to the medallion figures of the Saviour, Virgin, S. John, and S. Francis of the aisle ceiling in the Upper Church of S. Francis at Assisi.[1] The mosaics of Rusuti have the character and faults of that work, and it is by no means impossible that this artist should have been one of those who resumed at Assisi the labours which Cimabue had not completed.

Gaddo Gaddi was, according to Vasari's biography, the intimate friend and contemporary of Cimabue. A pleasing conformity of mind and thought united them,[2] and hence it would have been agreeable to them to labour together in one edifice like that of Assisi. But the talents of Gaddi were evidently inferior to those of his friend, and Vasari does not hesitate to place him, though an older man, in the second rank of those who illustrated the Florentine school. Born in 1239,[3] he survived Cimabue twelve years, after laying the foundation of a fortune which raised his posterity to the highest social position attainable in those days. With Giotto he lived also on terms of friendship, and his son Taddeo, held by the former at the baptismal font,[4] became one of the most industrious of the great Florentine's assistants and imitators. A single date, not a single record of undoubted authority, connects the name of Gaddo with works of art. The silence of Richa[5] would seem to contradict the assertion, that from Tafi Gaddo

[1] The figure of the Saviour at S. Maria Maggiore, for instance, has still the bullet shape of older models; but the outlines are an improvement, and the cheek bones do not protrude too much. The four angels have some nature in movement, and some greater breadth of drapery than heretofore. The figures of apostles are not quite so motionless as those of Jacopo Torriti, and the colours are well chosen. This mosaic is on gold ground, and not free from restoring.

[2] VASARI, vol. i., p. 293. [All Vasari's statements with regard to Gaddo Gaddi must be received with scepticism.]

[3] He died, according to Vasari, in 1312, aged 73. VASARI, vol. i., p. 296; and RICHA, *Chiese, ubi sup.*, states that he had seen the record of his burial in S. Croce (vol. i., p. 56).

[4] VASARI, vol. i., p. 296.

[5] *Chiese Fiorentine*, tom. v., p. xlii. Richa does not mention the name of Gaddi amongst the mosaists of the Baptistery of Florence, although he records that of Taddeo.

learnt the art of mosaic, and that he executed the figures of prophets in the course beneath the windows in the baptistery of S. Giovanni at Florence, winning by his industry "a great renown;"[1] but if the mosaic inside and above the portal of S. Maria del Fiore at Florence be really his work, as Vasari affirms,[2] it is truly the production of one who combined the old manner, miscalled Greek, with the style of Cimabue.[3] Again, if the name of Gaddo be truly appended to the eggshell mosaic in the gallery of the Uffizi,[4] it would leave the impression that the author was one of those old artists who combined all the defects of art in its decline.[5] But the mosaics inside the portico of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, which form the course immediately below those of Rusuti, are distinctly pointed out by Vasari as works of Gaddo,[6] and exhibit unmistakably a style approaching to that of the ceiling nearest the portal in the Upper Church of Assisi, or that which may still be found in the second, third, fourth, and fifth frescoes of the series assigned to Giotto in the aisle to the same edifice. The space allotted to the mosaists at S. Maria Maggiore was that on each side of a vast

[1] Vasari, vol. i., p. 294.

[2] Ibid.

[3] The semicircular recess which confines this mosaic is filled with a Coronation of the Virgin, in which the Saviour and His mother sit side by side on the same throne, and the latter bends reverently towards the former with her arms crossed on her breast, as she receives the heavenly diadem. Groups of angels blowing enormous trumpets are crowded on each side of the throne, over which the symbols of the Four Evangelists are placed. In the two principal figures the weighty, masculine, and colossal style of a Florentine may be traced, whilst in the face of the Redeemer age is indicated by angular wrinkles. A large nose, a low forehead, and defective extremities betray the still feeble powers of the artist. As a group, the whole is better intended than carried out. The space at least is symmetrically divided and filled up, but the draperies are mapped out like marquetry work and adorned with profuse gold lights. The angels are more pleasing than those of the Baptistery of Florence, and the mass of light and shade fairly divided. The colour is gay and bright, whilst the outlines remain sharp and angular. The head of the Virgin has suffered from restoration, and other portions here and there likewise.

[4] This work has been only assigned to Gaddo Gaddi because, Vasari says, he executed such works for the church of S. Giovanni at Florence. Vasari, vol. i., p. 295.

[5] The Saviour, here represented with the open Gospel, and in the act of benediction, was conceived in the lowest type of the degenerate times, with a long head, pointed nose and beard, red and black outlines, yellowish shadows and hair. The folds of the yellow tunic are indicated by rectangular lines, and the lights touched in gold now darkened by age. The hand in the act of blessing is short and broad. To Gaddo this mosaic can only be assigned if it be assumed that other works are falsely attributed to him. This mosaic, really executed with stones composed of eggshell, is slightly painted over, so that colour was obviously used to assist the effect. The stones were laid on a coat of wax. A part of the book and left hand are gone.

[6] Vasari, vol. i., p. 294.

circular window, which, being divided into four irregular compartments,[1] is filled with episodes having some relation to the foundation of the church.[2] These mosaics, more modern in style and execution than that of Rusuti, are probably those executed by Gaddo Gaddi in 1308,[3] and not only recall the manner exhibited in the frescoes already selected for contrast, but the style of architectural adornment peculiar to the paintings at Assisi. A simple comparison between the figures of the third compartment at S. Maria Maggiore with those of the second, third, fourth, and particularly the fifth fresco of the series at Assisi, which represents incidents of the life of S. Francis, will show almost conclusively that the same hand executed both works. The same laws of composition, the same weighty form in the human figures, similar heads, marking the transition between the style of Cimabue and Giotto, a rude and wiry outline, draperies of better flow than of old: all this may be found in Assisi and at S. Maria Maggiore. Nay more, the faulty extremities, the broad mass of light and shade, the natural movement of figures, the architecture common to both and peculiarly Florentine, are displayed at Rome and Assisi. Nor is this similarity to be found in general features only. The figure of the Pope in the third compartment at S. Maria Maggiore is of the same type and character as that of the third compartment in the scenes of S. Francis' life at Assisi. That Gaddo Gaddi was not merely a mosaist, but a painter, is affirmed by Vasari; and if it be admitted that, in the former capacity, he executed the mosaics in the portico of S. Maria Maggiore, it must be conceded that he painted at Assisi.

Any further search for the works of Gaddi would be vain. In the chapel of the Incoronata in the Duomo at Pisa, according to

[1] The compartments are divided by feigned columns and a feigned cornice above.

[2] In the first, to the left, the Virgin and Child, in a glory, supported by four angels, appear in a dream to one of the founders of the church, Pope Liberius, recumbent on a bed below; and the only part of this mosaic which retains its old character is that which represents the Virgin, Child, and angels. The second compartment represents a similar dream, and the apparition of the Madonna to the patrician Giovanni. Here some sitting figures at the foot of the bed are new, and the figure of the Virgin is retouched. The third compartment represents the appearance of Giovanni before the pontiff. The fourth shows the Pope accompanied by clergy, tracing out the plan of the church under the protection of the Virgin and Saviour in glory above them.

[3] Vasari, vol. i., p. 294, gives this date as that of Gaddo's presence in Rome. On the mosaics of S. M. Maggiore the arms of Colonna, the patron of Jacopo Torriti, are to be found; and this would confirm the accuracy of Vasari's chronology, usually so untrustworthy.

Vasari, he executed a mosaic of the Ascension of the Virgin, with the Saviour awaiting her in heaven. Such a work still exists, without the figure of the expectant Saviour; but, though damaged, seems to have been executed in the latter end of the fourteenth century.[1]

It may be sufficient, however, to have pointed out the probability that Gaddo Gaddi and Rusuti should have taken part in the works of the Upper Church of Assisi. The presence of these Florentine artists at Rome enables the student at the same time to compare the progress of Florentine with that of Roman art; and the comparison between Gaddo and Rusuti, and the Cosmati and Cavallini, will be found not very disadvantageous to the latter. It will be granted that the Roman school, which had never ceased to exist, was not inferior, at the close of the thirteenth century, to those of the rest of Italy, or particularly to that of Florence. It may indeed be affirmed that, setting Giotto aside, the artists of Rome were in a measure superior to those of Florence, until he arose. Rusuti and Gaddo Gaddi belonged to a class of decorative painters, whilst the Cosmati and Cavallini displayed more nature and more individuality, more character and truth in the rendering of form, than their Florentine rivals.[2]

[1] Amongst the works of Gaddo, which time has obliterated since the publication of Vasari's lives, are the mosaics in the choir of S. Peter at Rome and those of the front of the same church representing a colossal "Dio Padre and many figures" (VASARI, vol. i., p. 294), the mosaics of the old Duomo outside Arezzo (ibid., p. 295), the altarpiece of the "tramezzo" of S. Maria Novella at Florence. The portraits of Gaddo and Tafi were painted, according to Vasari (vol. i., p. 296), by Taddeo Gaddi, in the Baroncelli Chapel at S. Croce, in the Sposalizio. If the portraits of these two artists in the editions of Vasari are considered, it will be found that the figures cited as the originals by the latest commentators of the Aretine are not the real ones. See *note* 1, to p. 297, vol. i. The two figures in question are on the extreme right of the foreground, in the fresco of the Presentation in the Temple.

[2] [With their usual insight the authors have, in spite of disadvantages we no longer suffer, found out the truth. The lately discovered frescoes of Cavallini in S. Cecilia in Trastevere confirm them altogether in their praise of him.]

CHAPTER VIII

GIOTTO

The early training of Giotto at Assisi may not have been without influence on the development of his career. Two mendicant fraternities divided with their influence the mass of society in Central Italy at the close of the thirteenth century. The Franciscans and Dominicans admitted indifferently into their ranks men and women of every class in life, and Peter de Vinois affirms that, in his time, hardly a single person could be found who had not secretly or openly assumed the frock of lay brother or sister.[1] The Franciscan Order, however, appealed more naturally to the feelings of the masses than the Dominican, and certainly took the lead in representing its sovereignty in a majestic edifice which the art of successive painters adorned. It is difficult to appreciate in our day the services which art and letters yielded to the Order of S. Francis; but the pen of Dante and the pencil of Giotto were both devoted to it, and hence probably the connection which arose between two great men, of whom one sprung from the ranks of the noblesse, the other from the cottage of a peasant.

The humble condition of Giotto, who, as a child, led his father's flock through the scant and solitary pastures of Vespignano, his early feeling for art as exhibited to Cimabue on the public roadside,[2] the simple confidence with which the old labourer Bondone entrusted his infant son to a stranger, is related by Ghiberti and Vasari.[3] Giotto, born in 1276, was ten years of age[4] when

[1] Cesare Guasti, *Opuscoli* (Flor., 1859), p. 20.

[2] [The story of the discovery of Giotto by Cimabue occurs first in Ghiberti (1450). Giotto's father was of less humble station than Ghiberti and Vasari thought. We have the authority of documents for asserting that Giotto was born at Colle. *Cf.* Davidsohn, *Die Heimath Giotto's* in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenchaft* (1897), band xx. We cannot as yet be sure of the year of Giotto's birth.]

[3] Ghiberti (2nd Commentary in Vasari, *ubi sup.*, pp. xvii.-xviii.) explains that Bondone gave up his son because he was "*poverissimo.*"

[4] Vasari, vol. i., p. 310. Ghiberti (*ubi sup.*) says, Giotto was then "*di piccola età.*" There is a strange coincidence of name between Giotto di Bondone the painter and Giotto di Buondone, who, between 1301 and

Cimabue, taking him away to Florence, initiated him to the first rules of art. Any attempt to trace the progress of Giotto under the guidance of his early teacher would be perfectly useless,[1] inasmuch as the first fruits of his industry have perished ; [2] but that he laboured when still young at Assisi is evident to those who can study the scenes of the life of S. Francis in the aisle of the Upper Church. That he had entered upon manhood when he painted the allegorical ceilings of the Lower Church is equally evident. It is therefore probable that he executed the latter when, according to Vasari, he was called to Assisi by Fra Giovanni di Muro,[3] elected fourth General of the Order of S. Francis in the year 1296.[4]

Next to the aim of making manifest to the people the acts and miracles of S. Francis, that of illustrating the principles upon which the Order was founded would naturally be considered imperative. Hence Giotto was called upon to demonstrate with the feeble aid of allegory the virtues which ostensibly distinguished the mendicants of Assisi. Poverty, wedded to Christ and widowed in Golgotha, was the spouse which S. Francis chose, a spouse whose rags and suffering, as she pursued the thorny path of life, were still not without charm. For poverty, though her way be amongst

1321, occupied important posts in the republic of Siena. (Rumohr, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 41.) But there can be no error as to the name of the painter's father, as in a document of 1312 the former is called Bondonis. See *note* to Vasari, vol. i., p. 329.

[1] [Berenson, *Florentine Painters of the Renaissance* (Putnam, 1898), p. 114, tells us that Giotto was "formed under the influence of Giovanni Pisano."]

[2] Paintings in the Badia of Florence. Vasari, vol. i., p. 311.

[3] Vasari, vol. i., p. 315.

[4] Wadding, *Annal. Ord. Min.*, vol. v., p. 348, anno 1296. Vasari (vol. i., p. 315) pretends that, on his way to Assisi, Giotto, passing through Arezzo, painted in the Duomo, without the city, a chapel in which he represented the Stoning of Stephen, and, in the chapel of the Pieve d'Arezzo, dedicated to S. Francis, a portrait of that saint and of S. Dominic, on a column. As the Duomo was razed in 1561, the "Stoning of S. Stephen" perished with it, but the figures of S. Francis and S. Dominic still exist in the Pieve ; the former standing with a book, the latter with a lily in his hand. These figures, on tiptoe, hardly outlined, with some research in the detail of form, but of a paltry shape, ill drawn as regards the extremities, and feeble in the draperies, are evidently not by Giotto, but may possibly be by Jacopo da Casentino. A Crucifix in the Badia di S. Fiora at Arezzo is likewise assigned to Giotto (see *annot.* to Vasari, p. 324), Vasari having stated that he painted one there ; but that which now exists, so far from being in the style of Giotto, is in the manner of a Sienese painter, possibly Segna, whose works may be mentioned later. Further, as to a figure of S. Martin painted for Piero Saccone on a pilaster of the choir in the Vescovado (Vasari, vol i., p. 324), nothing can be said, inasmuch as the fresco has perished.

briars, enjoys the bloom of the roses. She may be stoned by the heedless, feared and despised by the worldly, but she is the foe of avarice and lust, the friend of charity; and hope whispers to her that she may inherit eternal happiness. He who gives his all to the poor is himself a beggar, but the consciousness of good is as the rose on the briar, and the reward is a seat amongst the angels. Yet poverty without penitence for past sin, poverty without chastity, was, according to the teaching of the thirteenth century, no blessing. Of him therefore who would take the vow of the mendicants, purification and penance were demanded. To undergo the ordeal, fortitude was required; but he who had strength and faith drove out the sins of the flesh, and, by the help of prayer, was admitted to the fortalice of chastity, whose walls, if guarded by prudence, justice, temperance, and obedience, would be impregnable. Obedience, however, was the necessary yoke imposed upon the mendicant brother. With it, humility and prudence went hand in hand, for whilst the first taught contentment, the second was a defence against pride, envy, and avarice; and whoever willingly bore the yoke was certain of paradise, and would occupy with S. Francis a seat in glory amongst the heavenly host. Such was the theme which Giotto was to develop pictorially on the central ceiling of the Lower Church of Assisi. He depicted in one of the spaces the mystic marriage of S. Francis united to Poverty through Christ, telling at the same time, as well as he could, the allegory, and illustrating it by incidents from the life of the saint, and thus endeavouring to impress on the spectator, not only the spiritual advantages, but the actual course pursued by the founder of the Order.

So in the left-hand foreground, a pauper, holding out his hand for alms, seemed welcomed by a youth depriving himself at once of his cloak, an act witnessed and encouraged by the youth's guardian angel, who, pointing to the mystic ceremony in the centre of the picture, seemed to inculcate the maxim that, by helping the poor, man is fitted to aspire to the vows of the mendicant order. In the middle of the picture, Poverty, in rags amongst flowers blooming on the briar bush which strews the ground, is united to S. Francis by the Saviour, and looks kindly on the saint. Faith on her left gives her the ring, and Charity shows that she has a burning heart. A host of angels on each side of the principal group form the spiritual court, before which, according to Dante, the mystic marriage took place. A dog barking at the feet of Poverty, a child goading her with a stick, and a boy throwing stones at her, indicate the contempt and fear which she inspires

to the world. In contrast with the kindly action of the youth who shared his cloak with a beggar, another at the opposite side of the picture, vainly addressed by an angel, displays by the indecent gesture of his fingers and a falcon on his fist his preference for worldly pleasure, whilst to his right a figure with a bag of gold symbolises avarice, and a third between the two seems to point towards the charitable group, and give worldly advice.[1] In the upper part of the picture, an angel in flight bears the garment of the charitable boy; a second also in flight holds up a mimic edifice surrounded by a wall, in the court of which grows a tree. Both seem to be received gratefully by a figure looking down with open arms from heaven.

Giotto in this allegory evidently followed the instructions of his employers. His own ideas on the subject of poverty he embodied in rhyme, imperfect as regards metre and language, but very remarkable for common sense.[2] According to his ideas, Poverty, commended by those who observed it as a rule, was by no means commendable, though it might exist without vice. Involuntary poverty led the world but too frequently to evil, judges to corruption, dames and damsels to dishonour, and men in general to lying, violence, and theft. As to poverty elect, it was very obvious that it was as frequently evaded as observed. Yet, as regards the observance, *that* certainly could not be good which required no discretion, knowledge, or qualities of any kind, nor could that justly be called virtue which excluded what is good. But this common-sense view did not prevent Giotto from doing his duty by the Franciscans; and though he might scorn the general reverence in which they were held, or could perceive their weaknesses, he worked for them diligently and well, serving them as he no doubt served others, caring as little for their peculiarities as for party distinctions in lay employers. It is indeed, from the outset, characteristic of Italian artists that they were welcome everywhere, and that they yielded service to Ghibelline or Guelph with the same readiness as Raphael did later to the friends and foes of the court of Urbino.

Continuing the cycle of subjects, Giotto devoted a second compartment to the allegory of Chastity, a fit comprehension of which, as of the two remaining ones, the student may gather from the following:

[1] The drawing of this group by Giotto himself, designed with a pen on vellum, has recently passed from the collection of Mr. F. Reiset into the possession of the Duc d'Aumale, and is now in the Museum of Chantilly.

[2] See Giotto's *Canzone* on Poverty in Rumohr, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 51, and in Vasari, vol. i., p. 348.

On the left foreground three figures representing the three orders of Franciscans, the friar, the nun, and the terziario or lay brother, might be seen gladly greeting S. Francis, accompanied by a band of angels and soldiers of the faith. Whilst an angel presents the cross to the nun, S. Francis extends his hand to the would-be friar, and the lay brother seems animated with the utmost desire to join the holy company. This group is appropriately significant of the ardour of S. Chiara, Bernard of Quintavalle, and another to accept the aid of S. Francis and assume the vows of his order. One of the soldiers behind the saint already holds the instrument of penitence in his hand, which is a whip of many tails. Further to the right, a novice stands naked in a font, and whilst an angel in robes imposes hands on his head and shoulder, another on the right pours over him the purifying water. Two angels with the dress of the order stand by, waiting till the ceremony of purification is over; whilst in rear of the whole group two figures symbolising purity and fortitude hold in readiness a banner and shield, and with them lean forward from the wall which surrounds the tower sacred to Chastity. To the right of the scene of purification stands one of the flagellators, hiding the instrument of punishment behind his back, and indicating that he awaits the novice, whilst another by his side, and seen more in front, wields the instrument as if the flagellation had already taken place upon one to the right, winged, cowled, and bearded, who, strong in purity and penitence and with the marks of the flail on his torn garment and back, has already driven away and prostrated the unclean spirit in the shape of a winged boar, and strikes with a trident a naked winged female blindfolded and symbolical of lust. Her feet are as the talons of a bird, her form youthful, and her head crowned with roses. But from her shoulder hangs a quiver and a string of human hearts. Behind, the skeleton of death grasps the hand of a figure emblematic of impure passions, and hurls him into the flames of the everlasting abyss. The penitent is aided against his foes by three noble and youthful females with helmets, one of whom pricks lust with a lance, whilst another repels her with a vase, and the third with the cross and the remaining symbols of the Passion. Behind these again, are three old helmeted warriors holding lances. Chastity, a youthful female, in profile, stands in prayer in the upper part of the tower guarded by Purity and Fortitude. Two angels in air at the sides of the tower offer her a crown and a vase, out of which grows a palm. The tower itself, the symbol of the force of Chastity stands in a quadrangular fortalice flanked with square turrets crenulated triangularly after the Florentine fashion. A bell at the top indicates the necessity of vigilance.

Under the name of Obedience, Giotto symbolised the rules of the Order of S. Francis, whose practice secures the ascent to heaven. On the right foreground he depicted an animal of three natures, part man, part horse, and part dog, advancing with a red cloak on his shoulder, and symbolising pride, envy, and avarice. His career seems suddenly arrested by a ray which glances on his face from a mirror in the hand

of Prudence, a double-headed figure sitting on the extreme left of a portico, in which are present likewise Obedience and Humility. The portico or lodge is symbolical of the sanctuary of S. Francis. In it hangs a Crucifix. In front of it and beneath the symbolic figure of Prudence an angel comforts and holds by the hand one of two kneeling figures. The first looks at the hybrid's repulse, and seems to signify that Prudence teaches us to repel pride, envy, and avarice. The second, directed by a gesture from the angel, casts its glance towards Humility, who stands in the portico to the right, holding a torch in her hand, signifying that humility lights the sinner to virtue. In the centre of the portico, Obedience, in the dress of a Franciscan and wearing a yoke, inculcates silence with its finger on its mouth and imposes on the shoulders of a kneeling monk a wooden yoke. Above, S. Francis is drawn up by the yoke to heaven, and two angels, at each side of him, hold scrolls on which are inscribed the rules of the order. On each side of the foreground, angels kneel, the two nearest carrying cornucopia, the others in prayer. In the fourth compartment Giotto represented S. Francis in cathedra holding the book and Cross, in a glory of angels varied in attitude and motion, some dancing, others sounding instruments of different kinds, and others holding lilies and palms.[1] The centre of the diagonals is a medallion with a figure of the Eternal, as He appeared to S. John, that is, the figure of "one girded about the paps with a golden girdle, His head and His hairs white like wool, as white as snow" . . . and out of His mouth went "a sharp two edged sword."[2] This vision of the Eternal holds in its left a book inscribed "Liber ecclesiæ divinæ" and in its right the keys. In the ornament of the diagonals, the Lamb,[3] with three crowns, the symbols of the Four Evangelists,[4] winged, "the white horse," and He that sat upon him holding a bow,[5] "the black horse," and He that sat upon him holding a pair of balances in His hand,[6] "the red horse," and the rider wielding a great sword,[7] Death on the pale horse,[8] angels, seraphim, and emblematic figures of the Virtues.

Rumohr says of these ceiling frescoes, that the "allegory which they illustrate is monkish-childish, and was certainly so ordered by the friars and not thought out by Giotto." He passes them over "because of late a German tourist has described them at length,[9] who seems to have contemplated with delight how the angels draw up poor sinners of monks with the healing cord of S. Francis to heaven."[10] No doubt the allegory was not Giotto's, nor was it in his mode of thought; but if it be the aim of an artist to

[1] These four frescoes are on gold ground.
[2] Rev. chap. i. 13, 14.
[3] Rev. chap. v. 6.
[4] Rev. chap. iv. 6.
[5] Rev. chap. vi. 2.
[6] Rev. chap. vi. 5.
[7] Rev. chap. vi. 4.
[8] Rev. chap. vi. 8.
[9] Köhler, in *Kunstblatt*, 1821, Nos. 40 and following.
[10] Rumohr, vol. ii., p. 67.

expose clearly that which he desires to express, the meaning is here perhaps as clear as it could have been, had the same thoughts been conveyed in rhyme or prose; nor would the task of a critic be heavy who should thus allow his scorn of the mere form in which a subject is presented to dispense him from the duty of considering the art which distinguished the painter.[1]

These allegories, next to the frescoes of the Upper Church of Assisi, enable the beholder to study the progress which Giotto had made as he emerged from adolescence into the enjoyment of independent life. In the frescoes of the Upper Church of Assisi the laws of composition and distribution had already been successfully developed.[2] The space had been judiciously distributed and the groups were bound together with such art that the resulting lines were at once simple and grand.[3] Whilst the greatest and most difficult law of delineation was thus ably enforced, other maxims had not been forgotten. The painter explained his meaning everywhere. Not a movement but suited the general action; not a figure whose character was not befitting his quality and the part allotted to him in the scene; not a personage whose stature was not well proportioned, whose form was not rendered with intelligence of the action, the nude, and even of perspective. Nor was the latter quality of small value at a time when the science of placing objects as they appear in life was not ascertained in any way. Even the forms of architecture and distances, though they still remained the most imperfect of the accessorial parts of painting, had been so improved as to exhibit at least greater nature, taste, and elegance of proportion than heretofore, and a purer style in decoration and ornament. This alone would point to Giotto as the author of the latest of the series of frescoes in the Upper Church of Assisi. In the ceilings of the Lower Church, known and admitted to be by him, they are to be discerned, in conjunction with a greater facility of hand, and better study of nature. For, as will be noted hereafter, Giotto improved with every year of his artistic life, till he reached the zenith of his power in the frescoes of the Peruzzi Chapel at Florence. But, in one

[1] [It has been thought by many critics that Giotto was assisted in the painting of these allegories by some unknown painters whose work is clearly visible there. *Cf.* VENTURI, vol. v., pp. 476–486.]

[2] "Die Kunst, den gegebenen Raum mit dem bestimmten Gegenstand auf eine angemessene und schöne Weise auszufüllen, gehört vielleicht mit zu den erheblichsten Verdiensten Giotto's." FÖRSTER, *Kunstblatt*, No. 8, an. 1834.

[3] This applies particularly to the fresco No. 26.

direction particularly, the progress of Giotto was more remarkable than in any other. In the frescoes of the Upper Church at Assisi his drawing is slightly hard, his figures tall and slender, his colour cold in general tones, somewhat raw and ill fused. In the ceilings of the Lower Church the figures gained better proportions, more nature and repose. The extremities were less defective and more in accord with the rest of the person. The whole in fact gained harmony. The feeling for action vehemently expressed made place for a quieter and truer movement. The outlines, no longer hard, determined the forms with greater accuracy. The draperies were reduced to the simplest expression by the rejection, even to a fault, of every superfluous or useless fold. A spacious mass of light and shade imparted to the form a relief and rotundity which had long been absent. The system of colouring underwent a considerable change, and whilst it gained in breadth of modelling and fusion, preserved a lightness and clearness equally new and remarkable. The general undertone, instead of being of a dark verde, was laid on in light grey. Over it warm colour, glazed with rosy and transparent tints, gave clearness to the flesh. The high lights were carefully stippled and fused without altering the general breadth of the masses. Giotto, in fact, founded a new law of colour, and entitled the Florentine school to assert its supremacy in this respect. In a regular and ever progressing sequence, Giotto, Orcagna, Masolino, Angelico, and Masaccio, and at last Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto, carried the art of colouring in fresco to perfection. Raphael, though he surpassed all others in most qualities of art, remained behind the pure Tuscan school in this; whilst in the quality of chiaroscuro the master of all in the sixteenth century was Correggio. In the hands of Giotto, art in the Peninsula became entitled for the first time to the name of Italian,[1] for in composition, form, design, expression, and colour, he gave it one uniform stamp of originality in progress, an universal harmony of improvement.[2] To Cimabue, Giotto owed certain peculiarities

[1] "Tu vedi," says CESARE GUASTI (*Opuscoli, ubi sup.*, p. 5), "per la mano di Giotto sostituirsi nuovi tipi, che volentieri chiamero nazionali alle maniere de' Bizantini, in tanto che la barbarie del feudalismo cedeva alla costituzione dei Comuni; e dal rozzo latino svolgevasi la bella lingua d'Italia."

[2] "Arrecò," says GHIBERTI very truly (*comm.* in VASARI, vol. i., p. xviii.), "l'arte naturale e la gentilezza con essa, non uscendo delle misure." "Niuna cosa," says BOCCACCIO in the *Novella*, No. 5 of the sixth day (*Decam.*, London 1774, 12mo, vol. iii., p. 499), "dalla natura . . . fù che egli con lo stile e con la penna e col pennello non dipignesse si simile a quella, che non simile, anzi piu tosto dessa paresse; intantochê molte volte nelle cose da

of form. As in the first one may trace, in the altarpiece of the Rucellai, the change from open gazing eyes to long closed lids and an elliptical iris, a reaction from one extreme to another, so in the second the maintenance of this reaction may be observed. But although this feature descended generally to almost all the Giottesques, the master himself in his maturity seemed inclined to correct it. Again, as regards colour, Cimabue, with his light clear tones, seemed to protest in the liveliest manner against the dark mapped-out tints of his predecessors, by a tendency to paleness which touched the opposite extreme. Giotto also sometimes gave paleness to his flesh tones; but the reaction is probably more sensible at the present day than in Cimabue's or Giotto's own time, in consequence of the disappearance of those light glazes which heightened the general tone and gave it warmth and life. In judging of Giotto's works it must never be forgotten that he is a painter of the thirteenth century, from whom it would be vain to expect the perfection of the sixteenth. But taking into consideration the age in which he lived, and more particularly the allegories of Assisi, it will be seen that his works will justify even more than the general praise awarded to them. To close this theme the reader may peruse the following:

In the first allegory, Poverty was represented by Giotto as a lean and physically suffering person, dressed in a long patched robe, torn so as to expose a breast, of which the anatomy was fairly rendered. Long neglected hair confined beneath a white drapery, bound round the head with a yellow and gold cincture, enclosed a face worn by toil and pain, but still smiling. S. Francis, in ecstasy, as he accepted the ring, admirably rendered the poet's thoughts:

La lor concordia e lor lieti sembianti
Amore e maraviglia e dolce sguardo
Facean esser cagion de' pensier' santi.

and in the glance of the saint the soft look of sacred love was expressed. No painter had as yet so well contrasted the soft and youthful but healthy forms of an affectionate boy, all overflowing with charity, as he surrenders his dress to the poor, and those of the more mature adolescent, richly clad, but of hard and vulgar features, grinning maliciously, as he indecently gesticulates to mark his preference for mundane pleasures. Rigid decorum may object to the grossness of certain actions; but decorum was variously conceived in various

lui fatte, si truova, che il visivo senso degli uomini vi prese errore, quello credendo esser vero che era dipinto." A poetic exaggeration, but showing the enthusiasm of a great admirer.

ages, and even now is judged according to different standards by divers nations. We do not tolerate the coarseness of our forefathers, and modern dramatists or poets are not allowed the liberty of Shakespeare or of Dante.[1] Signification, individuality, and firmness of intention were thus prominent qualities in Giotto; and this was fully illustrated in the various movements and expressions of the flagellator in the allegory of Chastity. These figures, repeated in various phases of the action, unmistakably expressed the stern sense of duty, where the novices are received by S. Francis; expectation, where penitence is about to be administered; calm repose, where the punishment has been inflicted. Everywhere, the movement was resolute and unhesitating. It would have been difficult to express more insinuating kindliness, or gentleness, than Giotto gave to S. Francis welcoming the aspirants to the order. In his noble and youthful form and features a certain inspiration was apparent, but no material affectation of maceration or suffering. A soft and modest confidence, a ready but dignified action, marked his motion. Again in the allegory of S. Francis in Glory, ecstasy and triumph were delineated in the regular features. Amongst the angels around him some were marked by that weighty and masculine character peculiar to the school of Florence; whilst in those which adorned the other frescoes a more feminine, a softer character prevailed. It was, however, from the former that the powerful character of Ghirlandaio and Michael Angelo was afterwards developed. The nude in the penitent and the figure of "Lust" in the allegory of Chastity, and in the hybrid of the allegory of Obedience, was not as yet rendered as Giotto afterwards delineated it; but it was carried out in a manner appropriate to the general character of the rest of the work, and in accordance with the laws of proportion. The drawing and form were in fact subordinate to a general idea, and Giotto evidently cared more for the whole than for the parts. An arm, as he painted it, might still be wanting in the anatomical form of the muscles, in the completeness of its details; it was never defective in the action of the limb itself. The function which he desired to express was therefore always evident; nor is it doubtful that it was better in an age rude as that of Giotto still was, to sacrifice details to the mass, the proportion, and the action.

Thus Giotto before the close of the thirteenth century became eminent as a composer, a designer, and a colourist, and united at a common level all the qualities which constitute the universal genius of the artist. Art after him became divided. Some clung to the more special aim of developing form, and in this were at first not very successful; others chose colour or relief, others again sunk themselves in a search for accessories or detail. None took

[1] Mark in Dante the passage in which Lucifer blows a trumpet in a manner equally new and startling.

up art in all its branches where Giotto left it. His pupils had neither their master's genius, nor his talent; and art therefore declined in their hands, till in the fifteenth century it verged towards naturalism. Then Ghirlandaio supervened, who gathered together and concentrated in himself most of the various branches of its progress. It was reserved for Raphael at last to perfect it in all its parts, and bring it to a high general level similar in comparison to that upon which it rested at the death of Giotto. Italian art may therefore be said to remain confined within three great names, those of Giotto, Ghirlandaio, and Raphael; yet it must be understood that the great merit of many intermediate artists contributed, each in its measure, to this general result.

Giotto executed for the Lower Church of Assisi other frescoes than those of the central ceiling. The scenes from the life of the Saviour and of S. Francis in the southern transept exhibit not merely the character of a work of the rise of the fourteenth century, but the development and perfection of Giotto's manner. These frescoes have been assigned by Rumohr to Giovanni da Milano,[1] in accordance with a very arbitrary reading of Vasari. It is quite true that the biographer says of Giovanni, that in Assisi "he painted the tribune of the high altar, where he executed the Crucifixion, the Virgin, and Santa Chiara, and, on the faces and sides, scenes of the life of the Virgin;[2] but the frescoes of the south transept are evidently not those meant by Vasari, firstly, because the tribune of the high altar is not the transept, and secondly, because the subjects in the transept are different from those given by the biographer. These cover the east and west wall in three courses, beginning at the top of the latter with the Birth of Christ and the Salutation, and continuing with the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Crucifixion. On the east face are, in similar order, the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents, Christ in the Temple, Christ taken home by his Parents, the miracle of the Resurrection of a Child of the Spini family, an effigy of S. Francis by the side of a skeleton of Death, and above the lunette of a door, a half figure of the Saviour. All these subjects were divided from each other by painted architectural ornament, interrupted by small figures of prophets, on gold ground, and miniature allegories.

[1] Rumohr (*ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 87), who thus contradicts the positive statement of Ghiberti (*com.* 2 in Vasari, vol. i., p. xviii.), "Dipinse nella chiesa di Asciesi quasi tutta la parte di sotto."

[2] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 120.

In the Birth of the Saviour, which is perhaps composed with too much symmetry, there is a soft and unworldly repose which is charming.

The Virgin smiles as she lies on the couch holding the swaddled Infant in her arms; a double choir of angels sings canticles in the air of the hut, at the bottom of which the ox and the ass ruminate. Another double choir sings praises about the roof, which is cleft in the centre by a ray from heaven. An angel, flying down to the right, apprises two shepherds of the birth of the Saviour, and the soft expression and quiet aërial motion of the messengers contrasts admirably with the energetic attitude, the surprise of the pastor whose flock treads the foreground. S. Joseph, pensive as in the old typical compositions, sits in the left-hand corner of the picture with his head on his left hand. In the centre front is the usual group of nurses preparing to wash the Infant.

The improvement wrought in this composition is evident, if it be compared with the confused and scattered one of the Upper Church. The Salutation is a composition of the severest artistic metre, simple, and marked with a religious sentiment akin to that of the Angelico.

In it the painter imagined the human form of a tall and slender shape. The Virgin, in the Adoration, sits in front of a portico appertaining to a vast palace, guarded at each side by an angel, one of whom already holds the offering of the oldest of the Magi. One of these, kneeling, kisses the foot of the infant Saviour, whose tiny hand is imposed on his head in token of blessing. To the left are two Magi, one of them removing his mantle that he may more reverently appear in the sacred presence, whilst the other holds a cornucopia. Behind stand the suite and two camels.

This subject was never painted with more feeling, more naturally or beautifully composed than here. A supreme sense of religious decorum and repose prevails in the well-proportioned, dignified, and softly animated figures; and it is impossible but that Angelico, in whom the utmost religious feeling of his time was represented, should have studied here, and with fruit. The Presentation in the Temple is a very animated composition of five figures in a beautiful groined interior.

The moment chosen is that in which Simeon has just taken the Saviour from the hands of the Virgin and looks up to heaven. The figure of the Saviour in the Crucifixion is of a noble type and form, with

THE ALLEGORIES OF POVERTY AND CHASTITY

GIOTTO. Lower Church, S. Francesco, Assisi.

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

Alinari.

THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS

GIOTTO. Lower Church, S. Francesco, Assisi.

both feet superposed, as now became the habit of Italian painters, simply designed and of good proportions. The angels about the Cross still vehemently express their grief, some holding their cheeks, others tearing the tunics from their breasts. One receives in a cup the blood from the lance wound; at the foot of the Cross is the Magdalen; at its left side S. John and the Maries supporting the swooning Virgin; to the right S. Francis and other monks of the order, and a more distant group of figures complete the picture. In the face of the Saviour all absence of contortion or grimace, no bleeding wounds from a crown of thorns; in the general outline of the forms, great simplicity and flexibility, make the figure a startling contrast with previous attempts to reproduce this subject. S. John, looking up, wrings his hands in grief. A female behind him looks up likewise, and shows her despair by throwing back her arms and shoulders. A second, still more in rear, holds her arms as though surprised. Consummate skill is in fact displayed in expressing various forms and phases of grief or passion. The Virgin, senseless, is raised up under the arm by one of the Maries, and supported by the two others at each side of her. It is a group full of truthful nature, of movements feminine, and forms suiting the general action. Amongst the bystanders on the right, two reasoning with each other, one tearing his beard, others angry and turning away, express the variety of the feelings which animate their souls. With this, grand lines of composition, religious feeling, and features of a noble type combine to fetter the attention of the beholder. The Flight into Egypt is most simply arranged, and one of the most beautiful representations of this incident. S. Joseph, with a pilgrim's staff and gourd, leads the ass upon which the Virgin rides, carrying the infant Saviour in the drapery of her mantle; a youth pushes the ass along from behind, whilst an old woman follows with a load on her head, supporting her steps with a stick. In the distance, castles and hills and two angels guide the way. The lines of this composition are simple, the figure of the Virgin elegant and graceful, that of the old woman with the load classic and reminiscent of the antique. Again the religious sentiment of Angelico rises in the mind of the spectator; whilst he recognises in the form and action of the ass the universality of Giotto's genius. In the groups of the Massacre of the Innocents, fertility of imagination, versatility in expression, and energy in action are found combined with an absence of concentration. Three women on the left, one of whom weeps over the body of her child on her lap, whilst another kisses a little corpse, and a third rends her clothes, remind the spectator of similar conceptions in Raphael. In the foreground to the right, a woman fainting in the arms of a soldier contrasts with another of these executioners seizing and threatening with his sword an infant whose mother strives to elude his grasp. In a tower, Herod orders the massacre. The whole scene, though varied, is confused. Wonder and dislike are well depicted in the faces of the doctors disputing with the youthful Saviour in the middle of the temple. In the Return, S. Joseph keeps a firm hold

of the Saviour for fear He should be lost. A majestic half length of the Redeemer is in the vaulting of the door.

To the right of the door S. Francis, in full front, points to a crowned skeleton of Death, in which a much deeper study of anatomy is revealed than has ever been conceded to Giotto. It is evident, indeed, from this example alone that the great artist had a fair knowledge of the proportion and conformation of the human frame, of the bones and their articulations. It may even be affirmed that he carried this study further than artists of a later time. When, for instance, Luca Signorelli painted the skeletons in the Duomo of Orvieto, his art extended to give to the frame and limbs impetuosity of movement. The forms of the bones were sometimes exaggerated so as to become false. Signorelli therefore, great as he unquestionably appears, had, to a certain extent, a false language of art which contrasts with the true and simple one of Giotto. It cannot surprise the spectator, therefore, that Giotto should be able in reproducing nude form, as it is manifest that he was scientifically certain of the position of the human bones and muscles.

The miracle of the Resurrection of the child of the Spini family is barbarously cut down by the work of an orchestra built for the use of the choral singers in the church.[1] The left side of the composition is thus absent.[2]

In the centre of a group of women, formed in a circle round him, is S. Francis looking up, as if inspired, to heaven, and raising with his arms the fallen child. By his side is a kneeling monk. Anxiety, curiosity, smiling confidence may be traced in the faces of kneeling females, all enveloped in beautifully simple white draperies. One of these, immediately behind S. Francis, looks at the infant with an anxious tenderness which reveals the mother. Her hands are joined in prayer. Around this first kneeling circle, a second, of males, upright, in various attitudes, expresses thanksgiving in some, hope in others. Of those to the right of the principal group some are friars, one of whom looks up to heaven and seems to perceive the form of S. Francis, of which traces remain as well as of an angel.

For just proportion, for ampleness and spacious masses of drapery, and foreshortening of folds, it would be difficult to find

[1] [This has now been removed.]

[2] The legs of the falling child also remain, the whole scene being laid in the space in front of a convent, out of which the monks appear to have issued.

a finer example than is afforded by the foreground figures of this fresco.[1] The heads are enveloped in their mantles with elegance and art. Some of the profiles are full of expression, and evince much delicacy of feeling. In the softness of some, or the masculine nature of others, as much versatility is shown, as, in the rendering of forms such as those of neck and breast, arms and hands, true elegance and beauty of shape are attained. Nor were the figures, crowded as they are together, without that relief which keeps them in the place they are intended to occupy. The quality which became so conspicuous in Masaccio is indeed already apparent, and Giotto manifests a due sense of the importance of aërial perspective. This result he attained by great breadth of modelling, giving rotundity by relief without darkness of shadow. The colour is clear, light, well fused, and laid on with the greatest dexterity of hand. True harmony is attained in the tones of drapery. The outlines are firm and easy, and the practised manipulation exhibits a marked advance upon that of the ceilings. It is difficult to conceive who else than Giotto could have executed this fine series of frescoes; nor is there one amongst Giotto's followers, who inherited the maxims of his art, that could have developed them as they are here conspicuous.[2]

Whether Giotto more than once visited Assisi is difficult to say; but these frescoes were without a doubt produced after the ceilings of the Lower Church. That he was already a master, and that he was aided by numerous apprentices, is probable. Yet it would be presumptuous to affirm which of his pupils assisted him in this or that fresco. It is sufficient to express the conviction that these works, only less vigorous and dramatic than those of the Arena at Padua, are stamped with the qualities of Giotto's earlier time, and with a simplicity and religious sentiment peculiar only to himself. They cannot be productions of one who, like Giovanni da Milano, rose out of the school of the Gaddi,

[1] A fragment from the border of the fresco, No. 29 of M. Ramboux's collection, at Cologne is called by him in error "Sancta Paupertas." M. Ramboux purchased it from Sign. Cavalier Frondini. It was a head in the rib ornament just above the fresco under notice. Veiled in white round the chin it has a flame issuing from the ornament in the hair.

[2] Some parts have been retouched; but the methods of Giotto are very manifest. Here are the same touch and manipulation on a highly polished surface as in the Dance of the Daughter of Herodias at S. Croce, and the allegories of Virtue and Vice at the Scrovegni of Padua. Regret at the loss of the sequel of these scenes from the Franciscan miracle is unavailing; but who will not deplore the barbarism which consented to the destruction of the sides of the choir for the sake of erecting an orchestra?

a school which, under Taddeo, had already fallen below the standard of the master. In a general sense it may be admitted that, where tall and slender figures are produced, as in the fresco of the Salutation, Taddeo Gaddi was the assistant of Giotto at Assisi, but Giovanni da Milano, a painter of the close of the fourteenth century, is out of the question.

Modern research has not as yet elicited much as to the chronological sequence of Giotto's works. It would therefore be vain to class them otherwise than according to the general law of progress in style. There is reason to believe, not only from the natural working of this law, but from a certain concord of historical facts, that Giotto painted in Rome between 1298 and 1300. Not only are his pictures there marked by great resemblance with those of the ceiling of the Lower Church at Assisi, but they were executed for one who is historically proved to have been his patron and protector. Gaetano Jacopo Stefaneschi, nephew of Boniface VIII., received a cardinal's hat on the 17th of December 1295, with the title of S. Giorgio in Velabro.[1] The tribune of the church of that name was, it is said, painted by Giotto; at his request, and for S. Peter's, of which he was a canon, he ordered a mosaic [2] representing S. Peter and his companions rescued from the storm.[3] The chapel of SS. Giorgio e Lorenzo in S. Peter's was built by him, and was destined to be his burial place in 1343. He was the author of various manuscripts, of which some, adorned with miniatures by Giotto, may still exist in the library of the Vatican; and he commissioned of the Florentine a ciborium for which he paid 800 florins of gold.

A mosaic is preserved in the portico of S. Peter's at Rome representing Christ saving Peter from the waves, whilst in the background a ship manned by the apostles struggles with the winds, allegorically represented in the clouds. Other figures, four in number, look down from heaven on each side of the composition. Stefaneschi in prayer shows his head and shoulders in the right corner of the picture, whilst on the left an angler fishes

[1] See for this and subsequent statements in elucidation of the life of Stefaneschi and his connection with Giotto, Morone (Gaetano), *Dizionario*, and Cardella (Lorenzo), Parroco di S. Vincenzo, *Mem. Storic. de' Cardinali*.

[2] Vasari, vol. i., p. 322, and also Ghiberti, *com.* 2, in Vasari, vol. i., p. xviii.

[3] See the original obituary published in Cancellieri (*de Secretariis Veteris Basilicæ Vaticanæ*, p. 863), in which the authorship of Giotto and the price are given.

in the water.[1] Cardinal Stefaneschi is said by one historian to have given Giotto for this subject the sum of 2200 florins. The mosaic has been so extensively altered and restored, that it is difficult to fix the time of its execution or the hand which produced it. Still, when closely considered, a part representing the vessel and the crew has the character of a work of the thirteenth century, and something of the manner of Giotto. A register preserved in the Vatican contains indeed, according to Baldinucci[2] and others, a record from which it appears that this mosaic was executed by Giotto in 1298. A more certain and satisfactory example of his manner is a series of three panels painted on both sides, now in the sacristy of the canons of S. Peter, with three panels evidently forming part of the predella upon which the principal ones rested.[3] This is no doubt the ciborium[4] of Cardinal Stefaneschi. The form in which the panels stood may be assumed from the representation of them in miniature in the hand of a bishop, kneeling before a majestic figure of S. Peter on the altarpiece itself; and with this primitive model it might have been easy to replace the separate parts in their original situation. On one side, Giotto represented, in the central panel, the Redeemer enthroned in the act of benediction, and holding the book,[5] with a choir of angels in ranks above each other at His sides,[6] and a kneeling figure of Cardinal Stefaneschi in prayer at the foot of the throne.[7] The cardinal's hat on the mosaic floor in front of him indicates that he had already attained the highest dignity but one which the Church confers.[8]

[1] Albertini (Francesco) in *Opusculum de Mirabilibus Nove et Veteris Urbis Romæ* (8vo, Rome), p. 54, a work published in 1510, notices this mosaic as being then under the portico of S. Peter. The angler was restored by Marcello Provenzale and by Orazio Manetti, under the direction of Bernini. See *note* to Vasari, vol. i., p. 323. We may add that the Saviour and S. Peter, the cardinal and the two figures of the winds, were also restored, whilst the four saints above are obviously modern additions.

[2] Baldinucci (F.) (Milan, 1811), *Opere*, vol. iv., p. 132.

[3] This work is evidently that referred to by Ghiberti, *com.* 2, vol. i. of Vasari, p. xviii.

[4] [Forming a triptych.]

[5] The Redeemer wears a blue mantle embroidered with white flowers, lined with white, embroidered with gold flowers.

[6] There are eight angels at each side.

[7] Stefaneschi is dressed in blue and wears a purple mantle. He seems aged about fifty.

[8] Of this picture Cancellieri (*ubi sup.*) says: "Ad ejus pedes (Sospitatoris nostri) provolutum Cardinalem Jacobum Caietani de Stefanescis . . . qui dccc. Florenor. sumptu . . . hujus modi tabulas a Jotto depingendas curavit," p. 1464. The Saviour sits under a trefoil gable, in the key of which is a half figure of the Eternal with the orb and keys, and a two-edged sword issuing from His mouth; whilst in the angles of the trefoil two

The principle, according to which the Redeemer should express the superior majesty of His presence by proportions vastly superior to those of His guardian angels, ministers, and worshippers, was carried out to the letter in this picture, where, to symmetrical form and regular proportions, a certain immobility in the attitude, and in the expression of the mouth and eyes was maintained. It was an attempt, perhaps at the prayer of the patron, to preserve a traditional idea and type respectable at least for its age; but, even under these conditions, Giotto was not unable to impart a certain elegance of outline to the holy effigy. In the angels, which were placed, according to the plan of Cimabue, in rows, the formality of the arrangement was mitigated by a fair choice of form, great diversity of character, and justness of proportion, and a feeling of fervent adoration. The religious sentiment of which Giotto was so great an exponent, was indeed rendered with the utmost success in the foremost figure of an angel, kneeling by the side of the throne, opposite to the donor.

The panel immediately to the left is devoted to the Martyrdom of S. Peter, in which the saint may be observed crucified with his head downwards in the centre of the space.[1]

Living and serenely looking out into space in spite of his agony, S. Peter's features, though somewhat swollen, are true to the type preserved in the traditions of the Church. His well-proportioned forms are animated, full of life and elasticity. The nude, indeed, is here rendered with an intelligence surprising, if one considers the period. Not only are the parts divided according to rules which Michael Angelo laid down with authority in the sixteenth century, but the articulations and the muscles occupy their natural places. Even the external outlines showing the flexibility of the flesh and its adherence to the muscles and joints, the play of the parts about the neck and collar-bone are analysed with precision. Admitted, indeed, that something may be wanting to perfect detail of anatomy, still in general all is correct.[2] The only indication of suffering which Giotto ventured upon, was the contraction of the toes and muscles of the feet nailed separately to a cross board. A female, emulating

medallions of prophets are depicted. The Eternal wears a gold tunic and belt and a blue mantle. In each pilaster, supporting the gable, a beautiful ornament is interrupted at equal intervals by three figures of Saints and Evangelists. This panel has suffered from cleaning, but not from restoring. Some heads, particularly those of the uppermost angels, have lost colour by rubbing.

[1] According to the legend, he was so crucified at his own request. *Vide* cap. lxxxix. of the *Legenda Aurea*.

[2] One may discern that Giotto intended to depict the frame and flesh of a man advanced in years.

the grief of the Magdalen grasps the foot of the instrument of death, whilst behind and in front of her, a noble group of women and a child wail over the tortured saint in the most varied yet chastened attitudes and expressions.[1]

On the panel to the right, the Martyrdom of S. Paul is painted with great power and with novel richness of fancy.

The body still kneels in prayer though headless. On the ground lies the nimbed head, whilst in front the executioner with grief in his features restores his sword to the scabbard. More nature or truth in the expression of pain and lamentation could not have been given than is depicted in the faces of the two women, bending over and kneeling before the trunk of the fallen saint, or in that of a man contemplating in despair the consummation of the sacrifice. Groups of soldiers on each side with shields, lances, and banners, one blowing the trumpet on the right, balance the composition.[2]

On the back of these panels S. Peter sits enthroned in pontificals, in the centre, holding the keys and giving his blessing. He also surpasses in size the two angels who majestically stand at each side of him, and the two bishops with their guardian saints kneeling in front to his right and left.[3] On the panels at each side, which

[1] One of these, seen from behind, throws back her arms with a motion which is so often repeated in Giotto's pictures that it was evidently a favourite with him. It may be seen in the Crucifixion at Assisi (Lower Church), in the Scrovegni Pietà, but in both with more vehemence of passion than here. On both sides, soldiers on foot and horseback are grouped round the principal figure. In rear of the women, to the left of the saint, one with the face of Nero holds a hammer in his hand. Two pyramidal towers form the background on each side, and above the Cross, two angels come flying downwards to comfort the tortured saint, one of aged features holding an open book, another clasping its hands, both in fine draperies flying in the wind. In the upper space of the trefoil, S. Peter winged may be seen kneeling on a cloud as he is carried to heaven by angels. In the point of the gable, Abraham wields the sword against his son Isaac; in the sides of the trefoil two medallions of prophets, and in the pilasters figures of saints as before, complete the *ensemble* of a panel in which the dramatic power of Giotto is developed. The six saints in the pilasters are admirable for movement and expression.

[2] One on the left, looking up, sees two angels darting down from heaven and majestically clasping their hands in desolation. In the upper space, S. Paul winged, on a cloud, is carried to heaven, and his mantle, cast down from the sky, falls towards a figure on a hill in the landscape distance, whose hands are raised to receive it. The traditional type of S. Paul is here well maintained. The points and pilasters are adorned like the others.

[3] The latter, in mitre and robes, is recommended by S. George, and is doubtless Cardinal Stefaneschi. Cancellieri again says (*ubi sup.*, p. 1461): "A tergo prima tabula conspicitur S. Petrus sedens, idemque cardinalis Cajetanus in genua provolutus." In his hands he holds a hexagonal ciborium, from which it may be inferred that the panels now under consideration were not, of old, back to back as at present. The former, also in mitre and robes,

like the central one are ornamented with figures and medallions similar to those on the three other panels, are, to the right, standing, S. Andrew and S. John the Evangelist,[1] to the left, S. James,[2] and S. Paul.[3] The predellas here are three in number, and of these two are divided into five compartments each, in the first of which the Virgin and Child are enthroned between two angels, S. Peter and S. Andrew; in the second are five standing apostles; in the third are three busts of S. Lawrence and two other saints.[4] The three remaining predellas are gone. Giotto gave to the Virgin a serious gravity, more like the old conventional type than usual; yet he infused into this old form a certain freshness of aspect, whilst he imparted to the shape a better proportion than of old. His attentive observation of nature is illustrated by the beautiful infant Saviour, whose occupation is the usual childish one of sucking its tiny hand. No longer the grim Infant of moody expression, whose face contrasts by gloom with the idea of infancy, without really imparting that of supreme power, it is an earnest, simple babe.[5] Though time has dealt unkindly with this series of Giotto's works, and parts have suffered damage, no restoring has taken place, and the student can fully instruct himself as to the manner of the greatest of the early Florentine masters. This ciborium alone would justify the assertion that Giotto was the founder of a school of colour, and that, in this respect, he was as great in pictures on wood as in fresco. Here, indeed, the same qualities of tone may be found, as mark the wall paintings of Assisi: the colour

is honoured with a nimbus, holds up a book, and is introduced by a saint in a rich ecclesiastical habit. Individuality in the portraits, an imposing gravity in the figure of S. Peter, a noble cast of features in the angels, mark this panel, which has been much blackened by time and damaged by a vertical split. The fallen colour exposes the primed parchment beaten into the gesso upon which Giotto painted. The pilasters of this panel are not ornamented with figures, but with mere arabesques. In the medallion at the top of the gable is an angel with a book and pointing with his right hand. He wears a blue tunic and a golden belt. The marble foreground has lost its colour and under gesso.

[1] In the medallions at the points of the gables are a prophet and an angel. The figure of S. John is damaged and blackened.

[2] The figure holding a book and staff is youthful and finely rendered.

[3] S. Paul carries the sword on his shoulders; both this and the S. James stand in niches; and above them is a figure of a prophet holding a scroll.

[4] This part of the predella is damaged, and seems to have suffered from the lights on an altar.

[5] In the vestments of the Madonna the drapery is grand. The angels, holding censers on each side, are in just motion; and the deep religious feeling in their expression supplies the absence of any peculiar beauty. S. Peter, with his well-known head, short grey beard, and austere features, was seldom presented in better character. Nor in the other figures of apostles was Giotto wanting in variety or propriety.

being transparent, and warm, but light, of a grey verde in the shadows, verging through warm ruddy semitones to lights superposed with massive breadth, well defined, fused, and rounded. The draperies, in clear bright keys, are of charming soft harmonies, folded with an ease superior to that of previous examples, and most tastefully ornamented.

No other work of Giotto has been preserved at Rome, except a fragment of a fresco in S. Giovanni in Laterano, representing Pope Boniface VIII. in full pontificals, at a balcony, announcing the opening of the Jubilee.[1] Blackened by time and considerably retouched, this fresco has no longer any charm of colour; but it still reveals, on a close inspection, the great talent for portraiture, for delineating the human form and face in distinct and individual features, for proportion and mutual harmony, that characterised Giotto. It displays, besides, some progress in the art of drawing extremities and such features as the eyes, whose generalised shape evidently began at the opening of the fourteenth century to form a more special study on the part of the master. But this fresco is further of interest as it confirms the belief that Giotto was still at Rome after the proclamation of the Jubilee of 1300.[2] The mighty influence of his genius upon the artists of the capital, and especially upon Pietro Cavallini, the readiness with which the latter adapted his style to that of the Florentine, will not have been forgotten. Cardinal Stefaneschi, who had employed Giotto, also protected Cavallini; and the fresco of the apsis of S. Giorgio in Velabro, with the mosaics of S. Paolo fuori le Mura, still prove the influence which he wielded.[3]

The career of Giotto now became more intimately connected with that of his native country. Leaving Rome, he returned to Florence at a critical period of her history.[4] After a long and

[1] Two clerical persons on his right and left stand likewise at the balcony; one of whom exhibits a scroll on which are the words "BONIFACIUS EPISCOPUS." On the right stands a fourth figure. The arms of the Orsini are embroidered on a green cloth hanging over the balcony; and the announcement of the Jubilee is engraved in an inscription below.

[2] At Rome, according to Ghiberti and Vasari, Giotto painted several frescoes in S. Peter (GHIBERTI, *com.* 2, vol. i., of VASARI, p. xviii.; VASARI, vol. i., p. 323), and, in the church of the Minerva, a Crucifix in tempera. These have perished, but in the latter church is a wooden crucifix assigned for no imaginable reason to Giotto.

[3] [See *supra*, p. 89, note 3.]

[4] The earliest works of Giotto in Florence, according to VASARI (vol. i., pp. 311, 312), were in the Badia. But the Virgin Annunciate, which he describes there, is by Lorenzo Monaco, and the picture of the high altar is lost.

frequently doubtful struggle, that republic had finally asserted her superiority in Italy. Feared by her enemies and therefore respected abroad, she might have enjoyed in peace the fruits of her success, and extended her influence by means of her great wealth and activity, but for the mischance common in such States, that no sooner is the outer enemy reduced, than the union which produced that result is broken by the jealousies of faction. The struggles of the Cerchi and Donati, or of the "Whites" and "Blacks," have exhausted the pens of chroniclers, and are the property of history. Nor is it intended that they should be dwelt upon here at any greater length than is necessary to elucidate the career of Giotto. The feud divided the city of Florence into two distinct camps. Corso Donati led the party of the Neri, Vieri de' Cerchi that of the Bianchi, which had enrolled in its ranks the immortal Dante. The poet had had occasion, when at Rome for the Jubilee,[1] to cultivate Giotto's acquaintance,[2] and during the short period which intervened between his return to Florence and the embassy to Pope Boniface VIII., which preceded his perpetual exile,[3] this acquaintance might have matured into friendship. It was therefore about this time, no doubt, and between 1300 and April 1302, that Giotto painted the chapel of the Palace of the Podestà or Bargello of Florence,[4] and in it depicted one of the numerous incidents which illustrates the memorable feud of the "Blacks" and "Whites." Neither the lessons which the pictures of this chapel were intended to convey, nor the presence in one of them of Dante, were sufficient to save the building from the hand of the whitewasher, or the suggestions of an ill-judged economy. The beautiful chapel of the Podestà, which had been preserved till after the period of Vasari,[5] was divided into two by the introduction of a false ceiling. The upper part became a prison, the lower a magazine, and the walls of both were whitewashed.[6] The

[1] Dante says himself in Canto XVIII. of the *Inferno*, v. 28:

Come i Roman, per l'esercito molto,
L'anno del Giubbileo su per lo ponte
Hanno a passar la gente modo tolto . . .

[2] "Dante Alighieri cœtano ed amico suo grandissimo." VASARI, vol. i., p. 311.

[3] The exile of Dante was pronounced whilst he was at Rome on an embassy to Boniface VIII., April 1302. See BALBO's *Life* and the historians generally.

[4] VASARI, vol. i., p. 311. GHIBERTI (*com.* p. xix., in VASARI, vol. i.) calls the chapel Cappella di S. M. Maddelena.

[5] "Il quale (Giotto) ritrasse, come oggi ancor si vede nella Cappella del Pelagio del Podestà" (VASARI, vol. i., p. 311).

[6] Three promoters of art, Canon Moreni, Luigi Scotti, and Professor

false ceiling was subsequently removed and the chapel [1] completely cleared. The walls were then scraped with razors, and the frescoes rescued, though not without considerable damage. In the paintings of Giotto, thus restored, every charm of colour had disappeared. Nothing remained to please the eye. In many parts the compositions were mutilated, in others totally effaced; yet in the remains, the conception and the drawing are preserved, and are of incalculable value to the student of Giotto's manner.

Constructed in the form of a rectangular oblong on an area of 936 feet,[2] and ornamented with a waggon roof, the chapel of the Podestà was entered through a door at one of the small ends, above which was a fresco of the Inferno. On the opposite side, the wall, lighted by a window, was adorned with a fresco of Paradise, and on the remaining spaces were incidents from the lives of the Magdalen and Mary of Egypt.[3]

Missirini, proposed in the present century the rescue of this interesting work of art; but the energy of Seymour Kirkup and the willingness of an intelligent American, Mr. Henry Wild, and Mr. O. Bezzi first overcame the obstructiveness of the authorities. At their request Signor Marini promised to remove the whitewash for the sum of 240 Francesconi; and the plan would have been carried out at their expense had not the Cav. Remirez di Montalvo and the Marquis Girolamo Ballati-Nerli ordered that the work should be executed at the charge of the Tuscan treasury.

[1] The height of the chapel is 60 feet.

[2] About 36 feet by 26 feet.

[3] The long face to the right of the entrance is pierced with two windows. The frescoes are all high on the spaces, being distant at their base about 11 feet from the ground. The long face to the left is divided into a double course of four frescoes, commencing at the bottom, near the door, with a scene from the life of S. Mary of Egypt, and continuing with the Communion of the Saint, a scene from the life of Mary Magdalen and the "Noli me tangere." The only remains here visible are those of the Magdalen in part, and a portion of another figure holding a heart. Above in the same order, the Maries at the Sepulchre, a subject now destroyed, the Resurrection of Lazarus, and the Magdalen anointing the Feet of Christ. All these subjects are divided by a beautiful ornament, at the corners of which are lozenges containing half figures of angels. One of these, pouring water from a vase, is excessively graceful. On the opposite side, right and left of the windows, is a double course of single frescoes, representing the Dance of the Daughter of Herodias—a subject now almost effaced, the Miracle of the Merchant of Marseilles, and an episode now obliterated. Between the two windows, a winged angel, with a palm and book, is depicted, at the foot of which, on a scroll, was an inscription now illegible, below which, on a border, another inscription was placed, of which the words "HOC OPUS . . ." still remain. In the sides of the windows are painted shields of arms, and roses; and in the key of one, a head of the Saviour. The vaulted ceiling is divided into four parts, framed in the same ornament as the rest, interrupted by lozenges in which figures of angels, now almost gone, were depicted. In the centre, the Lamb stands on an altar supported by two hippogriffs, and around it are the symbols of the Four Evangelists. The ceiling was painted blue with gold stars, but is now white, the blue having fallen out. In one of the lozenges is still an angel holding a censer.

Gianozzo Manetti, in his *Specimen Historiæ*, Filippo Villani, and Vasari concur in stating that the chapel was painted by Giotto, and that in it were portraits of Dante Alighieri, Brunetto Latini, and Corso Donati. Villani adds that Giotto's own portrait was there, executed by himself "*allo specchio.*" But this evidence is almost superfluous to any visitor of the chapel itself who is acquainted with the style of the master.

In the first scene which adorns the side walls, S. Mary of Egypt kneels and receives the blessing of Bishop Zosimus enthroned in a church. Fragments of four other figures still remain.[1] In the Communion, the Saint may be seen kneeling before Zosimus extending to her the wafer of the host and holding the cup. A figure on the right bears a taper.[2] In the "Noli me tangere" the upper part of the Magdalen, the lower part of the Saviour remain,[3] but from the movement of the former's head and its longing glance, the beauty of the whole picture may be judged. The power of expression conveyed in this single head is indeed remarkable. Though totally devoid of colour, there is a feeling in the outlines and in the movements of the features and neck which creates a lively sense of regret at the loss of the remainder.[4] Most of the composition in the Maries at the Sepulchre remains in outline only.[5] A fine character and movement mark the Saviour in the Resurrection of Lazarus, whilst in the kneeling Mary and Martha, life and animation are pleasingly conveyed.[6] The outlines of the Magdalen, prostrate before Christ, who sits with Simon and another, whilst a servant brings in the meat, are all that remain of that composition.[7] Herod, a guest, and part of the dancing figure of Salome are the only pieces extant of a subject, of which another and more perfect example by Giotto may be seen in the Peruzzi Chapel at Santa Croce.[8] The miracle of the Merchant of Marseilles is better

[1] Two figures with tapers stand near the bishop. Their heads are obliterated. To the right of the kneeling figure two heads of angels are still preserved. Above, are vestiges of angels carrying a figure to heaven.

[2] The flesh tone of the kneeling female is gone, but the engraved lines of face, hands, and feet remain, whilst the rest of the figure is boldly laid in with a brush in red. It would seem indeed as if the lines had been engraved with a style running over a lucid drawing.

[3] Part of the sepulchre and distant trees may still be seen. The usual preparation of verde beneath the flesh tints is revealed by the rubbing off of the colour.

[4] The usual preparation of light verde is still visible. The forms are traced in red, and the hair, worked out in very fine lines, still preserves a fair warm yellow colour. The mantle, prepared in red, was evidently glazed over in blue.

[5] The chief part, indeed, of the Maries and sleeping soldiers is obliterated; but the form of the angel, sitting on the sepulchre, is beautiful and noble in attitude. Part of the landscape distance is still visible.

[6] The figure of Lazarus has vanished.

[7] At the angle of this composition is an angel, bearing a lance, beautifully designed in a lozenge ornament.

[8] At the angle on this side also is a beautiful archangel, overcoming the demon, drawn in a lozenge.

preserved.[1] A group of six figures, one of them kneeling, is drawn together at the feet of the recumbent female, near whom is the infant. In the distance is a ship labouring in a sea, and remains of a figure in the air.[2]

The Inferno is, like the rest, discoloured; but many figures are preserved, as they were boldly drawn in with red on the wall, and shadowed with a deeper tinge of the same colour.

The Lucifer, colossal, stands in the centre of the space, and is conceived exactly in the form described by Dante in the thirty-fourth canto of the Inferno:

O quanto parve a me gran meraviglia
Quando vidi tre facce alla sua testa!
L'una dinanzi, e quella era vermiglia:
L'altre eran due, che s'aggiungien a questa . . .
. . . . . .
Sotto ciascuna uscivan duo grand' ali
Quanto si conveniva a tant' uccello:
Vele di mar non vid' io mai cotali.
Non avean penne, ma di vispistrello
Era lor modo; . . . .
Da ogni bocca dirompea co' denti
Un peccatore, a guisa di maciulla . . .[3]

In his grasp two sinners, about his frame serpents, whose jaws crush the bodies of evildoers or gnaw at Lucifer himself, his hairy legs and claws resting on a prostrate body, crushed at the same time by two scaly monkeys;—about him bodies chained or clubbed by demons, a centaur, and one holding his head in his hand.

This Lucifer and the fantastic groups about him display the varied nature of Giotto's studies and his comprehension of movement. Yet, as in Dante the imagery is often literal, and the contrasts terrestrial, so in Giotto, who followed the Dantesque idea, nothing more than a fantastic materialism was exhibited. In this, however, both poet and painter embodied the thought and

[1] As this is a subject frequently repeated in frescoes of the fourteenth century, it may be well to explain its meaning. A merchant of Marseilles, having promised to the vision of S. Mary Magdalen, that he would become a Christian and visit the Holy Land, if he should thus become blessed with children, saw his wish satisfied. Shortly afterwards, however, his wife died on a voyage, and was left with her new-born babe on a solitary rock. Two years after, the merchant returning to revisit the spot, found his child living by the side of its recumbent mother.

[2] The arms alone are preserved.

[3] *Inferno*, Canto XXXIV., v. 38, and following.

traditions of older times; and Lucifer reminds us of the Cerberus of antiquity.[1]

The Saviour in Glory, in the space opposite the Inferno, presides over the array of the hierarchy of the blessed, equally divided on each side of the window of the chapel.

Little of the upper part has been preserved, but the lower affords matter for most interesting studies, not merely because the figures have been in great part preserved, at least in outline, but because under the semblance of a Paradise, Giotto obviously embodies pictorially the transient peace which Cardinal d'Acquasparta, in the name of his master Boniface VIII., imposed on the Florentines in the winter of 1301.[2] Uniting the two principal groups at each side by two figures of angels, now in part obliterated, which stood guard over the lily of Florence,[3] he represented to the right of these, near the lower angle of the window, the standing figure of a prince, wearing over the long hair of the Frenchmen of the period a coroneted cap. This youth, of somewhat disdainful glance, but of majestic mien, with his arms folded in ample sleeves,[4] heads a procession of standing figures, and seems too proud to imitate the kneeling posture of one in magistrate's robes in front of him.[5] The look and dress of this youth, the crown on his head, reveal Charles of Valois,[6] the cousin of the King of Naples and Sicily, called to Florence by the arts of Corso Donati, and admitted as pacificator by the unwilling Florentines. Behind him stand Dante Alighieri, Corso Donati, Brunetto Latini,[7] and a fourth person whose features have vanished. Behind these again, other dignitaries, in varied attitudes, and calm repose; and in rows above them, the saints, male and female of the heavenly hierarchy, nimbed, crowned, bareheaded or draped; marked by an elegant and graceful variety

[1] The colour of the fresco has fallen, without affecting the polish of the plaster surface, which still remains as smooth as ever. The outlines of the Lucifer are engraved in the plaster. The rest of the forms are firmly lined and shadowed with reddish-brown. Considered in reference to technical execution, this fresco reveals a mixture of two methods, *buon fresco* and fresco retouched *a secco*. The knit of four great portions is still visible, on which it would seem that the outlines were in part engraved and part painted whilst the plaster was still wet. This part has been in a great measure preserved. The colouring of the flesh and draperies, according to the old method, is that which has not resisted time, whitewash, and restoring.

[2] Consult the historians of Florence, amongst them Scipio Ammirato, *Dell' Istorie Fiorentine*, &c. (4to, Flor., 1600), p. 160.

[3] Now newly painted in.

[4] Part of the face has been lost.

[5] Great part of the head of this figure is gone.

[6] *Tempo vegg' io non molto dopo ancoi,*
Che tragge un altro Carlo fuor' di Francia,
Per far conoscer meglio e sè e i suoi.
Purgatorio, Canto xx., v. 70.

[7] Dante, certainly. The rest are conjectured to be the persons named.

of features, and expression, and though grave in mien, still full of life and nature.[1]

In the same order on the left side of the window, Giotto painted a Cardinal standing in prayer, evidently the Portuguese Matteo d'Acquasparta,[2] in front of whom a magistrate of Florence kneels in prayer, exhibiting the profile of a face evidently taken from life, with a long aquiline nose and upper lip. At his side hangs a dagger, and beneath him his shield of arms.[3] Behind Acquasparta, whose square and muscular build contrasts with the slenderer form of Charles of Valois, stands a procession of figures, grouped in the same order as those on the opposite side, and headed by a row of three, the hindermost of whom is in so far worthy of special remark as his face is not dissimilar from that of one in the frescoes of the Arena at Padua, generally considered to be Giotto himself.[4]

The head of Dante corresponds in every sense to the well-known mask which has hitherto served as a model to artists of every age. The high and fair forehead, the regular curve of the brow, and somewhat deep sunken eye, the hooked nose, classic mouth and slightly pointed chin, are all equally characteristic. But this which was true when the head was first rescued from whitewash, is much less so now.[5] The profile has been taken up and revived, but the outline much enfeebled in the operation. A portion of the eye which was gone, including the greater part of the iris to the upper lid, has been, with a part of the cheek, supplied

[1] These qualities will be admitted only after a close and critical observation; for some of the heads are in part damaged, whilst many are quite obliterated.

[2] In a red cloak lined with white fur. Spots of the original red still remaining. The head-dress is in part effaced, and part of the head gone. The face seems to have been broad, and the nose is short. See *antea* a description of his tomb by one of the Cosmati. He died in 1304.

[3] The arms on the shield are in a great measure obliterated.

[4] This figure, the most distant of a row of three, close to Cardinal Acquasparta is that of a man about twenty-five years of age, having a broad forehead overshadowed by a cap, out of which straggle a few hairs. A yellowish dress is fast at the neck by a small, short collar. His look is directed towards Dante on the opposite side of the window. At the Arena of Padua, in the paradise, in the third rank of the blessed, and second from the left side of the picture, is a figure like this, but more aged. This figure at Padua is traditionally honoured as that of Giotto. This, however, and the similar one in the chapel of the palace of the Podestà have no likeness to the portrait of the painter (so-called) at Assisi, but more to that which, a century after his death, was executed for Giotto's monument in S. Maria Maggiore of Florence.

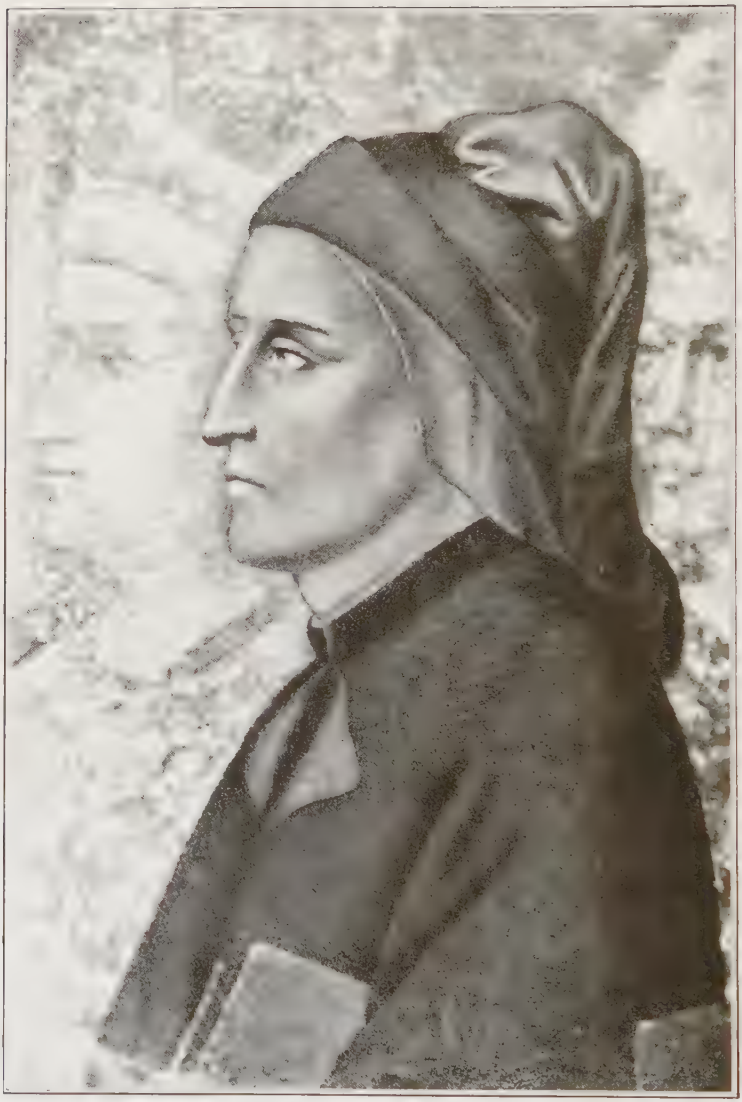
[5] To Mr. Seymour Kirkup is due the merit of having taken an exact tracing of the head of Dante previous to the restoration. With this in hand it was possible to compare the restoration with the original, and detect the changes. Mr. Kirkup's tracing has also been published by the Arundel Society.

anew by the restorer. No care or trouble can, indeed, ever secure an exact similarity of tone between old and new colour, the latter tending to continual change, whilst the former remains comparatively fixed; but here it would seem not only that the vacant space has been filled up, but that an attempt has been made to harmonise the new with the old by glazing and touching up the latter. The result is a general feeble tone of yellow without light or transparence which after all are the best qualities of fresco. The bonnet has not only been restored, but altered in colour as well as in form. Nay, such is the change wrought in it, that the shape is no longer that of the time of Dante, nor such as it exists in numerous figures in the fresco of the Capellone degli Spagnuoli at S. Maria Novella, or in the paintings at Santa Croce. Ungraceful beyond measure is the present red cap with a bag, puckered on to it, and left of a white tone. The original colour was not white and red, and this is obvious from a close inspection of the bag, and of the repainted red part. The scraper, in removing the whitewash, took out the colour of a portion at the back of the head and of the pendent part, which may now be seen gashed by the razor; but, here and there, a red spot by chance remains even in the pendent portion, showing that the bonnet was red all over. The seam which now unites the bag to the rest of the bonnet never existed before, and is a mere fancy of the restorer, who at the same time has falsified the outline by raising the point of the hood. When he repainted with red that portion which covers the back of the head he might have repainted with red also the pendent hood. The change of outline, the introduction of a seam fastening the latter to the rest of the cap, are unpardonable. Not but that in the beginning of the fourteenth century parti-coloured caps were worn; but there is no example of such a distribution of colours as now defaces the portrait of Dante.[1] On the other hand, there are numerous examples of hoods of one colour; and one at least exists to prove that Dante usually wore a red one. The Florentine Domenico Michelino painted a posthumous likeness of the poet in 1465, which may now be seen in S. Maria del Fiore, and there Dante wears a red-hooded cap and

[1] Striped dresses and striped stockings were not so common in the fourteenth century, but they moved the observer sometimes to laughter. Franco Sacchetti, in his 79th *Novella*, vol. ii., *ubi sup.*, p. 29, amusingly relates how Boninsegna Angiolini was struck dumb with astonishment in S. Piero Scheraggio, when he saw certain figures there painted with striped socks. The audience retired wondering, one saying, "The stripes are not so extraordinary as the Sienese dress, which is frequently half black and half white." Of this white and black costume there are painted examples in the frescoes of the Lorenzetti.

CHRIST ENTHRONED

GIOTTO. S. Peter's, Rome.



DANTE

Giotto (repainted). Bargello, Florence.

a red vest, nor is there any reason to doubt that Michelino executed this likeness with the assistance of Giotto's in the fresco of the chapel of the Podestà.[1]

Corso Donati, if indeed it be really the ambitious and astute leader of the Neri who is here depicted, has a most characteristic head. No greater contrast can be conceived than that displayed in the aquiline forms of Dante and the straighter ones of his neighbour. Thought prevails in the former; in the latter craft, lurking especially in the eye. Tenacity of will and physical strength are in Corso, whilst in the features of Dante intellect rules a slender and delicate frame. Corso has the vigour of the tiger, Dante of the eagle. Corso's hands are joined in prayer, and part of the fingers remain. Half the face of Brunetto Latini is preserved, and is remarkable for a bold cast of features. Like Corso Donati, he wears a cap. Yet it is difficult to account for his presence in the position assigned to him, as he died about 1294;[2] and, though he was Dante's tutor, he was consigned by his pupil to the Inferno.[3] Still a lingering sense of gratitude may have prompted Dante to suggest to Giotto his introduction into the picture, and possibly the poet, who was himself a designer, may have furnished the necessary likeness.[4] As a group, these three figures are the best illustration that can be found of Giotto's power of individualising. A general charge of sameness in the delineation of the human face has been admitted against him even by some of his greatest admirers,[5] but in the fresco of the chapel of the Podestà this charge cannot be supported. Each form varies, yet harmonises with the other. In the features, the character of the person portrayed is distinctly revealed. Nor is this more true of the Dante, Corso, and Brunetto than of Charles of Valois, Acquasparta, or the saints and martyrs of the Church.

[1] As for the rest of the costume in which the poet was painted by Giotto, it consists in a white under cap, a red vest of close fit, fast at the neck with the help of a lace, turned over and faced on the breast and relieved at the chin by a strip of white shirt collar. Beneath the vest at the bosom, a green under waistcoat appears. Dante holds in his left hand a closed book of which a part is obliterated, and in his right, or rather the thumb and forefinger of it which remain, a stem with three pomegranates, possibly emblematic of the three great poems of which he is the author. This hand and stem were relieved on the dress of the next figure supposed to represent Corso Donati. The colour of this dress has vanished, and what remains of the hand of Dante is only the first preparation in red colour.

[2] His tomb, with a modern inscription placing his death in 1294, is in the church of S. Maria Maggiore. See Richa, *Chiese*, &c., vol. iii., p. 287.

[3] *Inferno*, Canto xv., v. 30.

[4] Balbo, *Vita di Dante*, p. 54, who quotes for this fact Leonardo Aretino.

[5] For instance, E. Forster, *Beiträge*, *ubi sup.*, p. 131 and following.

All inferences to be deduced from the subject and form of these frescoes point to the date of 1301–02.[1] It may be inquired whether they were executed by Giotto at the time, and this inquiry can only be satisfied approximatively. It may be inferred that Dante's portrait would hardly have been introduced into a picture so conspicuously visible as this, had not the poet at the time been influent in Florence. United by family ties to the Donati, being married to Gemma a daughter of that house, and intimate with Forese and Piccarda, the brother and sister of Corso,[2] he was still by policy a partisan of the Cerchi, and his influence did not survive the fall of the Bianchi. His exile and theirs dates from April 1302. Dante's age in the fresco corresponds with this date, and is that of a man of thirty-five.[3] He had himself enjoyed the highest office of Florence from June to August 1300. In the fresco he does not wear the dress of the "priori," but he holds in the ranks of those near Charles of Valois an honourable place. It may be presumed that the frescoes were executed previous to Dante's exile, and this view is confirmed by the technical and artistic progress which they reveal. They exhibit, indeed, the master in a higher sphere of development than at Assisi and Rome.[4]

[1] Charles of Valois entered Florence on the 1st November 1301.

[2] See Balbo, *Vita di Dante*. Dante meets Piccarda in Paradise. She had been a nun, was taken by force from her convent by Corso, and married against her will. See *Paradiso*, Canto III., v. 49. Forese is in Purgatory, where Dante meets him purging the vice of passion. *Purgatorio*, Canto XXIII., v. 48.

[3] Dante was born in 1265. It is difficult to judge from the portrait the age of Corso Donati. He looks, however, more advanced in years than Dante.

[4] It is worthy of remark that many years later, but still before the death of Giotto, a decree was issued at Florence, prohibiting any rector or official of the people or "commune" from painting, or causing, or allowing, to be painted in any house or place, inhabited, or used by such officers in the exercise of their duty, any picture; and further ordering all such pictures, or statues, as manifestly existed in contempt of this decree, to be destroyed, with the exception of such as should represent the Redeemer and the Virgin, or such as should represent a victory, or the capture of a city to the advantage of the Florentines. Giotto's pictures in the chapel of the Podestà were saved, no doubt, under one of these exceptions; but it would be curious were a list to be found of pictures or statues destroyed under this decree, which is dated 1329. See the original decree, in Gaye, *Carteggio Inedito*, vol. i., p. 473.

CHAPTER IX

GIOTTO AT PADUA

The well-known story of the O has been told by Vasari to illustrate the cause of Giotto's visit to Rome. The story has apparently its kernel of truth concealed in a superfluous husk of legend and untruth. Though well known to Boniface VIII., Giotto was personally a stranger to Benedict XI., who seems only to have heard the rumour of the painter's fame. He therefore sent a legate from Treviso to Florence to test Giotto's ability, and Vasari is probably correct in the details of an interview which gave rise to a joke familiar to the Tuscans of a later age.[1] The courtier, who had visited Siena to gather examples of the art practised in that city, made his way one morning into the *bottega* of Giotto at Florence, and introduced himself as the envoy of the Pope. He explained the intentions of his master and the manner in which he was commissioned to carry them out, and concluded by asking for a specimen of the painter's ability. Giotto took a sheet of paper, and a brush dipped in red, and firmly pressing his elbow to his side so that the lower limb of the arm might act as the branch of a compass, he completed with one sweep a perfect circle. "Here is my drawing," said Giotto. "Am I to have no other than this?" replied the courtier, scenting a joke in the manner of the artist. "Enough it is, and more than enough," was the answer. The Pope, a better judge than his envoy, admitted the superiority of Giotto, and the story, repeated from mouth to mouth, became the foundation of a pun on the word *tondo*. For it became proverbial to say of men of dull or coarse character, that they were rounder than the O of Giotto. Free hand drawing is better understood

[1] "It is well known," says an annotator to Schorn's edition of Vasari (*Stuttgardt und Tübingen*, 1832), vol. i., p. 116, "that Benedict XI., at the express wish of Petrarch, sent a legate to seek out the best artists of Italy for the purpose of restoring and adorning the churches and palaces of Rome, which were falling into decay." But if the courtier of Vasari was really an envoy from Benedict XI., the residence of Giotto at Rome could not be owing to the circumstances related. For Benedict succeeded Boniface VIII., under whose papacy the Florentine painter executed the mosaics and frescoes above noticed.

in our day since the foundation of schools of design, than it was of old; and the practical mind of Mr. Ruskin recognises in the feat of Giotto something more than a joke.[1] In this he is right, for a free hand can alone trace bold sweeps of ornament; and ornament now receives an attention which was acknowledged in the thirteenth century, though long denied to it in the nineteenth. Vasari prefaces this amusing anecdote by saying that Benedict was led to inquire respecting Giotto's talent, because the fame of his illustrations to the life of Job in the Campo Santo of Pisa had reached him. The reader may note, as he proceeds with these pages, that Vasari blundered here as in other places, and that the series of the frescoes of Job are by another and feebler hand. The result of Benedict's inquiries, however, was, that he engaged Giotto at a large salary to proceed to Avignon, to execute a series illustrating the lives of the martyrs. But before Giotto had had time to start, the death of his new patron intervened, and the commission was not executed. This fact, authoritatively stated by Albertini,[2] has hitherto escaped the commentators who follow the error of Vasari, and describe Giotto as having visited Avignon and other parts of France; the truth being that no trace of Giotto's presence has ever been discovered out of the Italian Peninsula.

It may have been after the failure of this plan that Giotto left Florence (*circa* 1305) and proceeded to the North of Italy.

It happened, says Benvenuto of Imola, that, whilst Giotto was painting at Padua a chapel erected on the site of the old circus, Dante visited that city and was received with honour by the painter at his own house.[3] In 1301 Enrico Scrovegno, a rich citizen of Padua, had been raised to the rank of a noble by the republic of Venice.[4] He devoted some portion of the wealth accumulated by his father [5] to the erection of a chapel which was completed in 1303 and dedicated to the Annunciate Virgin.[6] The painter employed

[1] See in the publications of the Arundel Society, Mr. Ruskin's able exposition of the style of Giotto and his admirable comments on the paintings of the Scrovegni at Padua. Those who also are unable to judge of Giotto's talent from the originals, may study the excellent engravings which Mr. Ruskin's pen illustrates.

[2] *Opusculum, ubi sup.*, p. 54. The passage runs as follows: "Fuitque (Giotto) a Benedicto XI. Pont. Max. in Avinionem, ad pingendum martyrorum historias accit ingeti precio. Morte interveniente, opus omisit."

[3] Benvenuto da Imola, in Muratori, *Antiquitates Ital.*, tom. i., p. 1186.

[4] Pietro Brandolese, *Pitture, &c., di Padova* (8vo, Padua, 1795), p. 213.

[5] Reginaldo Scrovegno is consigned to the Inferno by Dante on account of his usury and avarice, *Inferno*, Canto xvii., v. 64.

[6] "L'anno 1303, istituita di M. Enrico de' Scrovegni-Cavalier." Anonimo, del Morelli (8vo, Bassano, 1880), p. 23, and p. 146, as follows: "Fu

THE NATIVITY

Giotto.

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE

Arena Chapel, Padua.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

Giotto.

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

Arena Chapel, Padua.

to adorn its walls was Giotto, as Benvenuto da Imola distinctly states; and, as the date of Dante's visit to Padua has been accurately ascertained, that of Giotto's labours may be inferred. Dante lodged in the contrada San Lorenzo at Padua in 1306,[1] having left Bologna in January of that year.[2] It might be difficult to prove that Giotto, besides illustrating the interior of the chapel of the Arena with scenes from sacred history, was the person employed by Enrico Scrovegno to erect the chapel itself; but the perfect manner in which the interior is adapted to the plan of its pictorial adornment, suggests and might justify that assumption. Eminently in the spirit of Christian thought, dramatic in the force with which the idea is evolved, yet so simple as to convey their meaning to the least gifted of mankind, these paintings reveal in Giotto, young as he then was,[3] an intimate acquaintance with the character, the types, the passions of men. Conceived and distributed according to the highest maxims of art, they disclose in him the possession of uncommon taste united to most remarkable technical powers. Erected in the form of a single vaulted aisle, with a choir merely separated from the body of the chapel by an arch, the building is lighted by six windows piercing the side to the right of the portal. Giotto arranged the subjects in obedience to the maxims which for centuries had ruled their distribution, but with a sense of their mutual value and position quite unusual. On the wall, above the entrance, was the Last Judgment. On the arch leading into the sanctuary, the Saviour sat in Glory guarded by angels. Beneath him the Annunciation was depicted, and in a triple course along the walls were thirty-eight scenes of the life

eretta la chiesuola nel 1303, di che ne fa fede l'iscrizione presso lo Scardeone." See the inscription in SCARDEONE (B.), *Hist. Patav.*, p. 378 of vol. vi., p. iii. *Thes. Antiquitatum*, J. G. GRÆVII (Lug., Batav., 4to, 1722). A record proves that the consecration took place only in 1305. *Vide* SELVATICO, *Scritti*, Flor., 1859, p. 284.

[1] "Dantino, quondam aligerii de Florentia nunc stat Paduæ in contrata Sancti Laurentii," says a public record or affidavit published in *Novelle Letter. Flor.*, 1748, p. 361; quoted in ROSINI, *ubi sup.*, p. 245, and in BALBO, *Vita di Dante*.

[2] Vasari affirms that Clement V., having succeeded Benedict XI. at Perugia, forced Giotto to accompany him to Avignon. The transfer of the papal court to Avignon took place in 1305. Therefore Giotto must have travelled into this and other parts of France in or after that year (VASARI, vol. i., p. 303). This alleged journey and the assertion that Giotto painted many frescoes and panels at Avignon and in other parts of France, is proved to be deserving of no credit. Besides, in 1306 Giotto was at Padua, and though many paintings exist in Avignon, in the cathedral and papal palace, they are not by Giotto, but by Simone Martini of Siena, as may be more fully proved hereafter.

[3] "Adhuc satis juvenis," says BENVENUTO DA IMOLA, *ubi sup.*

of the Virgin and of the Saviour. These subjects were enclosed in a painted ornament of a beautiful kind, interrupted at intervals by little frames of varied forms, containing subjects from the Old and New Testament. All rested on a painted marble cornice supported on brackets and pilasters, in the intervals of which were fourteen figures in dead colour representing the Virtues and the Vices. As in the chapel of the Podestà, so at the Arena, the waggon roof was spanned by two feigned arches. The field of the vault was blue and starred, adorned in the centres with medallions of the Saviour and the Virgin, and on the sides with eight medallions of prophets. By this division of subject and of ornament an admirable harmony was created. The feigned cornice, with its feigned bas-reliefs, illustrates completely the ability with which Giotto combined architecture with sculpture and painting; whilst in the style of the ornaments themselves, the most exquisite taste and a due subordination of parts were combined. The spectator is at once struck, as he enters, by the grandeur of one great episode, that of the Saviour in Glory. Then his eye wanders naturally to the less solemn but not less interesting exposition of the sacred history, as derived from the Old and New Testaments and the Proto-evangelion. Beneath the Saviour Enthroned, the Annunciation; on the wall, at one side of it the Salutation, and facing it on the other side the Saviour betrayed by Judas, preface the Birth and Death of the Redeemer. The incidents of the lives of Mary and of Christ follow in rapid succession on the side walls. Facing each other on the marble skirting, the Virtues and antagonistic Vices are pitted against each other. At the lowest part of the arch, leading into the choir or sanctuary, are two interiors painted in dead colour. In each of them a lantern hangs alight. One symbolises the light which guides man to virtue; the other is emblematic of the light which saves us from the path of vice. The practice of all the virtues leads man to Paradise; accordingly the first of the virtues, which is Hope, is appropriately turned towards that part of the Last Judgment which comprises the happy. The pursuit of vice leads to the everlasting abyss; and the last of the vices, Despair, is accordingly seen drawn by a devil towards the everlasting fire in the Inferno. The paintings of Giotto had thus an aim, and were not mere representations of given subjects without connection, a mere assemblage of groups, or only an attempt to charm by movement, expression, or colour.

From the earliest centuries, peculiar attention had been directed to the distribution of certain classes of subject in sacred edifices. At Ravenna, the Majesty of the Saviour was fitly honoured in the apsis of basilicas. The Virgin, too, was honoured by a pre-eminent position in the most sacred part of a chapel or church. At S. Angelo in Formis, whilst the Redeemer stood in glory in the choir, the Old and New Testaments were illustrated in the nave. The Prophets were displayed beneath, and the Last Judgment above the portal. At Pomposa, where a modern hand has painted anew scenes from the Old and New Testaments and from Revelation, the latter were placed on the arches of the aisle. In S. Francesco of Assisi, the incidents of the life of S. Francis, to whom the church was dedicated, were painted below those of the Old and New Testament. At the Arena of Padua, the chapel devoted to the Virgin Annunciate was still reserved, as regards its place of honour, to the figure of the Redeemer; then came, beneath, the Virgin and the Angel of the Annunciation in each spandril of the arch of the sanctuary. At the sides were the scenes from the New Testament, and beneath these, Virtues and Vices, the former of which at Assisi had been confined to the ornaments of a ceiling. Here the incidents of the Old Testament were thrown into the ornament, a change which may have a deeper meaning than might at first view appear.

If the spectator directs his attention to the order in which the episodes of the Proto-evangelion and New Testament are placed, he will find the first story told in the upper course of the side wall, to the right of the Saviour in Glory. The numbers then run round the building and the thirty-eighth fresco is the lowest of the last course, by the side of the arch of the sanctuary, and to the left of the Saviour in Glory. It would ill suit the purpose of these pages to attempt a minute description of all these works in succession. The following index, with such remarks as may be necessary to explain the actual condition of each fresco, will, however, be useful. Those subjects which deserve a more special notice may be dealt with at greater length afterwards. The series begins with :—

No. 1. The Rejection of Joachim's Offering. A well-preserved fresco.

No. 2. Joachim retires to the Sheepfold. Fine and grand are the figures of the old man, with two shepherds watching the flock.

No. 3. The Angel appears to Anna. A well-preserved subject. It may be noted that in the movement of an old servant, spinning, at one side of the picture, the painter has not merely reproduced a

most natural action, but that he could delineate as well as discern the difference of quality between the types of various classes of people.

No. 4. The Sacrifice of Joachim. A middling composition.

No. 5. The Vision of Joachim. The angel appearing is here very fine and natural in movement. The attitude of Joachim is well chosen and ably rendered.

No. 6. The Meeting at the Golden Gate.

No. 7. The Birth of the Virgin.

No. 8. The Presentation of the Virgin. A fine and well-preserved subject.

No. 9. The Rods are brought to the High Priest. S. Joseph, nimbed, is of a well-defined character. The fresco is in a good state.

No. 10. The Watching of the Rods. In good condition.

No. 11. The Betrothal of the Virgin. The blues of draperies have all disappeared.

No. 12. The Virgin's Return Home. A very fine composition, but much damaged by time. The youths preceding the bridal pair and sounding trumpets have especially suffered.

No. 13. The Angel of the Annunciation, kneeling.

No. 14. The Virgin of the Annunciation, kneeling. This figure is agreeable and beautiful in movement and features, the face full of a serene and grave majesty.

No. 15. The Salutation is marked by much affectionate feeling.

No. 16. The Birth of Christ.

No. 17. The Offering of the Wise Men. A fine composition, in which the feeling, afterwards developed by Fra Angelico, may be noticed. The arrangement is here the same as in the south transept of the Lower Church of Assisi. Again the blue of the Virgin's dress has vanished and the red preparation alone appears.

No. 18. The Warning. The angel is very fine, and the composition able. The blue draperies are here also obliterated.

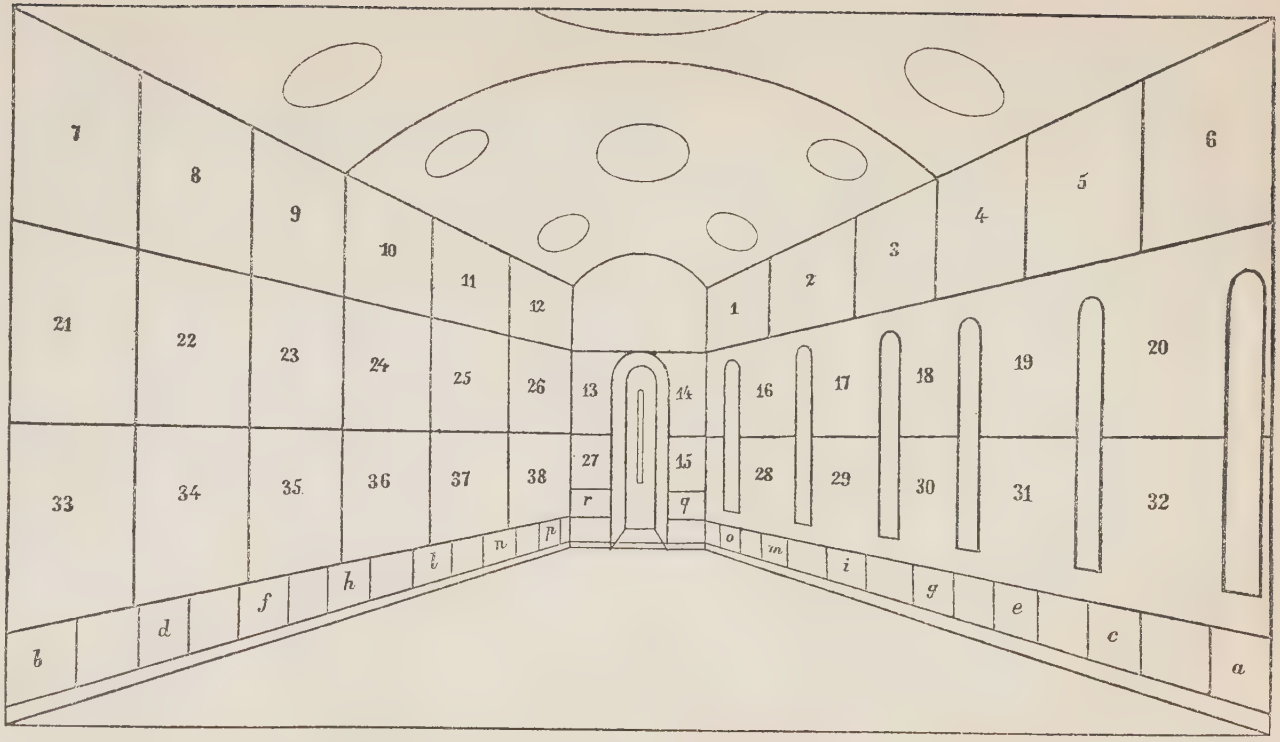
No. 19. The Flight into Egypt. The affectionate action of the Virgin as she holds the infant Saviour, the admirable manner in which the two figures are grouped, are as remarkable here as in the similar composition at Assisi. They also recall the bas-relief cut by Giovanni Pisano on the pulpit of Pisa. But here a beautiful angel leads the way. The blue draperies are rubbed off, and the red underground visible.

No. 20. The Massacre of the Innocents. This composition is scattered, and less able than that of Assisi. The forms of the children are by no means fine, but the action is still very animated. The blues, as usual, have vanished.

No. 21. Christ among the Doctors. This fresco has been greatly altered, and is blackened by damp. The colours are in part gone, and, where they remain, are raw and unpleasant.

No. 22. The Baptism of Christ.

No. 23. The Marriage in Cana. This subject is preserved and a few spots only disfigure the blues; one may note the classic forms of the vases.



PERSPECTIVE OF THE CHAPEL OF THE ARENA AT PADUA.

No. 24. The Raising of Lazarus.

No. 25. The Entrance into Jerusalem. Much damaged, particularly in the blues of drapery and sky. Two or three heads are quite gone.

No. 26. Christ Expelling the Pharisees from the Temple. The composition does not lack beauty, but the vulgarity of certain heads is remarkable.

No. 27. The Hiring of Judas. A demon behind the traitor grasps his shoulder.

No. 28. The Last Supper. Here the blue draperies have all disappeared, and the nimbuses, with the exception of that of the Saviour, have become black.

No. 29. Christ Washing the Feet of the Disciples. This is by no means one of the finest of the series, and the execution is rude. The draperies, as usual, gone.

No. 30. The Kiss of Judas. Rudely executed, but the colour of the lower parts of the figures has fallen, laying bare the under preparation.

No. 31. Christ before Caiaphas. Middling composition and rudely carried out. The red preparation for blues visible.

No. 32. Christ Scourged. A poor composition, ill rendered. The Saviour is stiff, motionless, and gazing.

No. 33. Christ bearing His Cross. Giotto is not free from the reproach of embodying the somewhat trivial idea of weariness in the Saviour, because of the great weight of His cross. The expression of the Virgin is more masculine than is necessary. The draperies are in general damaged, and the figures in the background have suffered a great deal.

No. 34. The Crucifixion.

No. 35. The Pietà.

No. 36. The "Noli me Tangere."

No. 37. The Ascension. This is a fine composition, in which the painter really conveys the idea of a form in motion; and a great advance is made upon the primitive representation of the same subject in the Upper Church of Assisi. Whilst, there, the Saviour's form is partly concealed, here, He is completely visible, rising on a cloud, surrounded by a choir of angels. Below Him are the apostles.

No. 38. The Descent of the Holy Spirit.

It will be remarked that in this series of sacred history Giotto had to depict the Birth of the Virgin as well as that of the Saviour. In the first, he brought some of the usual graceful incidents together in a very charming form. In the second, the moment is chosen when the Infant is given by its mother to an attendant.

Giotto, in representing the episode of the Saviour's Baptism, did not venture to alter the time-honoured form of a composition

which had been repeated without change since the seventh century. For this he has been blamed, and perhaps justly, by Mr. Ruskin.[1] No doubt, the Saviour stands in a hole, S. John on the right, accompanied by two followers, pouring water over His head, whilst, on the left, two angels hold the Redeemer's vestments. In the oldest Christian form of this subject, at Ravenna, the necessity of bringing the two banks of Jordan into close proximity, had been avoided by the surrender to a river-god of an office which in later conceptions, was performed by ministering angels. The gradual disappearance of pagan forms in the progress of centuries seems to have left the Christian artist no alternative but to sacrifice the composition to the necessities of a subject of which the type was unalterably fixed. It may be asked, why it might not have been possible to represent the angels in flight over the water. A divine of the fourteenth century might have answered that, in the Baptism of Christ, the angels that minister must be supposed to perform a terrestrial duty. The Saviour having condescended as God-man to be baptized on earth, the angels must condescend to earth also, being subordinate and inferior even on earth to Him. Be this as it may, as Giotto here maintained a typical form of composition, when in other cases he did not hesitate to depart from old ideas, it is obvious that some formidable reasons existed for the course he pursued.

The Raising of Lazarus shows how literally the Bible text was followed by Giotto. The body and legs have been wound round with a sheet according to the directions of Scripture.[2] Swaddled and incapable of motion, Lazarus is placed erect on the right receiving the blessing of the Saviour; before whom, to the left, Martha and Mary kneel in attitudes and with action highly expressive of confidence and hope. Surprise and gratitude animate the features of the bystanders, yet repose and decorum are in every movement of the crowd. The composition is admirable and amongst the finest in the chapel.[3]

Though finely and dramatically conceived and executed, the

[1] See Mr. Ruskin's comments on the frescoes of the Arena Chapel in the publications of the Arundel Society.

[2] That this treatment of the body is scriptural is clear from the following passage: "Then took they the body of Jesus and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury." S. John xix., v. 40.

[3] Two figures on the right of the foreground are replacing the cover of the sepulchre. At Assisi, in the Chapel della Maddalena, whose paintings are erroneously assigned to Buffalmacco, a pupil of Giotto copied this scene and made changes quite detrimental to the beauty of the composition.

Crucifixion at Padua was less successfully presented by Giotto than that of the Lower Church of Assisi.[1] Of the nude, as treated in the Crucifixion of S. Peter at Rome, enough has been said to make any further remark unnecessary. It may suffice to say, that the proportions of the Saviour are correct, the form well chosen, and the expression dignified and gentle. Pain is visible in the features ; and the mouth is open. But we have parted here with the hideous contortions of past ages and painters, with the overhanging belly of the Crucifixes in the Lucchese, Pisan, and Arctine schools. The moment chosen is that of death, when the angel gathers the last stream of blood from the wounded side. The hands are a little contracted, but the limbs are well jointed and in repose. The head is bent to the left in the direction of the group of the fainting Virgin supported by the holy women and S. John Evangelist. The group is, however, more remarkable for force than feeling ; and this may be noted as a general feature in the frescoes of the Arena Chapel, where the Florentine gravity and weight prevail more than in those of the south transept at Assisi.

The Virgin also is like a copy of an ordinary fainting female, and reveals that tendency to an accurate study of nature which in the highest degree characterised the style of Leonardo da Vinci.[2]

[1] [Whether Giotto painted the works at Assisi before or after these at Padua is not absolutely certain. Mr. Berenson, *The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance* (Putnams, 1898), p. 114, calls all the work of Giotto at Assisi (he omits altogether the frescoes of the Upper Church) early. Mr. Langton Douglas, on the other hand, thinks the Padua work is earlier than the work on the roof of the south transept in the Lower Church at Assisi. *Cf.* Langton Douglas and Arthur Strong in their Ed. of *A History of Painting in Italy* (Murray, 1903), vol. ii., p. 37, *note* 2. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, as it will be seen, thus hold that Giotto's first work was that in the Upper Church at Assisi, which he designed at any rate, while still young; later he appeared again at Assisi to paint in the Lower Church. This must have been about 1296, for he was in Rome by the end of that year. There he remained six years, returning to Florence about April 1302—not later at any rate—when he painted the chapel of the Podestà. Then follows the work in the Arena Chapel (1306), when he was about forty years old. Messrs. Douglas and Strong, *op. cit.*, *passim*, propound a very different doctrine. They suggest that Giotto's earliest work was done at Rome, then he worked in the Bargello, then in the Upper Church at Assisi, then at Padua, and then again in the Lower Church at Assisi. The authors are a little vague, it is true, in their statement, while Messrs. Douglas and Strong are most precise, though they do not commit themselves as to the date of Giotto's birth. Their theory is, of course, that Giotto was much influenced by Cavallini and the Roman school, and to fit this theory the chronology of his work had to be changed. Maybe if the authors had known as much of the work of the Roman school as we may do, they would not have come to a conclusion very different from that of Messrs. Douglas and Strong.]

[2] The same remark may apply to the figure of S. John Evangelist, whose head rests on a broad and powerful neck.

The angel, that *uccel divino* whom Dante so beautifully describes, tears his white dress and bares his breast with extraordinary energy; and in this force the dramatic effort overpowers sentiment.

A better expression of the majesty and dignity of the Saviour, akin indeed to that of Assisi, is to be found in the Crucifix painted by Giotto and suspended high up in the sanctuary of the Arena Chapel.[1] The head, there, is full of repose and resignation, and renders the idea of the God-man, the purely Christian idea of the Saviour who perished for the sins of the world, better than any that has been hitherto noticed. Yet even here, greater force, energy, and thought, and less religious feeling are disclosed than was afterwards conveyed in the Christ of Angelico, which expresses the acme of resignation. Giotto painted many Crucifixes; and an authentic record exists of one which he executed in the early part of the century for the church of S. Maria Novella at Florence. In his will, dated the fifteenth of June 1312, Ricuccio quondam Pucci, of the quarter of S. M. Novella, left a legacy of five pounds in small florins for the purchase of oil to feed a lamp, all the year round, before the Crucifix painted in the church of the Dominicans by "egregium pictorem nomine Giottum Buondonis,[2] qui est de dicto populo Sancte Marie Novelle." The same Ricuccio left twenty pounds as a legacy to the Dominicans of Prato for a lamp to burn before a picture by Giotto in the church of their convent.[3] The Crucifix now in S. M. Novella at Florence, though it has been assigned to Giotto, is too obviously executed by one who had not freed his style from the influence of old defective models. It has something Giottesque in the attitude, and may be by Puccio Capanna, though this is by no means certain.[4] But in S. Marco and in the Gondi Dini Chapel of the Frati Umiliati in Ognissanti at Florence, two Crucifixes, evidently by Giotto, exist; whilst a third, in S. Felice, may be classed, though with less certainty, in the same category.[5] These works, embodying a subject which was the test and touchstone of the genius of the Christian painter in the four-

[1] [Now in the Museo Civico.]

[2] This document is one of numerous proofs that Giotto's father was a Buondone. See the record at length in *note* 4 to VASARI, vol. i., p. 329.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Vasari mentions a Crucifix in S. M. Novella, partly executed by Giotto, partly by Puccio Capanna. If the Crucifix now in S. M. Novella be that to which Vasari alludes, it may be by Puccio, whose style is not known; but the design is certainly not Giotto's. VASARI, vol. i., p. 329.

[5] [VENTURI, *op. cit.*, vol. iv., pp. 302, 409, 410, among others, denies that these Crucifixes are from Giotto's hand. The last at S. Felice, however, is thought by some, Suida among them, to be by Giotto himself.]

teenth century, display the talents of Giotto at the opposite pole from that of the painters who immediately preceded him. It would seem that, after a series of efforts and struggles which lasted for centuries, Giotto struck out the noblest and fittest ideal of the Saviour on the Cross. That it was difficult to create a better one is proved by the sequel of Florentine art history. Not one of Giotto's pupils improved the type of which he became the founder. Angelico alone, after him, was able to impart to the Redeemer tenderness, abnegation, and angelic resignation; but in doing this he sacrificed the energetic reality of thought which characterised the age of Dante, and substituted for the more natural type of Giotto one more becoming the essentially religious feeling of a pious monk. The Crucifixion by Angelico in the monastery at S. Marco may be taken as the best illustration of this truth.[1]

The conception of the early centuries, that namely of the Saviour erect and alive on the Cross, with a nail to each foot, was undoubtedly superior to that which succeeded it in the hands of the Pisan, Lucchese, and Aretine painters. Repelled probably by their vulgar realism, Giotto altered and improved the position of the holy figure, which he represented almost erect though lifeless, and with the head softly inclined. The proportions which he assigned to the frame were the most just that could be found; but his great effort, his triumph, was in the regeneration of the type, which he reduced to the simplest form. In the calm repose of a noble and youthful frame anatomically realised, not merely with reference to muscle but also to articulation, he rendered suffering without contortion, and fettered the attention of the spectator by perfect harmony of lines and softness of expression. There was no material display of muscular form, no useless exhibition of ribs and tendons as in the sculpture of the Pisans. The mosaists of the Ravenna Baptistery had created the most suitable type of the Redeemer in their age; and the student will seek in vain for similar fitness in the decline which supervened. But he will pause when he sees and admits that this quality existed in Giotto. Giotto did not, indeed, attain the perfection of form which the earlier mosaists possessed, but his ideal was certainly more in accordance with Christian feeling.

One peculiarity of the Crucifixes of the fourteenth century is the disappearance of the side panels. This peculiarity may be

[1] That in which the figure of S. Dominic grasps the foot of the Cross.

noticed in the Crucifix of Giotto at S. Marco of Florence.[1] At the extremities of the arms are the busts of the Virgin and S. John in desolation. The medallion above the Saviour's head represents, however, only a pelican stripping its breast, whilst at the foot of the Cross is the death's-head that typifies Adam, and a small figure in prayer.[2]

The Crucifix in the Gondi Dini Chapel at Ognissanti is surmounted by a medallion figure of the Saviour in the act of benediction and holding the book. The youthful head, at whose sides a flood of hair falls in locks, is of a fine contour and of a regular and dignified type. It nobly suggests the idea of omnipotence.[3] The calm features of the Crucified Redeemer, on the other hand, contrast with the troubled and somewhat exaggerated ones of the Virgin and S. John at the extremity of the horizontal limbs. Again, the position of the crucified body, the lines of the frame, are less simple in direction and curve than those previously noticed ; the anatomy is more studied ; more suffering is expressed in the head, and the hips are of more than usual breadth ; the feet are nailed over each other ; and some contraction in the hands indicates pain. Nor is the subordination of the parts as well maintained as might be desired ; but the general outline is the most perfect as yet rendered by Giotto.[4]

In the Crucifix of Santa Felice,[5] which presents the character, type, and outline of those of Giotto, a certain progress in the art of moulding out the articulations, in the study of anatomy, is noticeable. The Virgin, S. John resting his head on his hand, both in desolation at the extremities of the horizontal limb, are very expressive figures. The lights and shades are well managed throughout, but the execution is an advance upon the age of Giotto. Yet it would puzzle a student of Florentine art to say

[1] Above the portal, inside the church. This Crucifix was usually followed by crowds when carried in procession. By will of Mona Fantini in 1357, the Silvestrini monks of the convent were bound to keep a lamp perpetually burning before it (Richa, vol. vii., p. 143).

[2] Contrasted with the Crucifix of the Arena and the Crucified Saviour in the Lower Church of Assisi, this of S. Marco is equal to the former, but slightly inferior to the latter. The nimbus here, as usual, projects. The colour is light and clear.

[3] The raised arm and the bent hand are as those in the Saviour above the door in the southern transept of the Lower Church of Assisi. The light clear colours of flesh and draperies are finely harmonised.

[4] The light and harmonious colour is a little livid, as if Giotto intended to give the idea of a dead body. This Crucifix is noted by Vasari (vol. i., p. 311).

[5] At Florence, on the wall opposite the high altar.

THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS

Giotto.

THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST

Arena Chapel, Padua.

THE RAISING OF LAZARUS

GIOTTO.

THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM

Arena Chapel, Padua.

which of his pupils, supposing Giotto not to be the author, attained to such perfection.[1]

Returning from this digression, which will be pardoned as it helps to bring out Giotto in his true light as a regenerator of type and form in Italian art, the study of the frescoes in the Arena Chapel at Padua may be resumed.

In the Pietà, Giotto not only produced one of the finest compositions in the edifice, but one almost equal to the highest creation in that direction which is due to his genius. The gradual transformation of this subject, from its typical form in the aisle of the Upper Church of Assisi to one more artistic in the present series, is most interesting to study. At Assisi, the Saviour lay stretched on the verge of the foreground. The Virgin, the Maries, and the Evangelist were placed by the painter at the head, feet, or side of the principal figure, which was thus in full and unobstructed view. Giotto with consummate art added three figures to the group, placing them so as to form a composition, the balance and distribution of which are perfect. The Virgin held on her lap the head and shoulders of the dead Saviour, whilst, in a circle round her, three women stooped down, grieving or assisting. Two females at each side of the body kissed the lifeless hands, and in rear of them S. John Evangelist bent his looks and frame to the Redeemer and threw back his arms in the attitude which had now become a favourite of the master. The Magdalen held the Redeemer's feet. Ten angels in the air fluttered over the scene with wild grief, terror, and surprise in their features. In each figure an individual passion seems the motive of the action. The execution of this fresco is most careful, and, in the Saviour, minute to a surprising degree. But side by side with this careful handling appears that of the master himself executing the final touches, and, with a broad and sweeping hand, laying in masses of spacious light.

The "Noli me tangere," though of less absorbing interest than the Pietà, is still worthy of special attention. Yet the Magdalen has not the beauteous look of supreme longing which is so attractive in the same subject at the chapel of the Podestà. The figure of the Saviour here may explain, also, that which is wanting in the mutilated one at Florence.[2]

[1] Above the Redeemer is the pelican.

[2] See the same composition copied in the Chapel della Maddalena at Assisi Lower Church.

The Virtues and Vices [1] are the complement of the lesson which the painter gives in these frescoes. The former are naturally all turned in the direction of the Paradise; the latter face the Inferno above the door of the chapel. Hope had been represented by Niccola Pisano, in the pulpit of Siena, as a female looking up to heaven. It was afterwards conceived in the bronze gates of the Baptistery of Florence by Andrea Pisano as a winged female, seated, but raising her face and arms with supreme confidence towards a crown above her. Giotto, at Padua, imagined the figure winged, but erect, and as it were raised from the ground, by the ardent desire to attain the crown held up to her view by the Saviour. In the costume, the drapery, the cast of the profile and dress of the hair, Giotto almost attained to the severe elegance of an antique bas-relief. As in hope, the mere longing seems in part to secure that which we desire, so despair may be said to realise its own foreboding. This was as well conveyed by Giotto in one case as in the other. Despair is a vulgar female with clenched hands, already struggling in the agonies of death self-imposed with a cord. The devil with a grapple drags the figure towards the abyss close by.

Charity had already been depicted by Giotto in the allegory of Poverty at Assisi, and was here again represented as a standing female with a triple flame issuing from her head, a garland on her brow, and a vase of flowers in her right hand. Looking up with supreme abnegation in her features, she offers with her left hand a burning heart to the Lord.[2] Envy, on the opposite side, is a fine contrast. Grasping with claws instead of hands a purse, the horns on her head twisted round with a piece of drapery, and standing in the midst of flames, she is presented as bitten on the forehead by a serpent issuing from her own mouth.

Faith had been somewhat cumbrously symbolised by Niccola Pisano, in the pulpit of S. Giovanni at Pisa, by an angel sitting upon a lion, and holding in one hand a relief of the Crucifixion. Giotto rendered the idea better by a majestic figure, with a diadem, seen in full front, resting a cross on a prostrate idol, holding a scroll inscribed with the Creed.[3] Unbelief, at the opposite side, is signified by a helmed warrior, winking, and with his right holding an idol. The idol, bound to him by a string, seems to lead him

[1] See plan, *Virtues*: *a*, *c*, &c. *Vices*: *b*, *d*, &c.

[2] This figure is badly damaged by a vertical split in the wall, which cuts it into two. There was here originally a door.

[3] Two heads at the upper sides, of an angel and a spirit, have some meaning, now difficult to divine.

towards the flames that burst from the left-hand corner of the foreground; whilst a spirit above appears to give counsel. Unbelief, whose ears are covered with the lappets of a cap, seems, however, deaf and heedless.

The inexorable impartiality of Justice was ably rendered by Giotto in a majestic sitting figure, crowned, in a tunic and mantle, holding at an equal height the discs of a balance suspended above her head. In one disc, an angel, like an antique Victory, crowns Industry, seated behind an anvil.[1] In the other, an angel executes retributive justice on a criminal,[2] by cutting his head off. The symbolic meaning of this allegory was aided by a feigned bas-relief beneath it, in which a group of three figures is beautifully depicted in dead colour, and represents one playing cymbals for two dancers; whilst, on each side, two figures on horseback are seen returning from the chase. For where justice reigns are also peaceful pleasures.

The natural counterpart is Injustice, of ignoble aspect, yet in the dress of a judge, resting his left hand on his sword, and with his right, which is a claw, grasping a double hook. He sits within a fortress whose approach is impeded by trees. Rapacity and covetousness are thus symbolised as concomitant with injustice; whilst, in a feigned bas-relief below, the figure of a female lies stripped near a pond, and three soldiers are plundering her. On the left, a restive mule is held by a thief near the dead body of a man. The philosophy of injustice could scarcely be rendered more truly, nor could the subject have been better conceived or designed than it has been by Giotto in this splendid composition.

The noble restraint of Temperance was indicated by the painter in a beautifully draped figure curbed with a bit and holding a sword whose blade is tied to the scabbard; the fatal impulse of Anger, by a woman with swollen features and dishevelled hair tearing the dress from her breast.[3]

Fortitude, which Niccola Pisano had represented in the guise of a youthful Hercules in the pulpit of Pisa, was represented by Giotto as a female in a cuirass, and protected by a shield up to the eyes. On the shield, embossed with a lion, the arrows of fortune have fallen and been blunted. In her right hand she carries a mace; on her head the skin of a lion's front.

Inconstancy is a girl vainly trying to balance herself on a

[1] The head of this figure is obliterated.
[2] The head of this figure is damaged.
[3] The mouth is contracted by anger. The head of the figure is slightly damaged.

wheel rolling over polished marble. She has already lost her veil, which flies away and gives to the scene a semblance of motion.

Prudence, with two heads, the one aged, the other youthful, holding a mirror and sitting with a compass at a desk, is contrasted at the opposite side by Folly, a pot-bellied and grotesque personage, wearing a head-dress of feathers, shaking a mace in his right, and defying with his left hand.[1]

In the principal series of frescoes it is obvious that Giotto was aided by his pupils. His own hand probably traced every one of the Vices and Virtues. He never exhibited more care in the choice of the materials, or displayed greater qualities of mind or of hand, than are here to be found united. Beauty of form and of drapery, versatility in rendering expression, exquisite design, precision of hand, great fusion of colour, and broad relief of light and shade, all combine to make these allegorical figures worthy of admiration and study.

In the Last Judgment, above the portal of the chapel, Giotto was assisted in covering a vast space by the industry of his assistants; and it is apparent that, at least in the Inferno, their labour was below the standard of the rest of the paintings in the building. Yet as regards distribution, the Last Judgment must be admitted to fulfil the requirements of the highest art. On each side of three small windows throwing light into the edifice from the highest elevation, two warrior angels seem to hold back a curtain, disclosing the celestial hall of Justice, over which the sun and the moon shed their influence. Immediately beneath them, legions of warriors with shields and swords, angels with flags and tapers, hold guard in three mighty divisions, over the majesty of the Saviour, who sits below them in a glory, borne by countless cherubs and seraphim. At the four cardinal points, the archangels sound the trumpets of the Judgment, whilst the Redeemer, with the features of perpetual youth,[2] holds up His right hand to bless the blessed, and curses the evildoers with His left. At His sides, two winged figures in armour, and lance in hand, with aged heads, the bodies of centaurs, and the limbs of goats, stand in attitude of watchfulness.[3] In a long row of thrones on each hand, sit the apostles, all marked by their

[1] Completely new on fresh intonaco; traces of Giotto's figure visible at the sides of the new one. These figures will be found marked alphabetically in the plan of the Arena Chapel, from *a* upwards, in the order in which they are described.

[2] In a red tunic and blue mantle; but the latter has fallen from His shoulders.

[3] Of these two figures, that to the right is partly effaced.

VIA CRUCIS

GIOTTO.

THE CRUCIFIXION

Arena Chapel, Padua.

THE DEPOSITION

GIOTTO.

"NOLI ME TANGERE"

Arena Chapel, Padua.

peculiar and individual character, and for the first time, in perspective order.[1] To the left of the Saviour's feet, the Virgin in a diadem,[2] majestically draped and carried by angels in a glory of rays, heads the procession of the happy, leading the aged St. Anna. Monks, bishops, saints, male and female, follow, guarded by angels.[3] Amongst them, in a corner to the left, three figures stand in profile, the central one of which is, according to tradition, the portrait of Giotto himself.[4] The Cross as symbol of redemption, held aloft by two angels in the centre of the space, separates the elect from the condemned. Between it and the procession to Paradise, the donor, Enrico Scrovegno, in a purple dress and bonnet, kneels before a group of three noble female figures, presenting as it were to their notice the model of the chapel, supported by a priest in white. The Virgin, heading the group, stoops to receive the homage; whilst her two companions, nimbed like herself, look on. In the foreground the Resurrection completes that side of the picture. From the Saviour's feet, a torrent of fire pours its fury out on the right, enveloping a host of struggling souls in its burning course. Lucifer, the chief of this seething domain, sits, as usual, in the lowest part of the abyss, colossal and triple-headed, on two dragons whose mouths engulf sinners; his ears being as two serpents with figures in their jaws; whilst between his legs is a grinning crowned head. On all sides is a confused mass of torment, rudely executed.[5] The figure of Lucifer is not carried out as in the chapel of the Podestà at Florence, and the pupils of Giotto, together with restorers, have effectually reduced the value of this portion of the fresco.

Whatever may have been Giotto's reputation previous to the completion of this noble work, it could not but have increased it. In the wealthy Padua he was acknowledged and rewarded by numerous commissions; and the frescoes recently recovered in the Santo, or church of S. Antonio, not merely testify in favour

[1] A part of the left side of the fresco is damaged and the intonaco gone. One of the apostles and half of another are completely obliterated; and likewise several figures beneath them.

[2] She wears a gold tunic and white mantle.

[3] Many figures in the procession are gone, others damaged, and in some places the intonaco threatens to drop.

[4] Yet here, the face is that of a man older than the so-called portrait of Giotto in the chapel of the Podestà at Florence, and certainly contradicts the words of Benvenuto da Imola, which describe the painter as "satis juvenis."

[5] The colour here is in part altered, in part obliterated. Three figures of a more modern kind seem painted over others of a better style, of which the vestiges can still be distinguished.

of his industry and skill, but confirm the statement of Michael Savonarola as to his prolonged residence in the city.[1]

The church of S. Antonio was commenced about the middle of the thirteenth, and finished, with the exception of the cupola over the choir, in the first years of the fourteenth century.[2] Giotto painted in the chapter-house incidents of the lives of S. Anthony and S. Francis.[3] But the edifice having been thrice burnt out in 1394, 1567, and 1749, these paintings were destroyed or mutilated by repairs. A new vaulted roof was built beneath the original ceiling; and the principal subjects, which doubtless were placed above the painted cornice at present visible, were lost. "The beautiful chapel," which Vasari was still able to describe in the sixteenth century,[4] was thus altered in shape, and now forms a species of hall in the vicinity of the sacristy, lighted from the cloisters of the old convent. It was apparently whitewashed after the change, and is now in a state not unlike that of the chapel of the Podestà at Florence. Still the drawing and movement of several beautiful figures enable the beholder to admire Giotto's talent in reproducing majestic form and variety of individual types.

Entering the hall from a door recently opened from the sacristy, to the total destruction of some amongst the remaining frescoes, the spectator may still see the remnants of six figures in niches, supported on a painted cornice and separated from each other by painted pilasters. In one he will see the standing figure of S. Chiara, whose face is one of the least damaged in the building. In others S. Francis, without hands, and repainted as to the feet, but fairly preserved as regards the head;—part of the face of an aged saint, of stern features;—a much damaged representation of a prophet, and an equally damaged one of a personage crowned with a diadem. On the opposite wall, at each side of an altar, in similar niches, three figures;—one of an aged person of a grave aspect, much altered by damp; another of a youth holding up his hand as if in the act of speaking; S. Anthony with a scroll in his hand, partly rubbed out and partly restored; and a portion

[1] "Et tantum dignitas civitatis eum commovit, ut maximam suæ vitæ partem in ea consummaverit." Michael Savonarolæ *Commentariolus, De Laudibus Patavini*, in MURATORI, *Scrip. rer. Ital.*, tom. xxiv., p. 1170. Savonarola wrote in 1440. Vasari makes Giotto pay two visits to Padua (vol. i., pp. 323 and 334). In the second only, according to the Aretine, Giotto painted the Santo, being commissioned for that purpose by the Scaligeri.

[2] "Anno M.CCC.VII opus illud perfectum est." BERNARDINI SCARDEONII, *Hist. Pat.* in *Thes. Antiquitatum*, by J. G. GRÆVE (Lugd., Bat., fol.), vol. vi., p. iii., p. 104. BRANDOLESI (P.), *Pitture, &c., di Padova* (8vo, Pad., 1795), p. 23.

[3] "Capitulumque Antonii nostri etiam (Giotto) sic ornavit." SAVONAROLA, *Com., ubi sup.*; MUR., vol. xxiv., p. 1170.

[4] VASARI, vol. i., pp. 323–4.

of a painted skeleton.[1] Little has been saved of the painting on the wall to the left of the entrance, except the two lunettes. In one of these, S. Francis receiving the Stigmata from the Saviour in the form of a Seraph, we have the mere outline of a composition similar to that of the picture in the Louvre [2] by Giotto. In the other, besides the Annunciation, the Martyrdom of the Franciscans at Ceuta is partially preserved, and the tyrant who orders the execution may be seen enthroned in the centre of the space. In the Annunciation, the figures of which are diminutive, it is worthy of note that Giotto expressed, in the face and raised arms of the Virgin, a certain surprise and terror at the visit of the angel: a new mode of representing the subject, which moved Vasari in another place to some wondering remarks. It is characteristic of the haste with which he wrote that, whereas he might with propriety have made those remarks upon the Virgin at the Santo, he lavished them upon a picture falsely assigned to Giotto, and now proved to be by Lorenzo Monaco.[3]

It has been affirmed that Giotto also painted in the great Salone of Padua.[4] In one of the compartments of the hall, to the right of the principal entrance, is a figure of an astronomer seated, beneath which the name of Giotto is inscribed. Yet neither this nor any other fresco, in the vast number which now decorates the walls, is in the manner of the great Florentine master; and whether it be true, as the Anonimo affirms on the authority of Campagnola, that the painters were one Juan Miretti and a Ferrarese,[5] it is certain that the Salone, as it is now, was adorned by several hands, a part of whom were under the influence of the Giottesque manner at the close of the fourteenth century, and the rest were without tincture of it.

From Padua to Verona was for Giotto but a step; and Vasari states that he painted there, for Can Grande, a portrait and other paintings, and for the church of San Francesco an altarpiece; but neither paintings nor records exist to confirm this portion of

[1] The figures in two of the niches are gone.

[2] The outlines and first preparation in verde are here alone preserved.

[3] Vasari, vol. i., p. 311. The more mystic Angelico rejected this form of expression in the Virgin Annunciate, which may be seen carried out in the arch leading to the Chapel del Sacramento in the Lower Church of Assisi.

[4] Riccobaldo Ferrarese, in his *Compilatio Chronologica*, says: "Zotus, pictor eximius Florentinus agnoscitur . . . testantur opera facta per eum in ecclesiis minorum Assisicis, Arimini, Paduæ, ac per ea quæ pinxit Palatio Comitis Paduæ et in ecclesia Arenæ Paduæ." Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, tom. ix., p. 225. Riccobaldo died in 1313, and the paintings of Giotto must therefore have been executed previous to that time. See Jöcher (C. G.), *Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Bremen, 1819), and Muratori's preface. The Salone was burnt down in 1420.

[5] Anonimo, *ubi sup.*, p. 28.

the Aretine's biography.[1] Ferrara was equally close to Padua; and here also, according to Vasari,[2] he produced various paintings in the palace of the Duke of Este and in the church of S. Agostino. But the same disappointment will befall the student at Ferrara as at Verona. At Ravenna, however, he will find, not the paintings of the church of S. Francesco,[3] which no longer exist, but those of a ceiling in the first chapel to the left, in the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista.[4] Here Giotto depicted, in a rectangle cut by two diagonals, at the centre of which the Lamb and Cross are painted in a medallion, the Four Doctors of the Church and the Four Evangelists, enthroned and facing each other in the angles of the ceiling, and above them the symbols of the Evangelists. Though much damaged by restoring, and veiled as it were with a greyish glaze, there can be no doubt of the authenticity of this fresco, in which Giotto exhibited all the qualities of which he was so complete a master in his prime—nobleness and choice of form, nature in action and movement, individuality of features, and manliness of expression.[5]

Many churches and edifices in Ravenna are adorned with paintings attributed to Giotto, but they will not bear the test of examination, any more than those of Pomposa, which Federici assigns to him. Like those of S. Maria in Portofuori outside Ravenna, and in the ex-chapel of the abandoned church of Santa Chiara (now attached to a riding school) in Ravenna itself, these paintings are by humbler artists, as there may be occasion to show.

[1] VASARI, vol. i., p. 324. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

[4] SS. Ambrose and John sit facing each other in one compartment, the former, with his hand on a scroll, looking at the Evangelist, who holds a book half open on a desk in front of him.

S. Augustine, who reads in a book, is inspired by S. Matthew, who mends his pen. S. Jerome reads, whilst S. Luke holding a pen looks at him. S. Gregory sits with his right hand in the act of enforcing speech, whilst S. Mark sits pensive with a pen in his hand. Each of the figures has a gold nimbus, and the background is a starred heaven. The symbolic figures above each hold a book and are nimbed. The Lion is fine, the angel in admirable repose. Yet all these figures have been retouched.

[5] [VENTURI, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 407, appears doubtful of these frescoes. BERENSON, *op. cit.*, excludes them from his list of pictures.]

CHAPTER X

THE PERUZZI AND BARDI CHAPELS

Amongst the potent families of Florence in the fourteenth century, that of the Peruzzi was most distinguished, for the extent of its trading connection, the greatness of its fortune, and the generosity with which it patronised the church of Santa Croce. From the time when that edifice first rose from its foundations,[1] the Peruzzi subscribed largely to its erection, and built at their sole expense a chapel or sacristy, which was adorned with frescoes by Giotto;[2] nor, says Cesare Guasti,[3] did the reverence of the family for those sacred walls and for art diminish with the lapse of years; but there came a time when that reverence was obscured by a fatal niggardliness: when to restore meant to destroy. So when one reads on the floor of the chapel that Bartholommeo di Simone Peruzzi "RESTAURARE FECIT AD. MD.CCXIV.," he will guess that the brush of a common whitewasher ruthlessly passed over the scenes from the life of S. John the Baptist and S. John the Evangelist which Giotto had painted on the walls.[4] In 1841, the Dance of the Daughter of Herodias was rescued from oblivion; later, the Ascension of the Evangelist was brought to light; and finally, at the commencement of 1863, the rest of the scenes was restored. The admirer of Giotto may now contemplate the finest series of frescoes which he ever produced—a series which justifies all that has been said respecting the grandeur of his style, whose obliteration by whitewash is an opprobrium and a stigma not only on the person who ordered, but on the country which allowed it. The recovery of these paintings may indeed be said greatly

[1] May 3, 1294.

[2] At what time it is difficult to say; but it is proper to note that, according to a record of 1307, alluded to by Richa, *Chiese Fiorentine*, vol. i., p. 13, Giotto was then in Florence, where he made a donation to the company of Orsanmichele.

[3] *Opuscoli, ubi sup.*, p. 6.

[4] This is confirmed by the fact that, when Cinelli, in 1677, published the *Bellezze di Firenze* by Bocci with new comments, the paintings of the Peruzzi Chapel were still in existence, whilst, in 1754, when Richa published his *Chiese Fiorentine*, they were no longer visible.

to enhance the merit of Giotto and, in proportion, to lessen that of his successors in the esteem hitherto extended to them. They are the vouchers which clear contemporary admirers from the charge of exaggerated admiration and unwarranted flattery, and which, whilst they vindicate the judgment of the fourteenth century, remove the doubts of modern critics, reduced hitherto to assign to Giotto creations not above mediocrity.

Passing by eight half figures of prophets in the vaulting of the entrance arch,[1] many of which are damaged by restoring, passing by also the symbols of the Evangelists in the ceiling, the spectator meets with two series of subjects on the walls of the chapel. One side is devoted to the life of the Evangelist, the other to that of the Baptist. In the lunette of the latter, Zacharias stands on the steps of the altar waving a censer, with two lute-players and a piper behind him, when suddenly and to his great emotion—for he draws back with astonishment in his face and movement—the angel, winged, lithesome, playful, appears under the altar porch, and gives him the news. Two women behind the angel are witnesses of the miracle, the youngest of whom points out the wonder to the other, who, more aged, seems absorbed in thought and tremulous with fear. The lower course, divided into equal parts, shows us a grandiose composition of the Precursor's birth: S. Elisabeth, lying in a classic attitude (head repainted) and hardly attending to the question of a maid behind the bed, near whom another maid, with a vase in her hand, gracefully bends her head and looks at a grand figure with his back to the spectator.[2] A partition with an opening in it separates this from the next scene, where Zacharias, to the left,[3] writes the child's name in a tablet on his knee. He glances as he does so at the infant, held up naked before him [4] by a male and a female figure, behind whom stand three others. Beneath again (third or lowest course), Herod sits with two guests behind a table in a beautiful portico, whose slender pillars are pointed with statuettes. In front of him, a soldier presents the nimbed head of S. John the Baptist on a plate. The graceful daughter of Herodias dances in front of the table to the sound of her own lyre, timing her touches and steps by the strains of a viol played by a youth who stands to the left of the picture. Two figures behind her contemplate the dance or commune as to the execution; whilst, to the right, Salome kneels with the head before Herodias. In the lunette of the opposite side, the Vision of Patmos is depicted: the Evangelist asleep on a solitary rock; above him in a cloud are "the Son of man" holding in His hand a scythe, on His right, the angel calling on Time to reap,[5] the travailing

[1] The least damaged are those in the centre of the vaulting. Some are all but new.

[2] Whose head and hair are much damaged.

[3] The head, hair, and beard much damaged. [4] It smiles.

[5] Revelation, chap. xiv. 14, 15. The Saviour is youthful, with long beard and hair, but much damaged.

woman pursued by the dragon,[1] the mystic child in its cradle, the angel and the four beasts,[2] the whole much damaged and repainted. Beneath this, a splendid composition represents the Resurrection of Drusiana; the saint on the left of the picture, with one kneeling at his side; two followers; a cripple on crutches and two other spectators behind; in front of him the kneeling relatives of Drusiana, who has risen on the couch held up by a bearer behind her; the priests and clergy. Finally in the lowest course, the resurrection of the Evangelist.

Giotto was seldom more classical in composition than in the apparition of the angel to Zacharias, seldom more true to the scriptural text which he had to illustrate.[3] It would be hard for any artist to render more obviously than here the troubled look of Zacharias as he waves the censer and shrinks for fear before the heavenly messenger. No painter of the time could have given a finer form to the angel, or impressed more firmly on the face of the pensive female the idea of anxious thought. If from this scene the spectator passes to the Birth of the Baptist, he will admire the grandeur of the composition, the antique pose of Elisabeth, the juvenile grace of the females at her bedside, and the masculine force and concentration of the standing figure. The grave Zacharias, close by with his legs crossed, with penetrating glance directed towards the fine and graceful naked babe, in a noble attitude and draperies, will remind him of the classicism conspicuous in the statuary of the Greeks. He will be struck by the natural motion in the aged man who grasps the infant's shoulder and points with his right hand, evidently intending to attract the parent's attention. He will be pleased by the portly stature of the woman, who looks on to the right and smiles. He may grieve at the fact that in the whole of these three compositions the backgrounds have been so repainted by the restorer in heavy tones as to damage the general aspect of the whole, to deprive the figures of aërial perspective and the outlines of their softness.

Although little beyond the outlines of the splendid composition of the Dance of Herodias is preserved, it cannot fail to convince the beholder, not merely that Giotto displayed a faultless precision of arrangement, but that he abandoned in a great measure that generalisation of certain features which characterised his earlier works. In no picture by Giotto were the figures distributed with

[1] Revelation, chap. xii.; the infant is in a cradle at her side; she is calm and fearless of the dragon.

[2] Each angel holding the nostrils, opening or closing the mouth, of a monster.

[3] S. Luke, chap. i.

more perfect art, the groups bound together more naturally, or the age, action, and attitude of each person more truly weighed and considered. Seldom, even in later times, had a fitter movement or a more comely face been produced than those which mark the viol-player. None but a painter capable of retaining in his memory the happy mood, the free attitudes of youth, could have rendered so truly the firm pose, the elastic bend of arm and finger, the open and mirthful glance; for the player looks at Salome as she dances. His eyes are no longer of the long, narrow, conventional form, but drawn, in perfect accordance with nature, with a round iris and a canthus of the exactest form. His features, foreshortened as he looks up, are rendered with perspective truth; and the chin and neck are noble and elegant. The purest profile is given to Salome, kneeling before the pregnant Herodias.[1] Surprise is ably depicted in the full face of Herod's guest, who sits at the end of the table with a knife in his right hand, and the left raised in wonder. That such beauties may yet be traced in a fresco mutilated as this is, speaks for the greatness of the painter.

But Giotto surpassed himself in the next series, where, if we set aside the composition of the Vision, much damaged by various accidents, the miracle of the Resurrection of Drusiana and Ascension of the Evangelist will be found to display a severe and classic grandeur which, in spite of the absence of harmony of colour,[2] is marvellous in the century which Giotto illustrated. The Resurrection, indeed, shows Giotto in all his strength and greatness, and in the fullest possession of the true maxims of composition and harmony. It proves how deeply he considered, how aptly he rendered, individual character and action, according to age, sex, and quality. Life and animation are in the kneeling females at the Evangelist's feet, but particularly in the graceful one kneeling in profile, whose face, whilst it is obvious that she cannot see the performance of the miracle on Drusiana, expresses in the noblest manner the faith which knows no manner of doubt. See how true is the figure and form of the cripple;[3] how fine the movement of

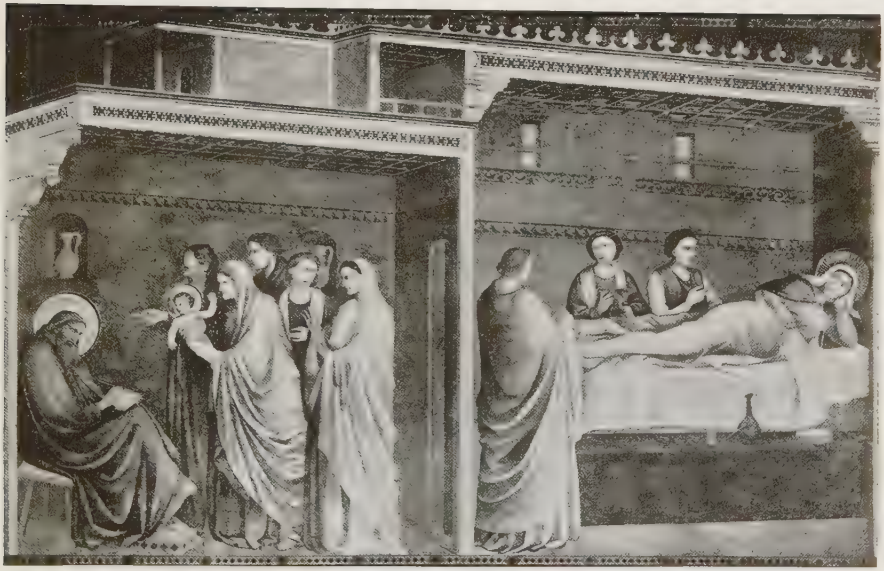
[1] The head of Herodias is a mere outline, and that of Salome, kneeling before her, has lost the freshness of its colour, but has great beauty of form, as well as of expression. The hand of Herod is damaged, as is likewise the head of the saint in the hands of the soldier. The form of the viol-player is perhaps a little broad. Behind him in the background is a fine double-storied square tower.

[2] The colour is altered by abrasion and retouched in many places, and the outlines are mostly refreshed.

[3] His arms and legs are repainted.

Alinari.

ZACHARIAS IN THE TEMPLE



Alinari.

BIRTH OF S. JOHN BAPTIST

GIOTTO.

S. Croce, Florence.

Brogi

THE DANCE OF SALOME

GIOTTO.

S. Croce, Florence.

Drusiana;[1] how interesting the group on the right in the variety of its movements; how beautiful the play of lines in the buildings which form the distance—how they advance and recede in order to second the lines of the composition and make the figure stand out. Everything is calculated to enliven the scene; and here it is an advantage that the houses and sky are less repainted than the rest of the frescoes in the chapel, and the groups appear more truly in their places.

The Ascension leads the spectator to the contemplation of a still more severe and classic scene. The legend of S. John the Evangelist declares

> That the favourite apostle, being on the verge of ninety, ascended a lofty mountain after praying his disciples to dig for him in the church a deep grave. Finding on his return that his followers had yielded to his prayer, he threw his mantle down into the opening and, descending, composed himself there to sleep. His disciples after a time judged that he was dead, and as the morning broke, a crowd gathered to see the body. But when the disciples looked into the grave, S. John had disappeared, and nothing but his sandals betrayed that he had once been there.

Giotto imagined S. John rising from the tomb in the centre of the church whose lines are broken by the descent of the Saviour and his celestial guard, who, stooping, help the aged apostle to ascend and shed around him the rays of their glory. To the right of the opening, a prostrate form seems to have been struck down by the wondrous brightness that prevails, and hides his head in his hands. Another, looking up, is forced to guard his eyes with his palm. Behind appear the ministers of religion with the Cross, the book, and tapers. To the left of the grave, one stands with his finger to his mouth in doubtful thought. Immediately in front of him an aged disciple bends an inquiring glance into the grave; a third in rear of the latter has looked, and seems to rise from a stooping attitude with an expression of conviction. "Here he is not," he seems to say. A fourth, satisfied, expresses wonder; whilst a fifth looking up is surprised, for he sees S. John ascending. In these five figures, Giotto realised a sequence of ideas as plainly almost as if he had spoken; and this is one of the greatest triumphs of art. Who will not see that the maxims applied by the painter in the

[1] What shall be said of the restorer here, who makes Drusiana point with her finger towards the Evangelist!—a senseless motion which Giotto would never have conceived.

Miraculous Healing of the Sick Man at S. Francesco of Assisi are here applied with increased power? Raphael alone in "the School of Athens" carried out with success the same principle.[1] The laws applied to a single group were maintained at the same time by Giotto in the connection of each group with the other, and with the architecture, to which he gave light and pleasing proportions. As solitary figures, it would be difficult to find one more grand than that of the ascending apostle, one in finer and more energetic movement than that of the prostrate disciple, or one more natural than that of the man veiling his eyes against the light emanating from the Saviour. Not less remarkable is the ability with which Giotto repeated in this fresco the same figures as appear in the Resurrection of Drusiana, but in different attitudes, movement, and expression. The preservation of this fresco is not good; and it is again surprising, not that one should find in it beauty of composition, but that the impress of the painter's thought and versatility in expression should still be there. Yet this is so, and to Giotto, for these works alone, must be awarded this praise, that, having studied and thought out every possible phase of his subject, he displayed them all in composition, movement, expression, and design. Happily for the student, this fresco has only been partially restored; the figure most damaged by this operation being that on the right in profile. The restorer, having gone so far, perceived that he was only spoiling the fresco, and left the outlines of the remainder as he found them. It may therefore still be observed that the picture was painted in large and few portions on a surface of excessive smoothness. The broad and well-modelled shadows were painted in with a soft ashen colour, merging through clear half tints into broad massive lights, the whole nicely fused together.

In Santa Croce, Giotto painted no less than three chapels besides that of the Peruzzi; those of Ridolfo de' Bardi, of the Giugni, and the Tosinghi and Spinelli;[2] of the two last, the frescoes still remain under whitewash, but that of Ridolfo de' Bardi has been scraped, and the frescoes both of the walls and ceilings are once more exposed to view. No records of the Peruzzi family exist to show at what time their chapel in Santa Croce was erected; but, as Cesare Guasti very truly observes,[3] it cannot be supposed that

[1] In the group of Euclid with his pupils.

[2] Vasari, vol. i., p. 312. In the Giugni, the martyrdom of various saints. In the Tosinghi, scenes of the life of the Virgin—her Birth and Marriage, the Annunciation, Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Death of the Virgin—were depicted.

[3] *Opuscoli, ubi sup.*, p. 25.

a temple so vast and sumptuous as this of the Franciscans of Florence should have been so far advanced in the opening of the fourteenth century as to justify Vasari in affirming that the chapels painted by Giotto were finished previous to the frescoes of Assisi; and it is much more likely that they were completed after 1307. This view is amply confirmed by the paintings themselves, and by the few facts which are known of Ridolfo de' Bardi, a nobleman whose father, Bartolo, had filled the highest offices of the republic in the thirteenth century. Ridolfo was bred in his youth to the profession of arms. He fought against the Ghibellines led by Louis of Bavaria,[1] and was conspicuous amongst the patriots who urged the war against Mastino della Scala. Almost ruined by the insolvency of Edward III. of England, yet still so powerful as to rouse the jealousy of the Florentines, his family preserved its influence, conspired against the State, and tasted the bitterness of exile. Brought again to the verge of financial ruin in 1342, they acquiesced in the tyranny of the Duke of Athens, succeeded to his power, and shared his fate. Ridolfo's father only died in 1310; and it is unlikely that his son should have had occasion to divert any part of Bartolo's wealth to the adornment of the family chapel before he became sole master of his actions. At what period a man so busied, as was Ridolfo with public and private affairs, found time to think of building and adorning a chapel, it would be useless to inquire. It is sufficient to have fixed a date after which, only, Giotto could have been commissioned to paint the walls of the Cappella de' Bardi. Ridolfo, like many other nobles, seems to have affected partiality for the mendicant order, as it afforded an outer show of humility, useful though unreal. His son Giovanni died a Franciscan at Nice;[2] and the chapel was exclusively adorned by Giotto with episodes of the life of S. Francis. In three courses upon two of the walls, he represented the Saint Surrendering his Worldly Substance, the Institution of the Order, the Ordeal of Fire before the Soldan, the Apparition to Anthony of Padua at Arles, the Transfer to S. Maria degli Angeli, the Bishop's Dream, and the Death of S. Francis.

In the first of these scenes, which covered the lunette to the left of the entrance into the chapel, Giotto closely followed, yet improved the subject as represented in the Upper Church of Assisi. The angry father, held back by the consuls and his friends, seems desirous of darting at his son, whose clothes he holds in his arm. But S. Francis

[1] 1327.

[2] Cesare Guasti, *Opuscoli*, p. 28.

is already under the protection of the bishop, who covers his nakedness with the episcopal mantle. In form, the saint is youthful and more agreeably depicted than at Assisi. The subject also, as given in the legend of S. Buonaventura, is at once better composed, yet more literally carried out, than before. Two principal groups occupy the sides of the picture, and the attitudes have the nature and harmony which might be expected from the progress made by the painter in his career. The children on the left are held back by a woman who strives to prevent them from throwing stones at the naked youth. Another mischievous varlet on the right has been caught by the hair as he threatens to stone S. Francis, and is restrained by a priest of the bishop's suite. The idea, only in embryo at Assisi, is thus fully developed here, in the very words of the legend.[1] In the opposite lunette S. Francis may be seen kneeling before the Pope, who, sitting enthroned with two bishops at his side, hands to him the approval of the rules of the order. The principal charm of this composition lies in its simplicity. It is much and irreparably damaged; but in some parts it still preserves some of its original character.

The Soldan may be seen, in the course below the first lunette, seated on a throne and energetically pointing out to his reluctant imams the example of S. Francis, who approaches a fire with the intention of passing through it, to the astonishment of the attendant monk whose attitude and look are those of doubt and hope. On the left, two attendants of the Soldan endeavour to encourage the infidel priests to imitate the firmness of S. Francis, whilst they retire with consternation in their faces. The energy of movement and expression in this much damaged fresco is remarkable.[2]

The Apparition of the Saint to Anthony in the church at Arles was given with less energy by Giotto in the Bardi Chapel than by the painter at Assisi, S. Francis, in the latter, being of imposing stature. The expression may have been better in the fresco at Florence, but this has been impaired by damage and restoring.[3]

As S. Francis was carried on his bed of sickness to S. Maria degli Angeli, he stopped at a hospital on the roadside, and ordering his attendants to turn his head in the direction of Assisi, he rose in his litter and said: "Blessed be thou amongst cities; may the blessing of God cling to thee, O holy place; for by thee shall many souls be saved!" and having said this he lay down and was carried on to S. Maria degli Angeli. On the evening of the 4th of October his death was revealed at the very hour to the Bishop of Assisi on Mount Gargano.

[1] "Lapidibus impetebant, et tamquam insano et dementi clamosis vocibus insultabant." BUONAVENTURA, cap. 2, pp. 4–18. This lunette at the Bardi has suffered from whitewash, but is that which has received the least subsequent restoration. The background is of a fine architecture.

[2] These figures are in great part repainted, amongst the rest the whole of the background, and the lower part of the figure of S. Francis.

[3] S. Francis, in both frescoes, appears in the centre of the church, Anthony standing in the attitude of a preacher at the left end of it; whilst the audience of friars is seated in a triple row along the picture.

Alinari.

THE RAISING OF DRUSIANA

Alinari.

S. JOHN EVANGELIST, ON PATMOS

GIOTTO.

S. Croce, Florence.

Alinari.

THE CONFIRMATION OF THE RULE OF S. FRANCIS

Alinari.

THE APPARITION OF S. FRANCIS AT ARLES

S. FRANCIS BEFORE THE SOLDAN

GIOTTO. S. Croce, Florence.

These two subjects Giotto represented in one fresco at the Bardi, as they had already been given in the great sanctuary, but in a form more truly in accord with the maxims of art, inasmuch as the Saint at the Bardi does not turn his back to the scene of the Vision. A friar raises the curtain of the bed as S. Francis sits up with his hands in prayer. Another, at the foot of the bed, reads a canticle, whilst the rest of the brethren stand around grieving. Close by, the saint appears at the foot of the couch, on which the bishop sleeps, and is seen by an attendant crouching at the head of it. A second attendant sleeps at the foot. Little of the original design remains unimpaired.[1] Where S. Francis, on his deathbed, lies outstretched and bewailed by the brethren, the incredulous Girolamo kneels at his breast, and puts his finger in the wound. Two monks kiss the dead saint's hands, two more his feet. Four behind the litter stoop, looking at the corpse with expressions of grief and regret. The clergy, with tapers and cross, stand at the foot, whilst the funeral service is read at the head. One monk, looking up, sees with wonder the ascent of the saint to heaven in a glory supported by angels. In the composition of this scene Giotto produced a masterpiece which served as a model, but too often feebly imitated by his successors. Good arrangement, variety of character and expression in the heads, unity and harmony in the whole, make this an exceptional work of its kind. As a composition, worthy of the fourteenth century, Ghirlandaio and Benedetto da Maiano both imitated, without being able to improve it. No painter ever produced its equal except Raphael, nor could a better be created except in so far as regards improvement in the mere rendering of form.[2]

The ceiling of the chapel, cut into four by diagonals, is adorned with the three virtues peculiar to S. Francis, and proclaimed by the brothers of his order.[3]

[1] After the fresco was whitewashed a monument was placed against the wall which cut away the whole of one, and the greater part of the other, figure of S. Francis, besides one half of the monks on the left side of the first subject. The remainder has suffered from retouching.

[2] A tomb had been placed against this fresco after it was whitewashed, which has damaged the three figures kneeling in front of the bed and part of the standing clergy at its head and foot. One may mark two spectators on the extreme left of the picture, one of whom, according to Vasari, is Arnolfo, the architect of S. Croce. S. Francis in the glory is new, but the angels are in part preserved. The rest has all been more or less retouched; and no judgment can be given as to the colour of this or any other of these works.

[3] Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, and S. Francis in glory, occupy each a space in the ceiling. Poverty, a lean but graceful figure, crowned with roses and briars, is dressed in a tattered garment, bound to the waist by a cord. In her left hand she carries a stick with which she seeks not to defend herself from a dog that barks at her. It is a figure which, being less damaged than many in the chapel, discloses the versatility of Giotto in rendering a subject already differently treated at Assisi. The figure is, like its companions, framed in a pentagon of curves. Chastity, a mantle covering her head, is seen from behind, in her tower, with two angels flying at her sides.

At the sides of the altar, and in the entrance vaulting of the chapel, saints are represented, of which a S. Chiara best preserves its original character.[1]

The church of Santa Croce was quite a museum of the works of Giotto; for, besides his frescoes in the private oratories of four or five great Florentine families, it contained a vast picture on panel with which the Baroncelli adorned their chapel. A sepulchral monument,[2] to the right of its entrance, contains an inscription to the effect that, in February 1327, the chapel was completed by Bivigliano Bartoli, Salvestro Manetti, Vanni, and Pietro de' Baroncelli in honour of God and of the Virgin Annunciate to whom it is dedicated. It is not to be assumed that Giotto's altarpiece of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Baroncelli Chapel was executed in 1327, for it may have been finished earlier;[3] but as to this no proof exists, the date which Vasari describes as accompanying the name of the painter having disappeared,[4] no doubt, when the five panels composing it were set in a new ornament by which part of the central one was shortened at the summit.[5] No traveller to Florence will have failed to visit Santa Croce or to study the Baroncelli altarpiece. It was long a standing piece for the critics of Giotto's style. It will therefore be needless minutely to describe the beauties of the principal group, the Saviour crowning the Virgin, or the varied qualities of the attendant saints and angels. It may be sufficient to note the calm kindliness, the tender solicitude in the action of the Saviour,[6] the deep humility in the attitude and

Obedience is symbolised by a friar with a yoke and his fingers to his lips. S. Francis with his arms up shows the Stigmata. These three figures, on blue ground, are all more or less retouched.

[1] At the altar sides the two SS. Louis, Elizabeth of Hungary, and Chiara. Of S. Louis of Toulouse, the hand with the book is new. The S. Louis King is quite new, S. Elizabeth almost completely so. The figures in the vaulting mostly renewed.

[2] In style not unlike the work of Andrea Pisano. In the Archivio Centrale di Stato at Florence is a vellum, originally in the Strozzi Collection (No. 1102), on which is a fine drawing of a monument, of which the gabled point is cusped in trefoil—on which trefoil are the Baroncelli arms. On the back of the vellum, in character of the time (*i.e.*, fourteenth century), is written: "Carta cioe esempro della forma e modo della cap^a che Tano e Gherardo Baroncelli fecero fare in S. Croce per loro e per li descendenti loro." This monument, now no longer in existence, was probably at the side facing the present tomb. This notice due to Gaetano Milanesi.

[3] [Or later.]

[4] Beneath the cornice on which the five panels rest are the words: "OPUS MAGISTRI JOCTI."

[5] This change probably made in the fifteenth century.

[6] His head is long and somewhat pointed, the costume a departure from the usual one, and for this criticised by the moderns.

expression of the slender Virgin,[1] and to point out that Giotto was equally able in the representation of a quiet religious scene and in the expression of dramatic power or playful incidents. Let the student mark also how admirably the idea of a heavenly choir is rendered; how intent the choristers on their canticles, their prayers, or their melody; how quiet, yet how full of purpose, how characteristic and expressive are the faces; how appropriate the grave intentness and tender sentiment of some angels; how correct the action and movements of others; how grave yet how ardent are the saints,[2] how admirably balanced the groups. Nor will he pass by without more than a cursory glance the five figures in the lower hexagons—the Ecce Homo, with a broad thorax and wasted arms, calmly grieving, but a type reminiscent of more distant times; the wild, austere, and emaciated Baptist, with his long unkempt locks, and arms reverently crossed on his naked breast; and S. Francis showing the Stigmata.[3] To perfect decorum and repose, Giotto added in this altarpiece his well-known quality of simplicity in drapery.[4] His art as a colourist is not fitly represented, successive varnishes having dulled the usual lightness and transparence of his work, and substituted a yellow opacity of tone.[5]

Many and important were the works which Giotto executed in addition to those already mentioned in the church of Santa Croce.[6] A Crucifixion, with the Virgin, S. John, and the Magdalen grasping the foot of the Cross, "above" the tomb of Carlo Marzuppini, was by him. The Annunciation "above" the tomb of Leonardo Aretino was also his work. Both have perished.[7] Not so the panels of the presses in the sacristy of the church, which

[1] With the veil passing round the chin.

[2] Fine contrasts are those of Peter and Moses on the left wing, Paul and Abraham on the right. Might not Michael Angelo have been inspired by, and did he not exaggerate the type of, Moses standing with the horns on his head?

[3] Two other saints are there—one holding a cross, much damaged, the other in episcopals wielding a crozier.

[4] [Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 531–2, with many other critics, denies that Giotto was himself the painter of this altarpiece. It seems rather to have been painted in his *bottega* under his direction.]

[5] In the Ecce Homo, though it is rubbed down, one may still discover the undertone laid on with bold strokes, a broad distribution of light and shade, and greyish shadows well fused into the half tones by stippling. Partial restoration and a darkening of the fine engraved outlines may be noticed.

[6] [Among these a S. Francis receiving the Stigmata has been uncovered on the arch outside the Bardi Chapel, and perhaps a Madonna in Glory on the arch outside the Tosinghi Chapel.]

[7] "Above" seems to indicate a position horizontal, not vertical.

have been preserved; not so the Root of Jesse, the Crucifixion, scenes from the life of S. Francis and S. Louis, and the Last Supper, all of which fill the end wall of the old refectory of Santa Croce. But all these panels and frescoes must be assigned to pupils or followers of Giotto, and may as such be treated of more fully later. It is indeed needless to swell the list of Giotto's works in Florence with apocryphal ones, when enough has been recorded to show his enormous activity.[1]

The Virgin, from the Frati Umiliati at Ognissanti, may now be seen in proximity to that of Cimabue, in the Academy of Arts,[2] and the comparison may serve to show how Giotto transformed the art of his time.

Sitting in majesty on a throne amidst saints and angels, with the Infant on her knee,[3] the Virgin must have appeared singularly venerable to the crowds that knelt at her shrine. The picture is of an imposing character, arranged with much order and symmetry as regards the groups, and harmonious in the juxtaposition of colours. In it the angels have a peculiar elegance of stature and movement, great feeling in the expression of the features, and simple flowing draperies. The Virgin and Child are still of a stature superior to that of the surrounding angels, the Saviour, of that conventional severity peculiar to an older time, not the kindly laughing babe of the Stefaneschi altarpiece at Rome, but still pleasing. In the Virgin, beauty was sacrificed to the claims of tradition; and the consecrated language of old Christian

[1] Besides the Crucifixes of S. Marco and Ognissanti which have been noticed, he painted, in the latter church, an entire chapel, and four pictures (VASARI, vol. i., p. 331), one of which still exists in the Academy of Arts at Florence; in the Carmine, it is said, the chapel of S. John the Baptist, of which fragments remain (VASARI, vol. i., p. 314); in the Palace of the "Parte," a fresco of "The Christian Faith," containing a portrait of Clement IV., which has perished (VASARI, vol. i., p. 314). In the convent of the nuns of Faenza, frescoes and altarpieces, which disappeared with the edifice that contained them; a votive picture for Paolo di Lotto Ardinghelli, representing that person, his wife, and S. Louis, in the church of S. Maria Maggiore (VASARI, vol. i., p. 330); a small picture for Baccio Gondi, a Florentine (VASARI, vol. i., p. 330); a small Crucifix for the Camaldolese convent of the Angeli at Florence (VASARI, vol. i., p. 331); an altarpiece for the nuns of S. Giorgio, frescoes in the Badia, and the great allegories in the Hall of the Palace of the Podestà of Florence (VASARI, vol. i., p. 334); a Virgin which Petrarch willed to a friend (VASARI, vol. i., p. 335); a Virgin for the Dominicans of Prato, painted before 1312 (see note *infra* as to the will of Ricuccio quondam Pucci, *note* to VASARI, vol. i., p. 329), by order of one Ricuccio: all of which have been lost.

[2] [No. 103.]

[3] Fourteen figures in all. Two angels in front, kneeling, present vases of flowers; two others, standing, a box of perfumes and a crown. The Infant as usual blessing.

art was carefully preserved. Here again no charms of colour seduce the eye of the beholder.[1]

The following may suffice for the so-called remnants of Giotto's frescoes at the Carmine.

Of the frescoes at the Carmine at Florence six episodes and five heads have been published in the work of Patch.[2] In considering such copies, it may be well to remember that the master was so usually assisted by his pupils that it is sometimes difficult to judge of pieces, which may after all be no more than parts executed under superintendence. At the Carmine, too, many followers of Giotto's manner, Agnolo Gaddi for instance, laboured; and it is impossible to say to which portion of the church the fragments belong, which have been reproduced in the above mentioned work. Two heads of S. John and S. Paul, now in the National Gallery, in London, are remnants from the Carmine which most recall the style of Giotto.[3] Three fragments in the Liverpool Gallery, representing a group of Holy Women, with an Infant, and the Daughter of Herodias receiving the Head of S. John the Baptist, have been so much damaged and are now so dark of outline, that, though Giottesque in style, it would be difficult to affirm that his hand produced them. In the Cappella Ammanati of the Campo Santo of Pisa, six other parts are likewise preserved. One representing a couple of angels, is the finest of the collection, but reveals less the types of Giotto than those of Taddeo or Agnolo Gaddi. The outlines are indeed very inferior to those of the great master, and the muscular development, the weighty character of the forms, a certain slovenly ease in the execution would tend to confirm the opinion that a later artist worked here; and this view may be further strengthened by noticing the research with which detail is made out to the detriment of the whole. Another piece representing one playing a harp, seems necessarily to have belonged to the Dance of the Daughter of Herodias; but the difference between this and the figure of the player in the Peruzzi Chapel is very marked. Other fragments of John the Baptist, S. Anna, and a youth, painted evidently with a coarse vehicle, reveal a far weaker hand than that of Giotto.

Had Giotto executed but a part of the works which have been noticed, it would still be evident that his residence in Florence was a long one. In the will of Ricuccio he is described as living in the parish of S. Maria Novella; and this is confirmed by a later

[1] Whilst the surface has been rubbed down, many outlines have been retouched and blackened, particularly in the angel to the left, bearing the crown, whose forehead is in part repainted. As usual, the ground is gold.

[2] *Selections from the Works of Masaccio Fra Bartolommeo and Giotto* (fol., Florence, 1770, 1772), Part iii., by Thomas Patch.

[3] [No. 276 *Nat. Gal. Catalogue*.]

document of which an extract is given by Baldinucci.[1] In the earliest years of the century he married Ciuta di Lapo di Pelo, and by her had no less than six children, some of whom were already growing up in 1306, when Dante visited the painter at Padua. The poet, indeed, was so struck with their peculiar ugliness, that he asked Giotto how it was that he, who could paint such beautiful figures, should be the father of such very plain children. "I paint by day," said Giotto, repeating a jest from the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius.[2] Not that Giotto had studied letters, for Dante did not believe that the jest was quoted, but that he should thus hit upon a conceit which disclosed a shrewd natural wit, created some surprise in the poet. But Giotto's readiness at repartee and his humour were quite as remarkable as his artistic talent; and Boccaccio's anecdote in the fifth Novella and sixth day of the *Decamerone*, illustrate it most amusingly.[3]

Pamphilus, in order to show how nature at times conceals most wonderful talents in men of the ugliest exterior, relates the following incident: "Messer Forese di Rabatta was of a short stature, and deformed. His face and nose were flat; but he was so perfectly versed in the study of law, that he was considered by many as a well of knowledge. Giotto was a man of such genius, that nothing was ever created that he did not reproduce with the stile, the pen, or the pencil, so as not merely to imitate, but to appear nature itself. . . . But though his art was great, he was neither in appearance nor in features handsomer than Messer Forese. Both of them had property in the Mugello, and Messer Forese having taken advantage of a holiday to pay his a visit and ride thither on a sorry horse, met Giotto, who had also gone on a tour of inspection and was returning to Florence, neither the horse nor the harness of the painter being in any way better than those of his neighbour. They joined company, and were both caught in a shower, which drove them for shelter into the house of a farmer. The rain, however, appeared disinclined to stop, and the travellers, being both anxious to return the same day to Florence, borrowed from the farmer two old cloaks and two hats worn down to the weft, and proceeded on their journey. In this guise they rode, drowned in wet and stained with splashes, until the weather began to clear, when Forese, after listening for some time to Giotto, who could always tell a good story, began to look at him from head to foot, and, not heeding his own disordered condition, burst into a fit of laughter, and said: "Do you think that a stranger who should meet you in your present state for the first time, would believe that you are the best

[1] *Notizie*, &c., di Filippo Baldinucci (8vo, Milan, 1811), vol. iv., p 170.
[2] Benvenuto da Imola, *com.* in Muratori, *Antiq. It.*, vol, i., p. 1185.
[3] *Novella* v., Giornata vi., vol. ii., of *Decamerone, ubi sup.*, p. 298.

THE DEATH OF S. FRANCIS

GIOTTO. S. Croce, Florence.

Brogi.

CRUCIFIX

? Giotto.

S. Felice, Florence.

painter in the world ?" Giotto without hesitation replied : "I think that he would believe it, if, looking at you, he should also conclude that you knew the a, b, c." An answer which caused Messer Forese to admit that he had been amply repaid in his own coin.

Giotto had inherited property from his father at Vespignano, and added to it by successive purchases. His son Francesco, who had been declared of age in 1318, and who took orders in 1319,[1] represented his father's interest when the latter was absent from Florence, and shared this responsibility at various times with Nicholas his brother. Bice, one of Giotto's daughters, was a lay nun of the Dominicans of S. Maria Novella, and married Piero di Maestro Franco in Mugello a year after Giotto's death. Catherine, her sister, was the wife of Ricco di Lapo, a painter at Florence; Lucia, another sister, was betrothed in 1335 to one Zaccherino di Coppino of Vespignano. A third son of Giotto was called Donato di Bondone.[2]

Giotto's profession kept him no doubt either confined to his shop in the parish of S. Maria Novella, or obliged him to journey wherever important commissions might lead him. His family evidently lived much on the property in the Mugello, which Giotto could only visit on holidays or Sundays. He was proud of his superiority in a profession in which he had no rival—at least in Florence, and though Boccaccio pretends that he was too humble ever to assume the title of master,[3] a story told by Sacchetti would prove that he considered himself far above the usual run of painters.

"A coarse artisan, he says, desiring perhaps to enter upon a new office,[4] appeared in Giotto's shop followed by one who carried a scutcheon. Accosting the painter : 'God keep you master,' he said, 'I wish you to paint my arms upon this shield.' Giotto, considering the man and his manner, curtly inquired, 'When will you have it ?'

[1] See the genealogy of Giotto in Baldinucci, *ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 167 and following.

[2] Baldinucci, *ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 167 and following. [There was another daughter Chiara, who married a certain Zuccherino di Coppino. *Cf.* Vasari (Edit. Sansoni), p. 412.]

[3] *Novella* v., *ubi sup.*, p. 299. Yet in the altarpieces of the Baroncelli Chapel and of the Brera his work is "opus magistri jocti." The inscription of the former is perhaps modern. In the picture of the Louvre, we have "opus jocti florentina."

[4] Sacchetti, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., *Nov.* lxiii., p. 203. "There is some bitterness," says Rumohr, "in this supposition of Sacchetti. He hated the frequency with which people of small estate were appointed to offices" (*Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 49).

and having learnt the time, added 'Let it be;' and the man left the shop. Now, thought Giotto, what does this mean? Is this man sent to chaff me? In my life no one ever came here to have shields painted. The simpleton talks of his arms as if he were of the royalty of France. I must certainly give him something new.' Giotto took the shield and painted upon it a helm, a gorget, a pair of armlets, a pair of gauntlets, two cuirasses, a couple of greaves and leg pieces, a sword, a knife, and a lance. 'What the deuce have you done with my shield?' cried the injured customer as he saw Giotto's work: 'I wouldn't give four farthings for it now.' 'What did you tell me to do?' said Giotto. 'Why, to paint my arms.' 'Pray, are any of them wanting? What are you?' continued Giotto. 'You hardly know yourself, yet you order your arms to be painted as if you were of the Bardi. What is your crest? who are your forefathers?' The injured customer brought an action against Giotto, which the painter traversed with a demand for two florins, and gained the cause easily. 'So,' says Sacchetti, not a little proud of his own birth and blood, 'those who know no measure, are measured. Every beggar nowadays must have arms, and ancestry, even he whose father died in an hospital.'"

That Giotto should have acted from the motives which urged Sacchetti is not to be presumed, but he was evidently prouder of his position as a painter than Boccaccio believed. His readiness and mother-wit are, however, clear from the quickness with which he practically punned on the word "arms." His humour and dry causticity, his lightness of spirit, are further illustrated in a second Novella of Sacchetti, which, containing some slight allusions to S. Joseph, seems to have frightened Vasari.[1]

Those who are acquainted with Florence know that on the first Sunday in every month men and women go to San Gallo, more perhaps for pleasure than from contrition. Giotto with his company, being on his way thither, one Sunday, and having stopped in the Via del Cocomero to tell some story, was so rudely caught by a pig running down the street, that he fell. He rose however very quietly, and, smiling, turned to the person nearest him, saying: "The brute is right. Have I not in my day earned thousands with the help of his bristles, and never given one of them even a cup of broth." They went on without further adventure to San Gallo, and returning by San Marco and the church of the Servi, where they looked, as usual, at the pictures, one of them, having examined particularly a fresco of the Virgin with S. Joseph on one side, cried out, "How is it that Joseph is always represented with such a melancholy face?" Upon which Giotto replied, "Is it not natural. . . ." All returned home declaring that Giotto was not only a great painter, but master of the Seven liberal arts.

[1] *Nov.* lxxv., vol. ii., p. 13.

The excessive lightness of the last jest has been considered by Rumohr as exhibiting in the painter some frivolity combined with a certain coolness of spirit widely different from that which might be expected from one who should enthusiastically and unreservedly acquiesce in the superstitions of his time. But who, in the first place, can vouch for the exact truth of the anecdote, or of the words which Sacchetti places in Giotto's mouth? Giotto, no doubt, was far from yielding implicit faith to the claims of friars to sanctity. He had had occasion to observe their weaknesses. The immorality of many amongst the clergy was probably quite as well known to him as to his contemporaries, and he could jest where jesting was permitted; but that he had a sense of the greatness of Christian truth is shown in his works; and no one who admits that a poet can only develop or express the highest aspirations of which the human mind is capable, when he is himself convinced of, and imbued with, the greatness of his theme, will fail to perceive that, without a profound conviction and a deep sense of the truth in his subject, Giotto could not have produced the noble works which afford to posterity the means of judging his genius and his talent.

CHAPTER XI

GIOTTO AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES AT NAPLES

Giotto had been commissioned at Florence, in 1328,[1] to paint in the Palazzo dei Signori the portrait of Charles of Calabria kneeling before the Virgin.[2] This prince, who was the son of Robert of Naples, had been elected ruler of Florence in 1326, and retired from his office at the close of 1327. He seems to have made his father acquainted with the fame of Giotto; and Robert, in 1330.[3] invited the artist to Naples to decorate some of the numerous edifices which then adorned that city.[4]

[1] Vasari relates as occurring in 1322, events which, had they been as he states, must have taken place in 1328. He says that Giotto visited Lucca to paint in S. Martin, for Castruccio, a Virgin and saints adored by a Pope and an Emperor (Vasari, vol. i., p. 324). The altarpiece, at all events, exists no longer, though Rosini, *Stor.*, vol. ii., p. 64, pretends to have seen it: "Many believed," adds the Aretine, "that the Pontiff and Emperor were Frederic of Bavaria and Nicholas IV." Louis, not Frederic of Bavaria, was crowned in Italy when Nicholas IV. ascended the papal throne, and the date of this is 1328, not 1322. But in 1328 Giotto was in Florence. [Charles of Calabria certainly left Florence at the end of his office. The portrait must therefore have been painted in 1326–7.]

[2] Vasari, vol. iii., p. 274. Vita di Michelozzo Michelozzi. The portrait has been lost.

[3] As the record is rare, here it is in full:—

"1330, January 20, Neapoli. Robertus rex Joctum (vulgo dic. Giotto), &c. Reg. Rob., 1329, A, p. 20.

"Robertus, &c. universis, &c. Quos morum probitas approbat et virtus discretiva commendat, familie nostre libenter consorcio aggregamus. Sane, attendentes quod Magister Joctus de Florentia pictor familiaris et fidelis noster, fulcitur providis actibus et exercitatur servitiis fractuosis, ipsum in familiarem nostrum recipimus, et de nostro hospicio retinemus, volentes, ut illis honoribus et privilegiis potiatur et gaudeat, quibus familiares alii potiuntur, recepto provide solito juramento. In cujus rei testimonium presentes exinde fieri et pendenti majestatis nostre sigillo, jussimus communiri. Datum Neapoli, anno Domini MCCCXXX° die XX° Januarii XIII. Ind. regn^m nost^m XXI°. *Vide* Schulz, *Denkmäler, ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 76.

[4] On his way to Naples, says Vasari in the life of Agostino and Agnolo, Giotto stopped to see the sculptures of the Duomo of Orvieto, and recommended to Piero Saccone of Pietramala the two Sienese sculptors as best fitted to execute his (Giotto's) design for the tomb of Guido d'Arezzo (Vasari, vol. ii., pp. 4, 5). Agnolo is known by records to have lived between 1312 and 1349. Of Agostino there are notices from 1310 to his death in 1350. Agnolo's real name is "Angelo Venture." Agostino went under the name of Agostino di maestro Giovanni. He may thus be the pupil of Giovanni Pisano. *Vide Doc. Sen.*, vol. i., pp. 203–206.

If Neapolitan historians can be credited, art was at a high standard in South Italy in the rise of the fourteenth century. Of Montano d'Arezzo they say nothing; but Dominici somewhat pompously dwells on the accomplishments of Pippo Tesauro, Tomaso degli Angeli, Simone Napoletano, Francesco di Simone, and others, of whom not only no positive records exist, but of whom no paintings can be found. Tomaso degli Angeli is supposed to have been a contemporary of Cimabue, and to have lived between 1230 and 1310.[1] To him the frescoes of the Minutolo chapel in the Duomo of Naples are assigned. They represent scenes from the legends of the apostles.[2] These paintings have, however, been so completely renewed in various periods, that they do not convey any idea of the century in which they were produced. They certainly do not at present appear to be of the thirteenth century. The same uncertainty pursues the beholder when he contemplates a Madonna in the church of S. Maria la Nuova at Naples. Of Philippo Tesauro, who is supposed to have lived in 1270, is a picture in the Museum at Naples representing the Virgin with the infant Saviour holding a basket of cherries, in the midst of saints,[3] and, in a lunette above the principal scene, the Martyrdom of S. Lawrence. Philippo Tesauro, if he were really the author of this picture, must have been an artist of the fourteenth and not of the thirteenth century. To these somewhat mythical painters may be added a more genuine mosaist, who executed in S. Restituta at Naples a Virgin, crowned with a diadem, between SS. Januarius and Restituta, and holding the infant Saviour in full front on her knee. An inscription at foot runs :

> ANNIS DATUR CLERUS JAM INSTAURATOR PARTHENOPENSIS
> MILLE TRICENTENIS UNDENIS BISQUE RETENSIS. HOC OPUS
> FECIT LELLUS. . . .

from which it appears that one Lellus restored the mosaic in 1322. Yet the Virgin's form has the thin and slender shape, the sweeping draperies of the earlier centuries, and is not without merit. Dominici assigns the mosaic to one Tesauro, who lived in the time of Constantine !

The most famous painter in the annals of Neapolitan art is,

[1] See Dominici's very unsatisfactory reasons for believing Tomaso superior to Cimabue.

[2] The Liberation of S. Peter from Prison and his Crucifixion, the Beheading of S. John, and the Stoning of Stephen. On the lower part of the walls are portraits of the Minutoli.

[3] SS. John, Andrew, Francis, Jerome, and Nicholas the Hermit.

however, Simone Napoletano, whose services must indeed have been great, if in the course of a life exceeding the ordinary span conceded to mortals, he executed pictures exhibiting in their variety the characteristics of distinct schools and periods. For of Simone there are in truth no records whatever; and the pictures assigned to him have no dates, and do not bear his name. It may be worth while to examine somewhat critically the works which are supposed to have been the produce of his hand. In the refectory of the convent of S. Chiara, a large fresco represents the Saviour in Glory between the Virgin and saints,[1] whilst, in front, King Robert and his family kneel in adoration. This is the product of a Giottesque of feeble powers, who seems at a later period to have been employed in painting, beneath the archivault of the tomb sacred to the remains of King Robert in the church of S. Chiara,[2] a fresco representing SS. Louis of France and Louis bishop in a choir of angels. To fix the date of these paintings one need but remember that King Robert died in 1343;[3] and it may be assumed that the artist who produced them was acquainted with the style of Giotto, which he rudely imitated, whilst he imparted to his figures a weighty and colossal character. Simone, were he the author, would be an artist of the first half of the fourteenth century. But in the chapel of S. Antonio Abate at S. Lorenzo Maggiore of Naples, he is said to have painted an altarpiece, on arabesque gold ground, of S. Anthony holding a book and a lily, and attended by four angels, whose heads are surrounded by halos in high relief. On the pediment of this picture, the year 1438 is inscribed, and nothing in the character of the figures is calculated to invalidate the reality of this date. A more important and interesting altarpiece assigned to Simone Napoletano, in the church of S. Lorenzo Maggiore, is that which represents S. Louis of Toulouse enthroned and placing a royal diadem on the head of his brother Robert. Five scenes from the life of the saint adorn the pediment, which is divided into arches, in the spandrils of which may be found the syllables of the following inscription: "SYMON DE SENIS ME PINXIT." This is not the only Sienese picture, however, which has

[1] SS. Louis, Chiara, Francis, and Anthony.

[2] A record in SCHULZ, *Denkmäler, ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 153, notes the existence of one Bartolommeo d'Aquila, who in 1328 receives twenty ounces of gold for paintings in a chapel of S. Chiara of Naples.

[3] The tomb which by Dominici is falsely assigned to Masuccio II. was ordered in 1343 by Giovanni I. of Baccio and Giovanni, brothers, of Florence. From original records in Archivio Generale of Naples, Let. F., fol. 8, Feb. 24, 1343, in CATALINI, *Le Chiese di Napoli*, vol. ii., p. 92.

been gratuitously attributed by the partiality of the Neapolitans to their favourite Simone.[1] A triptych in the Minutolo Chapel of the Naples Duomo, represents the Saviour Crucified, and S. Mary Magdalen grasping the foot of the Cross, which is supported by the Eternal. Right and left are the Virgin and S. John, and on the wings figures of saints.[2] On the closed shutters the arms of Cardinal Enrico Minutolo are painted; and it is known that, when he died in 1412, this ecclesiastic left the triptych as a legacy to the church. Here is a painting exhibiting some of the peculiarities of the Sienese painter Vanni.

Of another class, but still assigned to Simone Napoletano, is the panel on the tomb of Giovanna d'Aquina, Countess of Mileto and Serranova, in S. Domenico Maggiore at Naples. This lady, who died on the 6th of April 1345, was honoured with a beautiful marble sepulchre, in the niche above which the Virgin is represented nursing the infant Saviour. A most circumstantial account appears in the *Guida dei Scienziati* of 1845, of the triumphal reception given to this picture at Naples when it was carried to the church of S. Domenico, and a hope is apparently entertained that Simone Napoletano should be acknowledged as the Cimabue or the Duccio of Naples.[3] Yet on close inspection the altarpiece is obviously the work of an Umbrian painter of the school of Fabriano, and in the style of Francescuccio Ghissi. Of that school and its derivation from the Sienese something may be said hereafter. It may be sufficient for the present to note, that the tenderness and affection of grace peculiar to the Umbrian branch of Italian schools is here particularly marked. The church of S. Domenico Maggiore is remarkable for other paintings of the same manner, to which the name of Simone has been likewise attached. The Virgin della Rosa, to the right before entering the large Chapel del Crocifisso, is another of the well-known Umbrian Virgins, giving suck to the infant Saviour, with S. Dominic at her feet.[4] The chapel of S. Andrea is also filled with frescoes of the same kind,[5] all fairly preserved and remarkable for slenderness and feeble drawing of

[1] How can the judgment of Kugler have led him to affirm that the two altarpieces just mentioned are by Simone Napoletano? See *Handbook*, p. 190.

[2] SS. Januarius and John the Baptist, Peregrine and a female: gable—Saviour in Glory between two prophets in medallions.

[3] *Napoli e sue vicinanze. Guida offerta agli Scienziati nel Congresso del* 1845, vol. i., p. 296.

[4] But this figure, which is completely repainted, seems to have been added to the picture.

[5] Subjects—"Noli Me Tangere," S. Mary of Egypt in her cave, the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and S. John at the sides, and a Dominican friar.

figures. After carefully examining all these works, the student will be called upon to decide whether Simone Napoletano is a painter of the fourteenth century, of the declining Giottesque school, as at the refectory and church of S. Chiara, or a painter of the fifteenth century, as at S. Antonio Abate in S. Lorenzo Maggiore. He will have to judge whether Simone Napoletano and Simone Martini of Siena are one and the same person, or whether the former is not an Umbrian painter of the middle or close of the fourteenth century. With these facts before him, the reader will be further called upon to believe that Simone Napoletano had a son called Francesco di Simone, and a pupil called Colantonio del Fiore. It will be easy to prove hereafter that Neapolitan historians affirmed quite as much, and knew quite as little, of the two latter as they did of the former. When Giotto reached Naples, he may have found assistants, but no rivals; and it is evident that the South continued, in the fourteenth century, to depend upon Central Italy for its painters. It is characteristic of the condition to which the pursuit of art and letters has been reduced at Naples, that, although one undoubted work of Giotto exists up to the present time in the old convent church of S. Chiara, which, according to Vasari, he was specially commissioned by King Robert to paint,[1] yet that work has remained hitherto completely unknown; whilst, on the other hand, the frescoes of the Seven Sacraments at the Incoronata, which are not by him, have been considered as such by numerous writers, including Lanzi and Rumohr.[2] By some, the presence of Giotto at Naples has been doubted altogether, though Vasari, and before him Ghiberti, affirmed that he painted there.[3] These doubts have been finally set at rest by the discovery of authentic records, one of which has already been given, whilst another of a later date proves that in 1333 Giotto was involved in legal proceedings at Naples with one Giovanni of Puteoli.[4] If the visitor to Naples approaches the old convent of S. Chiara in the direction of the gate which opens towards the New Church del Gesù, he will find at No. 23 a furniture shop, under the name of

[1] Vasari, vol. i., p. 325.

[2] Lanzi, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 3; Rumohr, *Forschungen, ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 65.

[3] Ghiberti, *com.* in Vasari, vol. i., p. xviii.

[4] Doctor Matteo Camera of Amalfi, whose annals of Naples are one of the most useful works of our time in Italy, extracted the following from a pandect of notices excerpted from the Sicilian Archives, in the seventeenth century, before the originals were burnt. At p. 970, from p. 93, a tergo of the original archives under date 1332-33: "Joannes de Putheolo litigat cum notario Amico et Magistro Jotto pictore de Florentia."

Francesco Tittipaldi. This furniture shop is part of a vast hall appertaining of old to the convent.[1] At its extremity is a great fresco filling a square space circumscribed by a lozenge striped with the arms of Robert and Sanchia.

Here Giotto, in one of those beautiful compositions which are his grand claim to the admiration of the world, symbolised the almsgiving of the Franciscans of Naples by the miracle of the loaves and fishes. He represented the Saviour youthful and majestic in presence, pre-eminent in size, in the act of benediction on an elevated seat between two palms. At His feet, baskets of loaves have been brought by the apostles, who are grouped beneath Him on each side. One of these, on the left, carries a basket which is to be added to those already destined for the poor. Another carries a couple of fish on a plate. To the right, an apostle is in the act of throwing a loaf to the crowd ; and in front of Him, S. Peter, recognisable by his well-known type, distributes bread to a group of men, women, and children, kneeling in a circle in front of him. In the foreground at that side, S. Chiara kneels in prayer with a chaplet between her fingers. In the foreground to the left, S. Francis kneels in prayer with a bag containing bread slung over his shoulders. Amongst the apostles on the left, none more fully expresses youthful simpleness and piety than he who carries the fish ; none more fully represents the bloom and freshness of youth than the apostle in the rear, looking at one more aged than himself, in profile, with flowing hair and beard.[2] Nothing can be more happy than the repose in the group of poor, the satisfaction which beams in their faces, except perhaps the air of delight with which the apostles minister to their wants. There is no finer figure in the group than that of the female in profile taking the loaf from Peter's hand, and holding a child on her knees. The religious sentiment expressed in the face of the kneeling S. Francis is reflected in the noble profile of S. Chiara. It is a picture combining the idea of charity with the majesty of religion : a sublime mixture of the heavenly and lowly.

Rendered by Giotto with artistic perfection of distribution, the fresco is equally remarkable for bold breadth combined with great softness and fusion of modelling and warm luminous tones. This quality, however, can unfortunately be assigned to a part only of what remains, the fresco having suffered considerably.[3]

[1] [To-day one passes through a gate to the hall. The furniture shop is gone.]

[2] The heads of the group of apostles on the right are almost obliterated.

[3] The blues, being painted in tempera, have been altered by time. The verde tones in the dresses have become dark—especially in the figure of the apostle holding the fishes, and in the green mantle of the female taking the bread from S. Peter. When it is stated that this fresco, when first observed, was concealed by chairs and other articles of furniture hung upon nails to

To the figure of the Saviour Giotto imparted youth and majesty, to His head a noble yet simple outline, to the features perfect drawing and pleasingly regular form. A thin downy beard covers His chin and lips. The eyes, no longer of the conventional shape, are designed, in perfect obedience to the laws of nature, with a round iris and regular canthus. The type is the final transformation of the old ones into a new model, fitted for the imitation of future ages. Contrasted with other heads of the Saviour in Glory by Giotto, it shows what progress the painter himself had made between the rise and the close of his career. In the half figure with the double sword and keys of the altarpiece at S. Peter's, the bullet form of head inherited from the time of Giunta, had been brought to simpler proportions. The terrified gaze of the time of Pope Pascal, which was preserved more or less till the close of the thirteenth century and was noticeable even in the pictures of Cimabue, disappeared, and made room for a more natural yet equally earnest glance. The same improvement marked the Apocalyptic figure in the medallion of the allegorical ceiling, and that of the Redeemer above the door in the south transept of the Lower Church at Assisi. Giotto, in fact, returned in part to the earlier forms and outlines of the catacomb paintings of Rome in the fifth and sixth centuries, of the mosaists of the Baptistery and of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna. The Redeemer in benediction, on the Crucifix of Ognissanti, was a majestic youthful type, of a graceful outline, and essentially religious and Christian in expression. To the mere regularity and gravity of the oldest period Giotto added an appearance as of inspiration. Majestic repose, calm serenity, and elegant proportions marked the Saviour in Glory in the ciborium of S. Peter's and the similar representation in the Arena Chapel at Padua. The mild, peaceful, yet intellectual face of the Redeemer at S. Chiara of Naples seems, however, best to render the Christian idea, being of the fittest and grandest external outline; whilst, in the proportions and movement, every requirement is satisfied. A clear and open glance conveys the idea of soft beauty and majesty. A spacious forehead reveals powerful intellect. The hair, divided and falling in locks, adds charm to the oval form of the face. The neck is strong, the expression is that of benignant command.

the wall, it will be easier to conceive the ruin of some parts than to understand how any portion was preserved. The fresco adorned the lower part of a wall, the upper part is however gone, as is likewise every vestige of painting in other parts of the hall.

Of old, painters had made the Redeemer imposing but stern. The Judge was presented to the admiration of the faithful. Here He was to produce reverence by kindliness of glance. Yet this was a more manly ideal of the Saviour than that of Angelico; and the expression of resignation was not attempted as fully as it was at a later time. Giotto's was in fact an ideal presented in the simplest lines, and combined with gesture equally simple and easy. Nor was his progress less remarkable in another sense than it had been in finally establishing the type of the Redeemer. The form of the angel, already matured by him in the Upper Church of Assisi,[1] improved, even in the progress of the series devoted to the life of S. Francis,[2] finally acquired a noble lightness of form and a sweetness of features, of which the heavenly messengers, in the allegories of the Lower Church, were the best expression. Here again, Giotto transformed and re-created the type of the Christian angel, setting aside for ever that of old founded on imitation of the classic time, and infusing into form and features, elegance, proportion, and a spirit exhaling celestial kindliness and affection. It was reserved for Angelico to display the excess of mystic and religious sentiment which was not in Giotto.

The most careful search will not enable the student to discover any frescoes of Giotto in the present monastery of S. Chiara; and with the exception of the feeble production assigned, as before stated, to Simone Napoletano, there is not even a Giottesque picture there. Of the church appertaining to the monastery, the walls have long been whitewashed;[3] and as to the portable altar-piece there, the Madonna delle Grazie, assigned to Giotto, is a miserable example of art in the fourteenth century, such as it displayed itself in most Italian cities of that time.[4] That Giotto, however, painted frescoes in the Castel Nuovo and Castel dell' Uovo[5] is pretty certain, though these naturally perished with the edifices that contained them. That he also painted pictures on panel may be inferred from the remains of two figures of saints preserved by Count Gaetani at Naples. One of these is a bishop of the Franciscan Order, with the arms of Robert and Sanchia

[1] No. 9 of series of scenes from the life of S. Francis.

[2] No. 20, where the saint is carried to heaven.

[3] By Borrionuovo, the governor of the church in the first half of the last century. See *annot.* to VASARI, vol. i., p. 325, *note* 6.

[4] Lanzi mentions this picture as by Giotto. See *Hist. of Painting*, vol. ii., p. 3.

[5] GHIBERTI, *2nd com.* in VASARI, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. xviii.

embroidered on his dress, and holding a crozier; the other is a saint carrying a book. The nimbus, in both, is refreshed, the rest ruined by time; still the panels preserve enough original character to justify their attribution to Giotto.

In the chapel of the Incoronata, a painter whose education had evidently been influenced by the teaching or the maxims of Giotto painted the Seven Sacraments: of Baptism, Confirmation, Communion, Confession, Ordination, Marriage, and Extreme Unction, and subordinate scenes from the Old Testament. These frescoes were long assigned to Giotto, although, in the Sacrament of Marriage, the ceremony represented was that of the nuptials between Louis of Tarentum and Giovanna, Queen of Naples,[1] which occurred in 1347, eleven years after the death of Giotto. Nay more, the church of the Incoronata was only commenced after the coronation of Louis and Giovanna, which took place with much pomp in 1352 in the Palace of the Princes of Tarentum, outside the Porta Petruczuli and near the Castel Nuovo.[2] Petrarch, in a passage of the Itinerarium Syriacum, has been the sole and unwilling cause of subsequent errors as to these frescoes. He addresses his friend John de Mandello:[3]

"Here stands Naples, a city that has seldom had its like amongst those seated on coasts. Here is an artificial haven, and by it the royal palace, where, if you land, you will not fail to enter the chapel of the King, in which a painter, late my contemporary and the chief of our age, has left great monuments of his genius and his hand."

For a long time it was generally believed that the Incoronata was the chapel of the King here alluded to by Petrarch, and for this reason: On the site of the Incoronata was of old a chapel called the Cappella di Giustizia, which, according to several authors was built by King Robert.[4] It was incorporated afterwards with the Incoronata, and hence topographers assumed, somewhat hastily, that this chapel was that to which Petrarch alluded. The

[1] Historians who wish to preserve these works to Giotto say the nuptials are those of Andrew of Hungary with Giovanna. [For more than seventy years a controversy has raged round these pictures; it is not yet decided. One feels, however, the utmost confidence in the judgment of the authors, so seldom deceived after all. *Cf.* VENTURI, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 448, *note.*]

[2] See *Regist. Arch. R. Sic.*, an. 1302, 17, 32, 47, &c., in GIUSEPPE ANGELUZZI'S *Lettere sulla Chiesa dell' Incoronata* (8vo, Naples, 1846), pp. 6, 7, 8.

[3] TIRABOSCHI, *Storia della Letteratura*, tom. v., lib. i. (8vo, Naples, 1777), p. 101.

[4] ALOE, *Ventimiglia*, and GALLO'S *Annals*.

Cappella di Giustizia, however, was built, not by Robert, but by Charles II.,[1] and never was called Cappella del Re. On the other hand, the royal chapel is proved by documents to have been an appendage of the Castel Nuovo, founded by Charles I. in 1279[2] and still unfinished in 1309, when Charles II. died.[3] It was in this chapel that Montano d'Arezzo painted for King Robert previous to the arrival of Giotto. That the Castel Nuovo was close to the Palace on the Naples harbour is certain from the records in the Sicilian Archives.[4] That Giotto should have painted in the Castel Nuovo may thus be inferred from the words of Petrarch. That he painted in the Palace is affirmed by Ghiberti, who states that he adorned the great hall with portraits of the illustrious men of Naples. It is possible that he also worked in the Castel dell' Uovo, seeing that Montano d'Arezzo had already laboured there. It is not possible that he should have executed the frescoes of the Incoronata; for as works of art they but too evidently bear the impress of another hand.

These paintings cover the groined vaults of the choir of the chapel and are of irregular shape. The artist represented the rite of Baptism in the centre of an open octagon temple, where a naked infant is held by a nurse over a font and receives the holy water from a cup in the hands of a priest. Behind the latter an assistant holds the salt box, whilst the second godfather and the godmother looked on at the opposite side. A youth, on the steps of the baptistery, holds a lighted taper, whilst, in the foreground, three women look at the infant as two females deposit him in a basket. An angel flying down hovers over the scene with a torch in his left, giving a blessing with his right hand.[5] In the Confirmation, a princess, wearing a diadem, stands with an infant in her arms, which a bishop, in front of her, confirms. Behind are a female and a girl holding a child, whilst, in the foreground, another child is led up the steps of the church by a dame. An angel

[1] Giuseppe Angeluzzi, *ubi sup.*, pp. 6, 7, 8.

[2] Camera, *Annali di Napoli*, anno 1279, vol. i., p. 322.

[3] Giuseppe Angeluzzi, *ubi sup.*, pp. 10, 11.

[4] "Joanellus Pacca et Julianus de Angelo de Napoli magistri tarsienerii, Tarsienatus Neapolis inventarium faciunt bonorum omnium existentium in ipso; et dictus Tarsienatus situs est juxta hospitium ammiratæ plateæ portus civitatis Neapolis, et juxta molum parvum juxta regium Castrum Novum, juxta turrectam moli magni es ecclesiam Sti. Nicolai. *Ex Regist. Arch. R. Siclae*, Part 2, Anno 1382. Arc. F, moz. 6, No. 1*a*, in Angeluzzi, *ubi sup.*, pp. 13, 14.

[5] The group of women putting the child into a basket is almost obliterated. The figure leaning over is likewise almost gone, and the heads of the two remaining figures are repainted. The whole of the upper part of the baptistery and the figure of the angel are new, and the figure, most to the left in the building, is also modern, with the exception of the head.

hovers over the building.[1] A group of kneeling Christians preparing for the communion is ably placed inside an open temple by the artist. To the foremost of them a bishop, with a chalice in one hand, gives the sacred host, whilst the attendant clergy stand behind, and two figures remained in rear of the kneeling group, looking on. In the air, two angels wave censers.[2] The sacrament of Confession seems to take place in an open portico outside a church. A dame kneeling at the feet of a listening priest unburdens her conscience; and three penitents may be observed holding flails and retiring with their faces concealed in their hoods to perform penance. In the air, three devils fly away as if exorcised by the blessing of the priest.[3] A pope, in the Sacrament of Ordination, is seen under a dais, placing his hands in the palms of the candidate, whilst churchmen of various degrees stand around. In this fresco more than usual individuality and variety of attitude are conveyed.[4] The ceremony of Marriage is represented in a church hung with rich tapestry. A monk unites the hands of a princely pair beneath a dais, held by four attendant courtiers, and in presence of a crowd of churchmen and friends of both sexes. Two figures may be seen sounding long brazen trumpets; whilst in the foreground a troup of dancers moves to the sound of a viol and a pipe. In this group a certain beauty may be noted in the heads, with some grace of motion and costume;[5] and, in general, the distribution of the scene is better conceived than in the remaining frescoes. In the Sacrament of Extreme Unction the gaunt figure of a sick man may be observed, raised on a bed by a female, whilst the priest anoints the lips with the holy oil, and another ecclesiastic looks on, holding a taper. The wailing relatives stand or kneel around. Outside, angels chastise devils, and are not deficient in action; but the body of the dying man is stiff and motionless.[6] Modern criticism has assigned to each of these subjects its real meaning. In the first, Charles, the son of the Duke of Calabria, receives the rite of baptism. In the second, the three children of Giovanna, Charles Martel, Catherine, and Francesca, are confirmed; in the third, Giovanna takes the communion; in the fourth, she confesses; in the fifth, Louis of Anjou is consecrated bishop of Toulouse by Pope Boniface VIII.; in the sixth, Giovanna is married to Louis of Tarentum; and in the last, Philip of Tarentum

[1] Here again the figures of the princess and infant and part of the figure, with the child behind her, are all of this painting that has not been retouched, or renewed.

[2] This fresco is better preserved than the two others; but the profiles are low, and the drawing of the figures broken and angular.

[3] The lower part of this fresco is gone, and the figure of the first penitent restored.

[4] The greater part of the eight foreground figures is almost obliterated. An angel here also flies downward.

[5] The head of the Queen and two nearest attendants, the upper part of the officiating monk, are repainted anew.

[6] An eighth fresco now almost totally obliterated seems to have represented the Saviour in glory, in front of whom stands a figure of Religion holding a chalice, whilst, on each side, saints are grouped who holds flags.

receives the final consolations of religion. In the lunettes of the chapel, vestiges of scenes from the life of Joseph may still be seen: Joseph appears in prison; he resists the temptation of Potiphar's wife; and here the figure of Joseph, hiding his face with his hand, is not without character; and Jacob is told of the death of Joseph. In other parts of the chapel the Finding of Moses and the Burning Bush can be traced.[1]

Historical evidence having at last been satisfactorily adduced to prove that these frescoes could not have been executed by Giotto, they are now decried with as much persistence as they were before praised.[2] They are in truth but a development of the Giottesque manner by a painter of the middle of the fourteenth century who enjoyed but a flicker of the flame which lighted the path of Italian art in Giotto's time, and who sought to carry out the master's grand maxims without his genius or energy. The legacy of Giotto to his pupils and followers was so great that, divided as it was amongst a number of mediocre men, it still maintained a certain pre-eminence. Composition and distribution did not again materially decline. Giotto's pupils followed their master's example. They perpetuated certain compositions, and preserved certain typical forms; but the difference between him and them was great. He improved, they degraded, the bequests of an older art. In the ratio of their talent, they approached or receded from the models which he created. The test of their ability was no longer to be found in the distribution or arrangement of incidents which, being ever the same, required no new effort. The real touchstone was design and execution. The painter of the Incoronata frescoes, judged by this standard, was not a rude but to a certain extent a polished imitator of the Giottesque manner. Yet he must be placed in the second rank of the followers of the great Florentine. If a Neapolitan in name, he was a Tuscan in style. If Giotto made a long stay in the South, there is no reason why Neapolitans should not have adopted his manner with partial success. Giotto could not take with him in his travels all the pupils or apprentices who worked in his *bottega* at Florence. He might naturally trust to chance to find amongst local artists one more capable than the rest, to help him. At Rome, Pietro Cavallini was evidently a good acquisition.[3] At

[1] These vestiges of painting are altered in tone by mastic varnish.

[2] Kugler, in his *Handbook*, finds in them the portrait qualities of Giotto. Yet what a difference between these and the portraits of the chapel of the Podestà!

[3] [See *supra*, p. 89, note 3, and 90, end of note 1.]

Naples, if Cavallini were no longer there, Simone Napoletano might have been his assistant ;[1] but of all the painters of Naples, the most competent seems to have been one respecting whom historians have been hitherto silent, and this is Robertus di Oderisio. A Crucifixion executed by this artist may be seen to advantage in the church of S. Francesco d'Assisi at Eboli.[2] The figure of the Saviour is Giottesque, though it lacks the pure simplicity of form which characterised Giotto. Six angels in vehement action hover about the horizontal limb of the Cross, tearing their dresses or gathering the blood from the wounds. The Magdalen grasping the base, S. John and the Virgin in the arms of the Maries, and the usual crowd at each side, complete the picture. A monk kneels in prayer on the foreground, and on a scroll near him are the words :

HOC OPUS PINSIT ROBERTUS DE ODERISIO DE NEAPOLI.

Here, then, was a Neapolitan painter who had evidently been in the school of Giotto, possessing a certain dramatic power, a fair talent for expression, and as much knowledge of proportion and design as might fit him to hold a place amongst the good, if not amongst the best, pupils of the master. Robertus was, above all, a conscientious draughtsman. He carried out the clear system of colouring of Giotto and, in the production of drapery, was master of a broad and simple style. In the portrait of the kneeling monk and in some profiles, no mean power of imitating nature was exhibited. And in these qualities, as in others, he was not too distant from the painter of the Incoronata frescoes to exclude their being assigned to him. In the whole of the Neapolitan school, such as it is presented to us by Dominici, it would be vain to seek a single painter whose works would entitle him to claim a place by the side of Robertus. Amongst the artists of the fourteenth century who are supposed to have been the pupils of Simone, are Gennaro di Cola and Stefanone, Francesco di Simone, and Colantonio del Fiore. The first of these, who is said to have been a contemporary of the second, was born, according to present chronology, in 1320. A series of frescoes in San Giovanni in Carbonara of Naples, long considered to have been their joint production,

[1] Lanzi says he was, but on what authority ? See *History of Painting, ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 3.

[2] Signor Giuseppe Angeluzzi, whose diligent research has been thankfully made use of in these pages, was the first to call attention to this work of Roberto di Oderisio.

has recently been surrendered to its real author, Leonardo di Bisuccio of Milan.[1] The frescoes in the Chapel del Crocifisso at the Incoronata of Naples, would prove Gennaro di Cola to have been a very feeble painter of the close of the fourteenth century, untaught in the art of composition and unable to depict the nude : [2] and this is true in so far as a part of these paintings is concerned, one of them, a combat, being by a later and still poorer hand. No different conclusion will be forced on the beholder who sees the three panels which stand under the name of Gennaro in the Naples Museum. These formerly belonged to the church of the Incoronata ; are in the form usually called in Italy the " Conception," [3] between characteristic figures of S. Peter and S. Paul, and are coloured in warm tones with the precision and care of a miniaturist. A certain relation may indeed be traced between these pictures and the frescoes in the Chapel del Crocifisso. The painter is of the close of the fourteenth century, with local Neapolitan peculiarities and not particularly Giottesque.[4] Were Stefanone to be judged by a much damaged fresco of the Root of Jesse in the Chapel de' Preti Missionari of the cathedral at Naples, he would be, as stated by Dominici, a painter of the rise of the fourteenth century. If, on the other hand, one considers a Virgin and Child in the Piccolomini Chapel of the church of Monte Oliveto,[5] he will appear as a painter of the fifteenth century, influenced by the manner of the early Flemings ; and this may be inferred as much from the character of the landscape distances as from the disproportionate size of the heads, the vulgar features of the Virgin, the coarseness of the anatomy, the angularity of the draperies, and the darkness of the high surface shadows.[6] But the uncertainty which exists as to the works of Stefanone is proved to absurdity by the attribution

[1] These adorn the octagonal chapel of Ser Giovanni Carraciolo, and the tomb of that person, and are inscribed " LEONARDUS DE BISUCCIO DE MEDIOLANO, HANC CAPELLAM ET HOC SEPULCRUM PINXIT." The discovery of this inscription is due to Luigi Catalani. See his *Discorso, ubi sup.*, p. 8.

[2] Representing a combat, a procession, portraits of bishops and saints, and S. Martin dividing his cloak. These frescoes are, however, partly obliterated, partly renewed, and the rest much damaged by damp. The nude of the beggar to whom S. Martin gives his cloak, is bad and ill drawn.

[3] Namely, the Virgin on the lap of S. Anna ; the Saviour on the lap of the Virgin.

[4] One may note the tendency to represent hands with pointed fingers. The three panels are much damaged.

[5] Enthroned under a canopy between S. Jerome and another saint, and adored by a miniature donor.

[6] A picture in the Naples Museum assigned to Stefanone, and representing S. James reading in a glory of angels, is in the style of the picture of Monte Oliveto.

to him of a picture of the sixteenth century in S. Domenico Maggiore,[1] finished, according to the *Guida dei Scienziati*, by Franco d'Agnolo, a painter of the close of the fourteenth !

Francesco, according to tradition, the son and pupil of Simone Napoletano, has been considered the author of a Madonna in a recess of the tomb raised at S. Chiara in honour of Antonio di Penna, secretary to Ladislaus, King of Naples (1386–1414). Antonio and his brother Onofrio kneel at the Virgin's feet and adore the infant Saviour, who holds a flower ; but the lower part of the fresco is obliterated. The remains may truly have been executed by the son of one who lived in the fourteenth century, but the style in which they are painted is different from any displayed in the various frescoes assigned to Simone, and have nothing in common even with the works of Francesco's alleged contemporary and fellow-pupil, Colantonio del Fiore. Dominici declares that this painter was born in 1352, and that he died in 1444 ; but there is every reason to believe that he knew nothing of the artist whose life he wrote, and that the dates he gives are those of paintings arbitrarily attributed in spite of evidence. The sole assertion of the existence of Colantonio is made by the architect Summonzio, whose letter, written to a friend at Venice a century after the artist's alleged death, pretends that del Fiore abandoned the old method of tempera for the Flemish mixture of oils, which he learnt from René of Anjou.[2] It might almost be supposed that Summonzio, when speaking of Colantonio, intended to speak of Antonello of Messina, who certainly began to paint in oil about the close of René of Anjou's reign, the more as Colantonio is said to have been Antonello's master, and it is hard to conceive how one who had learnt to paint in oil under René should be the master of another who had already proved himself a perfect master four years after René's death.[3] The proofs which Dominici, Tutini, Celano, Eugenio Carraciolo, and all subsequent writers, including Kugler, set forth to establish the existence of Colantonio in 1375, is a triptych in the choir of the church of S. Antonio Abate at Naples, representing S. Anthony enthroned and in the act of benediction amongst angels and saints.[4] Tuscan in composition, style, drawing,

[1] Kugler's *Handbook*, p. 190.

[2] See Summonzio's letter to Marcantonio Michele at Venice, dated 1524, and published by Puccini in his *Memorie di Antonello da Messina*.

[3] See Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *Flemish Painters* (London, Murray, 8vo, 1857) and Antonello's portrait in the Berlin Gallery of the year 1445.

[4] SS. John Evangelist, Louis of Toulouse, Peter, and S. Francis.

colour, and draperies, this picture is by one whose name may have given rise to the legend of Colantonio's life. On the pediment may be read as follows :

A. MCCCLXXI NICHOLAUS TOMASI, DE FLOR̃E, PICT̃O.

That Niccola, or Cola Tomasi, is not synonymous with Niccola, or Col Antonio, is true, but del Fiore is evidently a corruption of de Flor̃e, which means neither more nor less than "de Florentia." Of Niccola Tomasi of Florence there may be occasion to speak. His name is in the list of the first artists who joined Jacopo da Casentino in founding the Guild of S. Luke at Florence. As a proof that Colantonio still lived and produced in 1436, the authors above quoted trust to the evidence of a picture in two parts, of which the upper represents S. Francis surrounded by a choir of angels and saints, the lower is devoted to the subject of S. Jerome extracting a thorn from a lion's paw. The first of these pictures, separated from its companion, hangs in the church of S. Lorenzo at Naples under the name of Zingaro, and is remarkable for a close resemblance to the manner of the Fleming Van der Weyden. The second, in the Naples Museum, is essentially in the Flemish style also. Both are utterly different from other pictures assigned to Colantonio. The date of 1436 is not now to be found in either of the panels under notice.[1] As to a damaged fresco of Giottesque character assigned to Colantonio, which still remains in the lunette above the portal of S. Angelo a Nilo at Naples,[2] it is not easy to speak with any certainty. The four works, however, assigned to Colantonio, represent him variously as a Tuscan or a feeble Giottesque of the close of the fourteenth, or a Fleming of the fifteenth century, and it may be fairly assumed that no such painter ever existed.

That Giotto exercised a certain influence in the kingdom of Naples is evident, but there, as in other parts of Italy, he bequeathed the art of which he was the sole master to inferior men, who followed the letter more than the spirit of their master. His intercourse with Robert of Naples, as Vasari describes it, illustrates anew the powers of retort and the readiness of Giotto, whilst it places the King in the light of a condescending and considerate patron. Robert often visited the painter to hear him tell stories, or see him

[1] Angelo Criscuolo, indeed, affirms that it never existed. See a quotation from his MSS. in LUIGI CATALANI'S *Discorso, ubi sup.*, p. 13.

[2] Virgin enthroned between kneeling figures of S. Michael and Cardinal Rainaldo.

work, and seemed so pleased with his company that on one occasion he went so far as to say he would make Giotto the greatest man in his kingdom. The painter's answer was no doubt clever, but cannot be understood in our day. Clearer to modern ears was his reply when Robert advised him to suspend his labour on account of the great heat. "I should certainly suspend it," said Giotto, "were I King Robert." Again the King having expressed a wish that he should paint a picture comprising a miniature view of the kingdom of Naples, Giotto, who could not obey such a demand as literally as John van Eyck when asked to paint the whole world, drew a saddled donkey pawing a new saddle at his feet. On both, the royal arms, the crown, and sceptre were emblazoned. The King could not understand the joke till Giotto explained that the kingdom and its subjects were here allegorically depicted, they being ever anxious to find new masters.[1]

On his return from the South, Giotto visited Gaeta, where he painted, in the Nunziata, scenes from the New Testament;[2] thence to Rimini, where he produced frescoes which, like those of Gaeta, have since perished.[3]

Finally at rest again at Florence, he was appointed by the Priori, on April 12, 1334, master of the works of the cathedral of S. Maria del Fiore, then called S. Reparata, and architect of the walls of Florence and the cities within the confines of the State.[4] Giotto was thus enabled, in the fulness of his career, to prove to the world that in architecture he could perform services as great as those which he had done to painting.

Founded by Arnolfo in 1298, and unfinished when he died in 1310, S. Maria del Fiore had as yet no bell-tower and no cupola. Its front had received but few and slight ornaments in accordance with the original design, preserved in the time of Baldinucci

[1] Vasari, vol. i., p. 327.

[2] These pictures perished during the modern alterations of the church. They were already seriously damaged in Vasari's time. Vasari, vol. i., p. 327.

[3] Vasari, vol. i., p. 327. S. Thomas Aquinas reading to his Brethren in S. Cataldo of Rimini, no longer exists. The painting was known to Riccobaldo Ferrarese (in Muratori, *vide infra*). Those in S. Francesco representing, as Vasari says, the miracles of the Beata Michelina, cannot have been by Giotto; for Michelina only died in 1356.

[4] See the original document in Baldinucci, *ubi sup.*, vol. iv., pp. 30, 31, and Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i., pp. 481, 482. Richa states that in the records of the Arte della Lana at Florence, Giotto is appointed, in 1332, to continue the works of the Florentine cathedral, and is forbidden in the meanwhile to leave the city. Richa, however, does not give a copy of the alleged record. See *Chiese*, vol. vi., pp. 23, 24.

amongst the curiosities of the Scarlatti family.[1] Giotto removed the ornaments of Arnolfo, and, with the assistance of Andrea Pisano, substituted for them others more suited to the grandeur and proportions of the edifice.[2] He placed four great statues of prophets in the lateral niches of the portal, above the latter, a tabernacle, supported on pillars, in which the Virgin and Child sat enthroned between S. Zanobi and S. Reparata, the patron Saints of Florence.[3] In similar tabernacles above the lateral portals were the Birth of Christ and the Death of the Virgin. Above and between the portals, the prophets, apostles, and confessors stood in niches in courses above each other. Pope Boniface VIII., Farinata degli Uberti, and many Florentines of note, found their apotheosis in this noble medley of sculpture and architecture.[4]

Whilst this grand work was proceeding, Giotto conceived the plan of the present bell-tower, which met with eager approval, as it seemed to satisfy a wish not less ambitious than daring, expressed in the following decree:—

"The Florentine republic, soaring even above the conception of the most competent judges, desires that an edifice shall be constructed so magnificent in its height and quality that it shall surpass anything of the kind produced in the time of their greatest power by the Greeks and Romans." [5]

The best judges in every age have agreed that Giotto "soared above the conception of the most competent architects" in the model which he created; and that in the ornaments of bas-relief

[1] It is represented in the great fresco of the Capellone dei Spagnuoli at S. M. Novella in Florence. A drawing of the front, from Arnolfo's design in possession of the Scarlatti, may be seen in Richa, *Chiese*, vol. vi., p. 51.

[2] See Baldinucci, vol. i., p. 310, and Vasari, vol. ii., p. 35.

[3] As in a sanctuary whose curtain is held back by two angels.

[4] According to Richa, *Chiese*, vol. vi., p. 51, the façade of S. Maria del Fiore, as it was left unfinished by Giotto, was accurately painted by Bernardo Poccetti in a lunette of the first cloister in the convent of S. Marco at Florence. A full description, taken from Rondinelli's excerpts from the Scarlatti records, may be also found in Richa, vol. vi., pp. 52, 53. Giotto's façade, enriched with sculptures by later artists, was taken down in 1588, as will be seen in the life of Ghirlandaio (*post*). A view of the façade left by Giotto may be examined in a fresco by this painter in the Sala dell' Orologio in the Palazzo della Signoria. It does not give details, but shows to what point the façade had been brought up.

[5] Richa, *Chiese Fiorentine*, vol. vi., p. 62, copies this record, which is dated 1334, from p. 56 of del Migliore's MS. The first stone of the Campanile was laid with great pomp on the 28th of July, in presence of the clergy and religious orders, the gonfaloniere, priori, magistrates, and Simone Salterelli, the fugitive Archbishop of Pisa.

and sculpture which Andrea Pisano executed upon his designs,[1] the most perfect combination of subjects, the most admirable form, were happily brought together. That Giotto was not himself a sculptor may, in spite of Ghiberti's commentary, be taken for granted ; [2] for the reliefs which the latter assigns to him are avowedly by Andrea. Nor would Giotto have been able to leave Florence even with the permission of the Government, as he did, to paint for Azzo Visconti at Milan, had he been obliged to labour in person at the edifice, of which he only furnished the plan and drawings, and superintended the execution.

Of his works at Milan nothing remains ; but the Brera Gallery contains a Virgin and Child from his hand, of old the centre of an altarpiece in S. Maria degli Angeli at Bologna, the wings of which are now in the Pinacoteca of the latter city.[3] A regular oval head, a smile in the long slit eyes, a movement more maternal than religious, are the salient features of the Virgin of the Brera. The Child, in its white and gold tunic, is intended to be playful, but its smile scarcely coincides with the stiff attitude of the body. The half lengths in the predellas are below the usual vigour of Giotto. On the border of the footstool in the Brera panel, the inscription "OP̃ MAGISTRI JOCTI DE FLORÃ" is painted. The central part, which is well preserved, is remarkable for the natural tone of the colour. The sides at Bologna have been altered by cleaners, who flayed off the glazes and weakened the outlines, so as to show in parts the original preparation.[4] It is a tradition in Bologna that the altarpiece was ordered of Giotto by Gero Pepoli, who, in 1330, erected the church of S. Maria degli Angeli, fuori di Porta Castiglione, and that, having taken eight months to paint the walls of the church itself, he had board and lodging in the convent of the Angeli.[5]

[1] "Che gli disegnò Giotto" (Vasari, vol. iii., p. 106). "Secondo il disegno di Giotto" (Ibid., vol. ii., p. 38).

[2] "Fu dignissimo . . . ancora nell' arte statuaria. Le prime Storie sono nell' edificio, il quale fu da lui edificato, del Campanile da S. Reparata, furono de sua mano scolpite e disegnate" (Ghiberti, *2nd com.* in Vasari, vol. i., p. xix.).

[3] Restored to its primitive form, this altarpiece, originally in S. Antonio Abate of Bologna, represents the Virgin, veiled even to the neck and chin, holding the Infant in her arms, whilst the Saviour grasps the border of her dress, and, smiling, plays with her. She sits enthroned in a niche between the archangels Michael and Gabriel, SS. Paul and Peter; and the medallions of a pediment are filled with the Ecce Homo, the Virgin and S. John Evangelist, S. John the Baptist, and the Magdalen. [The entire work is now in the Pinacoteca of Bologna.]

[4] This is especially visible in the feet, hands, and neck of the angel Gabriel.

[5] See Zanotti, *Guida anon. di Bologna* of 1792, p. 398, in Lamo's *Graticola di Bologna*, 1844, p. 2.

The *Graticola di Bologna*, published by Lamo,[1] states that four figures painted on the sides of the old Galliera Gate of Bologna were commissioned of Giotto by one Scannabecco. But the MS., which Lamo publishes with comments, is hardly entitled to credit if one considers that it assigns to Giotto the frescoes of Mezzarata, which are very inferior productions of later Giottesques.[2]

That Giotto painted a picture representing S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, and sent it to the convent of S. Francesco, at Pisa, is certain, as the picture still exists in the Louvre, and, though much damaged by restoration,[3] preserves the character of the master, as well as his signature: "OPUS JOCTI FLORENTINI."[4] That Giotto should have painted in the Campo Santo of Pisa is, however, impossible, as the frescoes assigned to him are obviously of the close of the century, and by one who had inherited some Giottesque peculiarities, but not the style of the master.

In the collection of the late Mr. Bromley was a picture representing the Entombment of the Virgin,[5] the traditional religious ceremony, in which the angels take a part with tapers and censer. The Virgin is lowered into the sepulchre by two angels and one of the apostles. The Saviour, in the centre, takes to His bosom the soul of the Virgin, a smiling infant stretching its arms towards Him. The composition, of numerous figures, has the style and the feeling of Giotto, with his mode of distribution. Much injury has been done, however, by the abrading of the painting, and the consequent absence of the original harmonies of the colours and final touches.

In the same collection a Coronation of the Virgin assigned to Giotto is without the qualities of the painter, and has but the general features of the school.

[1] LAMO, *ubi sup.*, p. 27. [2] LAMO, *Graticola, ubi sup.*, p. 16.

[3] [No. 1312, *Louvre Catalogue.*] All colour is gone.

[4] The attitudes of the saint and of the seraphim are exactly as those of the fresco in the Upper Church of Assisi, and similar to the remains of the same subject in S. Anthony of Padua. The character, type, and expression are the same in all; the movement likewise bold and natural. It would seem as if in this subject Giotto endeavoured to impress upon the saint a sense of pain, to support which requires energy of will combined with resignation. The three little scenes in the pediment, the Pope's Dream of S. Francis supporting the falling Church, the Granting of the Rules of the Order, and the Saint with the Birds, are in the typical form, and counterparts of the same subjects in the Upper Church of Assisi.

[5] Lately sold to Mr. Martin for 950 guineas—Vasari describes a picture representing this subject in Ognissanti at Florence, and says it was painted with much diligence, adding that it had been highly praised by Michael Angelo. The same subject treated by Angelico has been engraved in the *Etruria-Pittrice* as the work to which Vasari alludes. This picture, also in England, belongs to Mr. Fuller Maitland (1864).

Giotto, in the last days of his life, was so busy with great enterprises, that it would be hardly possible for him to pay much attention to the execution of small works. There are pictures, however, of those years which bear the impress of his spirit, and one example is now in the Treasury of the Duomo at Florence. A half figure of the Virgin looks out from a balcony pointing to one of two miniature figures kneeling at her sides, supported each by her patron saint.[1] The inscription at foot runs :

AÑO DÑI MCCCXXXIIII DIE XV FEBRUARI.

This well-preserved piece has the Giottesque stamp, particularly in the figure of S. Zenobio at the side. The Virgin recalls those of Taddeo Gaddi,[2] and shows us the passage from the works of Giotto to those of his pupils. Other pictures in various galleries and private collections are assigned to Giotto, but deserve no peculiar mention, being evidently false attributions.

Giotto died at Florence in 1336,[3] leaving the façade of the church of S. Maria del Fiore incomplete and the bell-tower unfinished. He was buried in the church of which he had been for two years the architect and master, and was honoured in later times by a monument upon which Benedetto da Maiano carved his portrait.[4]

[1] Left, S. Catherine; right, S. Zenobio; gable point, Christ in the act of benediction.

[2] See *postea*, the Berlin altarpiece, and a triptych of the same period at Florence, and the fresco of the Virgin and Child above the tomb at the entrance of the Baroncelli Chapel.

[3] January 8, according to Villani (G.), book xi., c. 12.

[4] At Ognissanti, says Vasari, Giotto painted an entire chapel and four altarpieces. One of these, hanging above a door leading to the choir, is mentioned in a record of 1417 published by Richa, *Chiese*, vol. iv., p. 259.

[Mr. Berenson gives the following pictures not spoken of in the text to Giotto. See the *Florentine Painters of the Renaissance* (Putnams, 1898), p. 114:—

Assisi, Chapel of S. Mary of Egypt. Frescoes, (?) early.

Brighton, Mr. Henry Willett. Presentation in the Temple. Early.

Munich.—No. 979. Small panel: Madonna; Washing of Feet; Last Judgment. Early.—980. Small panel: Crucifixion; Flagellation; Christ bearing Cross; S. Francis receiving Stigmata. Early.—981. Crucifixion in part.—983. Last Supper.]

CHAPTER XII

ANDREA PISANO AND THE SCULPTORS OF THE XIV. CENTURY

"THERE is no example of prosperity or perfection in the art of painting, unaccompanied by a relative display of excellence in that of sculpture; and an attentive student of the works produced in every age will be convinced that the two arts are sisters, born at the same time, and governed by the same spirit." With these words Vasari opens the life of Andrea commonly called Pisano. That the two arts were sisters in the thirteenth century is true; but that sculpture might justly claim the right of primogeniture is equally so. Hence the argument of Vasari is, in a certain measure, false. The converse of his proposition would not yield a true conclusion; for in the time of Niccola Pisano, sculpture found no sister of equal birth in painting. When Niccola bequeathed his art to Giovanni, it underwent, in the hands of the latter, a perceptible change. To a cold and inanimate imitation of the antique succeeded a return to the study of nature. Giovanni, however, in the attempt to revert to the first principles of plastic delineation, had too much to forget; and he wavered ever between reminiscences of the formal classic and a material or false copy of nature. What Giovanni failed to compass was happily attained by Andrea Pisano, under the influence of Giotto; for he owed to the great Florentine the design of the bronze gates in the Baptistery of Florence,[1] that of the reliefs on the Campanile, and no doubt also, that of the figures which so long adorned the front of S. Maria del Fiore.

Andrea was born at Pontedera [2] in the Pisan territory, and is

[1] "Una delle porte della quale aveva già fatto Giotto un disegno bellissimo." VASARI, vol. ii., p. 38. [That these reliefs were not designed by Giotto becomes more and more certain. Andrea finished the model in wax in 1330, they were founded about 1332 by the Venetian Leonardo di Avanzo, but not well, for Andrea cast them again himself. They were set up in 1336 opposite the Duomo, whence they were moved later to make room for those by Ghiberti.]

[2] See the document to that effect in BONAINI, *Memorie Ined., ubi sup.*, pp. 60–61, 127–8–9.

supposed to have served his apprenticeship to Giovanni Pisano as early as 1305.[1] His father was one Ugolino Nini; and he inscribed his works with his own, his father's, and his grandfather's name. Taking example from the works of his Pisan predecessors and from those of Giotto, he displayed precocious talents in certain works at S. Maria a Ponte in Florence; but, if Vasari truly assigns to him the plans of the castle of S. Barnabas, called the Scarperia, he must as early as 1306 [2] have acquired all the knowledge necessary for the profession of the architect and engineer. Yet the great works of Andrea date no further back than 1330, when he completed the bronze gates of the Baptistery of Florence, in which, to the perfection of composition and distribution due to Giotto, he added a clear and simple language free from all redundance, expressing the leading idea of his subject in the clearest form. He displayed a novel power in the reproduction of the nude, and the most perfect knowledge of proportion and harmony of parts allied to elegance of outline and beauty of modelling. His drapery, in itself simple, nobly clad his figures. These qualities are to be found in the eight reliefs of the Virtues, in which the emblematic character of each figure is impressed upon it with unmistakable force. The sense of hope had not been more ably rendered by Giotto himself than it was by Andrea in the sitting figure of a youthful and beautifully clad female, raising her head and arms with supreme longing to the crown which she awaits. Nerve and force could not have been better rendered than they were in the muscular arm and frame of Fortitude, clad in the spoils of the lion, and holding a mace and shield. In the upper subjects from the life of S. John the Baptist, the idea predominates over the form without detriment to the form itself. Strength, tenderness, every sentiment which gives life to action, may be seen appropriately displayed, without triviality or vulgarity. These gates are inscribed:

ANDREAS UGOLINI NINI DE PISIS ME FECIT AD. MCCCXXX

and they deserve in every sense the praise which they elicited, as well as the curiosity of the public; who, according to Simone della Tosa,[3] went in crowds to their inauguration in

[1] Ciampi and Morrona assume that "Andreuccius Pisanus, famulus Magistri Johannis," who appears in a document of the Pisan archives, is no other than Andrea di Pontedera.

[2] Gio. Villani, lib. vii., c. 86.

[3] In Morrona, vol. ii., p. 367.

presence of the ambassadors of Naples and the "Signoria" of Florence.[1]

The statues of Boniface VIII., of S. Peter and S. Paul, the prophets, the four doctors of the Church, S. Lawrence and S. Stephen, all forming part of the ornament to the front of S. Maria del Fiore, were removed in 1588. The remains of the first of these figures may be seen mutilated in the garden of the Riccardi family, at Valfonda, together with those of two of the Doctors of the Church, S. Peter, and S. Paul; whilst the two remaining Doctors lie in the garden walk leading to Poggio Imperiale, and remnants of other parts of the monumental front are to be seen in the amphitheatre of the Boboli.[2] But the bas-reliefs of the Campanile are in their places; and it is possible still to distinguish those which Andrea executed from the designs of Giotto. Of these the following is a list:

On the West side nearest the Duomo, a series of hexagons forms the lowest range of ornament, and contains—the Creation of Man; the Creation of Woman; the First Labours; Jabal, the father of those that dwell in tents and have cattle; Jubal, the father of all such as handle the harp and organ; Tubal Cain; Noah's discovery of wine. On the South side—Early Sabianism; House building; Woman constructs earthenware; Man trains the horse to the course; Woman weaves at the loom; Man makes laws; He migrates and explores. On the East side—Man invents ships and navigates them; He destroys the wild beasts; He ploughs; He invents the chariot. On the North side are the seven liberal arts and sciences. Pheidias represents sculpture; Apelles, painting. But here the work of Andrea, on the designs of Giotto, ceased; and Grammar, Poetry, Philosophy, Astrology, and Music, are later works assigned to Luca della Robbia. Above the gate of the tower is the Redeemer between Enoch and Elias, also by Andrea. In the next higher course of ornament, in starlike spaces, are—West, the seven cardinal Virtues; South, the seven works of mercy; East, the seven beatitudes; North, six of the seven sacraments, the seventh being replaced by a relief of the Madonna. Amongst the statues in the niches, above the second course, four prophets, on the South front, are by Andrea, the rest by later hands; and though some of these reveal the genius of Donatello, they suit the character of the

[1] The assistant of Andrea in casting the bronze was, according to Richa, *Chiese Fiorentine*, Maestro Leonardo del Q. Avanzo da Venezia. The aid of Lippo Dini and Piero di Jacopo, goldsmiths, was also secured to Andrea, probably for polishing and gilding the bronze. See also Gio. Villani, lib. x., c. 176.

[2] See engravings of the Boniface and apostles in Cicognara, plate xxxii. [*Cf.* Vasari (Ed. Sansoni), vol. i., p. 484. These works can hardly be by Andrea.]

edifice less than those which the great Florentine conceived, and the Pisan carried out.

Here, in all its vigour, and with a purely Italian character, statuary disclosed itself, free from the mannerisms or deficiencies of Niccola or Giovanni. It had assumed the types of Giotto, and clothed itself in a new garb, in which not a trace of the pagan remained; but in its stead a more Christian sentiment prevailed. It is not possible to find anything finer in the century than the noble figure of the Eternal, softly approaching the recumbent Adam, extending His hand and issuing the fiat, in obedience to which the man seems to live and to raise a part which has begun to receive animation. As a composition of two figures, assisted by the judicious placing of two or three trees, this is a masterpiece of artful simplicity. Again, in the Creation of Woman, the supreme repose of man, naked and bare on earth but dreaming of heaven, is admirably contrasted with the dawn of consciousness in Eve, who floats forward into life aided by the hand of the Eternal to inhale the vivifying breath, with an elegance of motion and of shape quite remarkable. In one, absolute rest; in the other, partial motion. Nothing indeed can be more poetic than the rendering of this subject; nothing more choice in form, in Ghiberti, Donatello, Michael Angelo, or even Raphael. It is a return to Greek art. It is living flesh, modelled in true and admirable proportions, draped in the simplest vestments. Take any other of these reliefs: see how man trains the horse, the elegance of the outlines, the truth of the action. Mark how the will is expressed in the rowers who symbolise navigation. The hand is that of Andrea Pisano. It is stamped with the genius of Giotto, and carries out his commands. One sees in these compositions, as in those of the bronze gates, his versatility, his fancy and vigour. Giotto had already painted the Virtues at Assisi and at Padua; he conceived them again for Andrea in a different form. Inexhaustible, he never repeats himself.

The finest nude of the fourteenth century is that of the Saviour in the Baptism of the bronze gates; the most pleasing composition in the same series is the Salutation. The former is a figure which, for perfection of modelling, breadth of drapery, and beauty of shape, rivals the Redeemer of the Baptistery of Ravenna. The art of Giotto, pre-eminent in painting and in architecture, thus appears equally so in sculpture, which, though carried out by the hands of another, is vivified by his spirit. It is the greatest monu-

ment of the rise of the fourteenth century, and gives final polish to the art of Pisa.

Andrea, according to Vasari, executed numerous commissions at Florence for the Duke of Athens,[1] about 1343. In 1345 he was invited by the canons of Orvieto to direct the labourers at the mosaics, and to complete the numerous works of sculpture which still remained unfinished there.[2] He laboured at Orvieto several years with his son Nino ; and, no doubt, many of the reliefs of the more modern time were by him. In 1351 he had finished and coloured the Virgin and Child above the central portal, of which something has been said in the notice of the Orvietan works ; and in 1359 he was one of those who received and welcomed Andrea Orcagna, his rival in sculpture, and one of the greatest masters of his time in painting.[3] It is not stated when he died, but Vasari's assertion that this occurred in 1345 is manifestly wrong.[4] Of the sculptures assigned to him, in addition to those already mentioned, some have disappeared and others are not the produce of his hand ; and, without alluding further to these, one may trace in a rapid sketch the progress of his sons, Nino and Tommaso, the first of whom, having assisted his father in the bronzes of the Baptistery,[5] and in the works at Orvieto, inherited the maxims of Giotto's art, whilst the latter sunk to the rank of a very inferior sculptor. It will thus appear that the Pisan school, having first extended its influence over Giotto, and afterwards received its last embellishment from him,[6] sunk into insignificance, and shared the decline of the city which gave it life.

Nino Pisano seems after his father's death to have left Orvieto

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 44. A provision of Oct. 6, 1342, refers to the works of the new palace erected by the Duke of Athens : Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 493. According to Vasari, Andrea gave the plans for the Porta a S. Friano which was rebuilt in 1332. We know from Gaye (*Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 491) that the gates of SS. Giorgio, Miniato, Niccolò, Camaldoli, and Ponte alla Carraia were renewed in 1340.

[2] Della Valle, *Storia del Duomo d'Orvieto*, p. 113, notices this fact, but assumes that the Andrea mentioned in the records is a painter and not the celebrated sculptor of that name. A renewed search in the records, however, reveals the name also of Nino, the son of Andrea di Pontedera. *Vide* Vasari, vol. iii., *note* to p. 11. [And Langton Douglas, *The Duomo of Orvieto*, in the *Architectural Review* for June 1903.]

[3] *Vide* Orcagna. Andrea Pisano is noted in Document 44 of Della Valle's *Duomo d'Orvieto*, p. 284, as present at the dinner given to Orcagna.

[4] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 44. Ghiberti is the only authority for assigning to Andrea works at S. Maria della Spina of Pisa. *Com., ubi sup.*, p. xxvii.

[5] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 39.

[6] "Essendo poi migliorato il disegno per Giotto, molti migliorarono ancora le figure de' marmi e delle pietre ; come fece Andrea Pisano e Nino." Vasari, *Proemio*, vol. iii., p. 10.

for Pisa.[1] In Florence he had executed, probably in his early time, for the Minerbetti Chapel, in S. Maria Novella, a Virgin and Child, left unfinished by Andrea, and above the door leading to the canonry of S. Maria del Fiore, a Madonna between two angels, with bronze wings.[2] Six or seven of his works remain in Pisa.

A half figure of the Virgin giving the breast to the infant Saviour, placed between the two doors of the western front of S. Maria della Spina, disclosed first in Nino a modification of Giottesque feeling and a tendency to naturalism. Nothing can be truer than the movements of mother and child. The former bends her head down with an expression of maternal affection, apparently struggling to suppress the sense of pain caused by the draught of the child at her breast. The eyes are partially closed; and mixed pleasure and pain are cleverly combined. The Infant scratches one foot with the toe of the other, and drinks evidently with supreme contentment. Here are the elegant forms, the fine draperies, without the essentially religious feeling of the Giottesque period. Another example of this peculiarity in Nino is the standing Virgin and Child between S. John and S. Peter, in three niches by the high altar of La Spina. The head of S. Peter holding the book and keys is a portrait of Andrea Pisano[3] somewhat disproportioned, and remarkable for the shortness of the arms. The Virgin is, or should be, in the act of presenting a rose to the Saviour,[4] who expresses in His face and action a desire to take hold of it. Here Nino again admirably expressed maternal affection, and the face, figure, and draperies, are so admirably carved, that the sculptor deserves the praise of having "deprived marble of its hardness and infused into it the life of flesh."[5] Yet the figure, with all its grace, is slender, and affects a bend similar to that which in Parri Spinelli's painting became a ludicrous exaggeration. Nature and grace, without the severity or nobleness of Andrea and Giotto, are the characteristics of Nino, who grafts a mixture of realism and affectation on the more solemn and grander forms of his teachers. Yet in this realism there was as yet no trace of vulgarity. As to polish and fine workmanship, Nino surpassed all his predecessors. One of the Virgins on the pinnacles of La Spina, as well as the angel and Virgin Annunciate at each side of a picture by Fra Bartolommeo in the church of S. Caterina of Pisa, is also by him or some of his pupils.[6] Animation and cheerfulness are in

[1] [*Cf.* Langton Douglas, *op. cit., supra.*]

[2] This Madonna Vasari assigns to Giovanni; see *antea*, and Vasari, vol. i., p. 274.

[3] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 43.

[4] The rose and part of the hand are broken off.

[5] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 44.

[6] These figures, which, according to Vasari (vol. ii., p. 44), were inscribed: "A di primo Febbraio 1370: queste figure fece Nino figluolo d'Andrea Pisano," can hardly have been executed at the time stated; since it is proved that Nino was dead in 1368. They were first in the church of S. Zenone

JABAL THE SHEPHERD

Andrea Pisano. Campanile, Florence.

THE CREATION OF MAN

? Lorenzo del Maitano. Orvieto Cathedral.

the face of the angel, but the length, slenderness, and affected bend of the frame are particularly characteristic of the sculptor. In the hair and vestments the old gilding and tinting may still be seen.[1] The Annunciation, carved in wood and rotting neglected in a store-room of the same church, is also very probably by Nino,[2] who, according to a funeral inscription quoted by Vasari, was an ivory worker, and is proved by documents to have been also a goldsmith.[3]

The only remaining monument produced by Nino, and one in which he preserved with most fidelity the Giottesque feeling is a tomb erected in honour of the Dominican, Simone Salterelli, to the left of the entrance in S. Caterina of Pisa.

On a base adorned with three bas-reliefs, a bier is placed within a tabernacle, supported on pillars, spanned by trefoil arches. Two angels raise a curtain at each side; and on the slab lies the body of Simone, who died Archbishop of Pisa in 1342.[4] Above this, between two pinnacle statues of S. Dominic and a monk, rises a tabernacle divided into three niches, beneath which a relief represents the archbishop carried to heaven; whilst in the niches the Virgin stands holding the Saviour, under the guard of two angels. In the lowest reliefs, which are carved with a certain breadth, three incidents of Simone's life are delineated.

The angels raising the curtain are not without grace, whilst the figure of the archbishop is noble, well proportioned, finely draped, and a good portrait. The angels at the Virgin's side are reminiscent of the Giottesque manner. They are clad in simple vestments, and combine severe simplicity with elegance. The extremities are better than they were usually in the paintings of Giotto's followers. S. Dominic, though damaged, is a fine, well-proportioned figure. The monument, however, is heavy, disproportioned, and out of harmony; and it is evident that Nino, who so carefully carved details, succumbed to a very common temptation, by sacrificing the whole to the parts, and marring general effect.

In 1364, Pisa found itself one morning, to its great surprise, deprived of republican institutions, and subject to a rich but very

of the Camaldolese of Pisa, and were afterwards purchased by the fraternity of the Battuti di S. Gregorio. This fraternity, having hired the oratory of S. Salvadore, dwindled down to one member in 1487, when its property passed to the Dominicans. See Bonaini, *Not. Ined.*, pp. 65–6.

[1] These figures were, of old, in front of the pilasters of the choir. Morrona, *ubi sup.*, vol. iii., p. 102.

[2] The figures are long, affected in movement, and coloured. The hands and arms are broken. [Now in the Museo Civico.]

[3] See the document in Bonaini, *Mem. Ined.*, pp. 126–7.

[4] Morrona, *ubi sup.*, vol. iii., p. 109.

vain merchant named Giovanni dell' Agnello de' Conti. Taking the Venetian title of a doge, he indulged in a state worthy of an emperor, rode with a golden sceptre in his hand,[1] and showed himself to the people at the windows of a house festooned with cloth of gold. Yet, mindful of the instability of human affairs, and desirous of securing to his family a final resting-place worthy of his high station, he commissioned Nino to erect a sumptuous tomb outside the front of the church of San Francesco. In spite of his wealth, he forgot to pay, and it was not till after his death, in 1368, that the debt was claimed by Nino's heir, Andrea, and paid to Tommaso, the tutor and uncle of the latter. The record in which the memory of this proceeding is given is of special interest, because it shows not only that Nino was free of the guild of Pisan goldsmiths, but that he died between 1364 and 1368.[2] Another record of 1358 shows that Nino worked in silver for the cathedral of Pisa, together with one Coscio *quondam* Gaddi, and Simon called Baschiera.[3] Giovanni dell' Agnello, however, employed not only Nino, but Tommaso, the second son of Andrea, likewise a goldsmith, an architect, and a sculptor. Having caused the palace of Pietro Gambacorta to be destroyed, the Doge commissioned Tommaso to furnish a plan for a new one, of which the foundations were laid before his fall, and further entrusted to him the making of the model of a ducal helmet, the design of a regal chair, to stand in the choir of the cathedral, and a tomb for the remains of the Doghessa Margherita.[4] This tomb was executed in due time by the artist, but perished afterwards in a fire. For none of these works was Tommaso paid; and it was not till popular rage put an end to the government and the life of Giovanni dell' Agnello, that the debt was cancelled. The remains of Tommaso's works do no honour to the family. A tabernacle erected by him in the church of San Francesco, and now in the Campo Santo, is inscribed:

TOMASO FIGLUOLO . . . STRO ANDREA F . . . . . ESTO LAVORO ET FU PISANO.

It represents the Virgin standing with the Infant between SS. Peter, Paul, and another saint in a niche, the curtain of which is drawn back by two angels. Seven reliefs, representing scenes

[1] F. Villani, xi., p. 101.

[2] [*Cf.* Supino, *Nino e Tommaso Pisano*, in *Arch. St. dell' Arte* (1895), fasc. v., p. 350 *et seq.*]

[3] See the record in Bonaini, *ubi sup.*, pp. 127–8-9, and pp. 126–7.

[4] Bonaini, *ubi sup.*, pp. 61, 127–9.

from the Passion, cover the base of the tabernacle. In these works the tendency to slenderness and affectation of bend is exaggerated beyond measure. A superabundance of drapery clothes figures remarkable for feeble movement and deformity of feet and hands. In one of the lateral chapels of the Campo Santo, two stone monuments disclose the manner of Nino and Tommaso. More of their works might be noticed; but they need not be alluded to further, the object of the foregoing sketch being only to trace the general course of Pisan sculpture, its rise under Andrea to a level with the progress of Giotto, and its subsequent fall. It might be necessary, were it the aim of these pages to write the history of sculpture, to notice the works of Giovanni di Balduccio, who is the author of various fine sculptures undertaken for and in the time of Azzo Visconti, the arch of S. Peter Martyr at S. Eustorgio, the gate of S. Maria in Brera in Milan, the pulpit in the church of S. Maria del Prato at S. Casciano, and the tomb of Guarnerio di Castruccio of Lucca at S. Francesco near Sarzana—all completed in the first half of the fourteenth century and inscribed with the sculptor's name. It might be well to mention the works of Alberto Arnoldi, who executed, above the altar of the church of the Misericordia at Florence, a Madonna assigned by Vasari to Andrea Pisano, and who laboured up to 1362 in the Duomo of Florence; Cellino di Nese of Siena, who planned and carried out the tomb of Cino d'Angibolgi in the chapel of S. Jacopo of Pistoia, and who worked in 1359 in the Campo Santo of Pisa; Tino di Camaino, author of the tomb of Henry VII. in the cathedral of Pisa; Agostino and Agnolo of Siena, sculptors of many fine monuments. To dwell upon the peculiar merits or defects of these men would be outside the aim and purpose of these pages.

CHAPTER XIII

TADDEO GADDI

It is the privilege of a commanding genius to absorb all inferior but congenial elements and mould them into a form conducive to its own development. As the satellites, gravitating round a planet's orbit, reflect more dimly the lustre of the parent star, so the artists of Italy reflected the genius of Giotto. He had concentrated round him the minor talents of his country, moulded them to his will, and used them for his purposes. But when he died, the light which he imparted to them disappeared; and art, without progress, languished for a time. For twenty-four years, Taddeo, the son of Gaddo Gaddi had been the constant helpmate of Giotto [1] and was bound to him by the bond of service, the friendship of Gaddo, and the ties of daily social intercourse. Giotto was his godfather. How often had Taddeo, following the instructions of his friend and teacher, laid in the drawing and colour of a fresco which awaited only the final touch of the master to become the work of Giotto? What was Taddeo's art but the dim reflex of the genius of the latter? When left to pursue alone his unaided fancy, what may have been his feelings? "Art has fallen very low since the death of Giotto," said Taddeo, when asked to name the greatest painter of Italy.[2] Impartial history confirms the words and admits their truth. Yet it was no hopeless struggle that now commenced. Those who had served the master and contributed to his greatness, could not but echo his instructions, copy his conceptions, literally interpret his meaning. But too intimately connected with his ways, they could not rise, or shake off the shackles which held them to the letter of his commands. But by their side arose others that were freer participators of the impulse which Giotto had given, fettered by no personal memories of the past, or above the vulgar class of mere imitators. It would be a more pleasing task at once to dilate upon the merits and services of the latter. Yet

[1] See Cennino Cennini's remark to that effect, most easily found in Vasari, vol. ii., p. 158.

[2] Sacchetti, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 221; *Nov.* cxxxvi.

the deficiencies of the former may have had some influence upon the progress of their age as showing what art had to avoid ; and the immediate pupils of Giotto claim naturally the first attention of the student. The melancholy but unquestionable truth respecting these is, that they reduced what in Giotto was art to the dimensions of a trade. Whilst they enjoyed the advantage of his compositions, which they copied—whilst they considered themselves freed from the necessity of exercising the gifts of fancy—they were but too obviously induced to devote exclusive attention to ease and rapidity of hand. With boldness, the result of practice and experience, but without the spirit of natural observation, they conventionally copied forms less with reference to their real appearance than to a false model which had become usual with them. But this system is pernicious in so far that, as the source of all art which is nature being distant or faintly remembered at first, becomes more so in the evolution of time, not progress but retrogression is certain—till false forms become so familiar that they are assumed to be exact representatives of the reality. This was the misfortune and the peculiarity of Taddeo Gaddi, whose artistic career seems to have commenced when Giotto left Florence to visit Naples. In that year, as has been previously noticed, the Baroncelli Chapel in S. Croce was completed,[1] and Taddeo, after painting, as the style alone warrants the critic in asserting, the Virgin and Child between four prophets, on the funeral monument at the entrance,[2] executed on the walls of the chapel itself the following scenes from the Proto-evangelion and New Testament.

On the lunette of the side, to the left of the entrance, he represented the Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple, and in four compartments below the lunette,[3] the Meeting of Anna and Joachim, the Birth, the Betrothal, and Marriage of the Virgin. On the wall facing the entrance, at the sides and above a window which lights the chapel, he placed the Annunciation, the Salutation, the Angel appearing to the Shepherds, and their Adoration, the Magi journeying to Bethlehem, and their Adoration.

The first of these scenes, which Giotto had already carried out

[1] [Giotto was invited to Naples in 1330, the building of the Baroncelli Chapel was finished in the year 1388. Taddeo may have begun before the chapel was complete, but it cannot have been very much before.]

[2] Under a pointed arch, in the apex of which the arms of the Baroncelli are counterparts of those on Giotto's altarpiece inside.

[3] The compartments are divided by painted winding columns and cornices of feigned architecture.

at the Arena of Padua, was distributed in truly Giottesque perfection by Taddeo, and illustrated by a very animated, often vehement, action.

With anger in their faces the priests pursue Joachim, who, precipitately retiring, seems pushed out by the shoulder by the chief of them. The more fortunate Jews, who have not incurred the anger of the priests, kneel or stand to the right and left, holding the lamb offerings, and with surprise depicted in their faces. Clad in broad draperies, in noble bearing and of well-proportioned frame, Joachim retires from the scene of his discomfiture. Outside, he may be seen comforted by the angel.[1]

Equally fine as a composition is the meeting, at the gates of the town, of Joachim, followed by a servant, carrying his rejected offering, and Anna, with a suite of three graceful females.

The Birth of the Virgin is not essentially different from the typical one of Giotto and his predecessors.[2] The Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple, of which a beautiful small design on grey paper exists in the gallery of drawings at the Louvre, is a crowded composition, to present which would have required in the artist a knowledge of perspective not to be demanded of one living in the fourteenth century. The Virgin may be seen ascending the steps of the temple accompanied by Joachim, Anna, and an Infant, to meet the high priest standing at the head of the flight, accompanied by his suite, and surrounded by spectators.[3] On each side of the foreground groups kneel; and, prominent on the right, behind two beautifully drawn females, a man with a long beard in profile holding his dress, and looking with eagerness at the Virgin, discloses the features of Gaddo Gaddi, the painter's father, such as Vasari engraved them in the life of that painter, and near him another, also bearded, in a cap, and of fierce aspect for so timid a man, revealing the face of Andrea Tafi.[4]

Utter want of repose and order characterises the composition of the Sposalizio; the bridal pair and their parents being surrounded by a crowd, some of whom, to the left behind Joseph, have a look of con-

[1] A fine natural figure in a glory, the rays of which are all repainted. Joachim sits on a rock. His green dress in great part retouched in yellow. In a distant landscape, three shepherds.

[2] The figure of Anna, on the bed, has been obliterated, and a new intonaco introduced but not filled up. The composition thus loses all balance. The nurses have washed the babe, with whom one of them plays.

[3] The whole of the figure of the Virgin, part of that of Joachim and S. Anna, and the steps are repainted on a new intonaco. A kneeling figure of a man to the left is repainted as to the dress. The figures in the middle distance are short and ill proportioned.

[4] Modern critics, in error, would have us take these portraits in the next compartment of the Sposalizio.

tempt,[1] and others, such as the youth breaking the bough, are ugly in form, features, and expression.[2] To the left front of these, two musicians express very fairly in features that are not without nature or beauty, the act of blowing the pipe. Confused as the scene undoubtedly is, a certain individuality and some character in a few heads somewhat retrieve its principal defect. The profile of the bridegroom is fine—that of the high priest, uniting the pair, equally so. A group of females to the right is elegant, especially so the female with the diadem next but one to the Virgin.

Who will not admit that, compared with Giotto, Taddeo was conventional, in expression, movement, and execution? His ideas of proportion were, indeed, different from those of his master; and his partiality for long, slender shapes discloses almost at once who it was that assisted Giotto in the southern transept of the Lower Church at Assisi. But he was not even true to a fixed standard in this, though better perhaps than other pupils of Giotto. Fancy he did not possess; and he seldom desired to express action without falling into an exaggeration of vehemence. The affected air of the heads was increased by constant neglect in defining the forms of eyes, which he usually gave with long lids, hardly open, and unfinished at the corners. He drew with that sort of facility which the Italians call *bravura*, making the heads long, narrow, and without projection at the back. A peculiar obliquity was given to the face by the false line of the cheek and chin, which, instead of contrasting with that of the nose, generally followed it in an aquiline course. The neck always seemed inordinately long, the short, coarse hands and feet neglected in drawing, the nude stiff and hard, the draperies broad but arranged. Without the sobriety of Giotto, he painted the vestments in gay contrasts and of changing hues. His colour was laid in with an ease and consistency of texture that betrayed facility and haste; and he seldom took the trouble to fuse his tones. His shadows were dark,[3] their mass patchy. The idea of relief by light and shade was imperfect, and the surface generally flat. Taddeo's execution was, in fact, rapid, decorative, and conventional. Yet to a distant observer, his style was effective, and sometimes imposing. Lower

[1] Near these, according to the commentators of VASARI (vol. i., p. 207), the portraits of Gaddo and Tafi.

[2] The blue dress of this figure repainted. In the centre of the foreground another figure breaks a stick under its foot. To the right, a group of females seems to have accompanied the Virgin.

[3] Dark verde, and the lights stippled in a somewhat purple tone, the outlines of a wine-red.

than Giotto in the scale of art, he was essentially inferior to him in rendering character and expression, lacking at once his softness and gravity, his elegance and severe simplicity.

That the religious feeling peculiar to Giotto could not be maintained by Taddeo is evident in the Annunciation, where the Virgin sits and quietly awaits the angel who flies down from heaven. In the Salutation, he changes the typical form of the composition and makes Elisabeth kneel before Mary. In the Apparition to the Shepherds he painted a graceful angel; to the shepherds he gave vulgar features but true and energetic action. In the Adoration, S. Joseph sits to the left with his knee between his hands. In the Progress of the Magi, it is no longer a star but the figure of the infant Saviour in the sky that guides them.[1] One who looks up under the hand, which he raises to protect his eyes, discloses a very common type in Taddeo Gaddi, a long nose and chin, and a forehead and head that preclude the idea of brains. In the pilasters at the sides of these scenes, S. Joseph with the blooming rod is a figure of some beauty, whilst David below, trampling on Goliath, is fine and natural. Here, however, greyish lights are painted over red semitones and red shadows; and the system of changing hues is carried even into flesh tints. In the diagonals of the double ceiling Taddeo placed the eight Virtues, Faith, Hope, Charity, Prudence, Justice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Humility, all painted in dead colour, but without the fancy of Giotto. But one example need be cited to show how little the pupil had inherited of this quality. Giotto, at the Arena of Padua, represented Temperance with a bit in her mouth, holding a sword bound to its scabbard; Taddeo merely represented a female holding a sickle. Nor were the figures less defective as regards movement and design than they were in respect of invention and fancy, when compared with those of Giotto at Padua.

It has never been doubted that these frescoes, which Vasari assigns to Taddeo, were really executed by him. But, if tried by a sure test—that is, by comparison with works of the artist which bear his name and a date—it will be seen that Vasari's biography is, in this instance, correct. One of these works is an altarpiece, now exhibited in the Museum of Berlin, and inscribed on the central panel[2] with the words:

ANNO DÑI MCCCXXXIIII MENSIS SEPTEMBRIS TADEUS ME FECIT.

[1] All the figures here are repainted except the head noticed in the text. The Adoration of the Magi is likewise repainted.

[2] No. 1079, *Berlin Catalogue*.

Brogi.

THE MEETING OF JOACHIM AND ANNA

TADDEO GADDI.

Brogi

THE PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN

S. Croce, Florence.

ADORATION OF THE MAGI

THE CRUCIFIXION

TADDEO GADDI.

Brogi.

"NOLI ME TANGERE"

Academy, Florence.

Here the infant Saviour, with broad head and cheeks sitting on the Virgin's knee, faintly attempts a smile as He caresses her face. The slender narrow-faced Virgin, in a simple attitude, trying to smile, shows a strange exaggeration of tenderness in the long half-closed eyes.[1] Some nature is observable in the portraits of the patron and his wife, kneeling at the foot of the throne; stern gravity and a finished execution in the saints on the border of the antique frame at each side.[2]

Here, then, is a genuine work which may be compared with those of Giotto. Taddeo succeeds in imparting an affected sense of maternal tenderness and nothing more. Religious feeling he clearly does not possess. A certain seriousness and steadiness of gravity may be noted in the figures of apostles; the drawing is precise and more than usually careful, especially in the extremities. The colour is luminous and so rich in vehicle as to appear moistened with oil, yet a little flat in general tone; the draperies are in gay and changing hues. In the right hand wing, the Birth of the Saviour is, with some slight change, but a repetition of the same subject by Giotto in the Lower Church of Assisi.[3] Above this scene is one from the life of S. Nicolas of Bari, dramatic and truly Giottesque in character;[4] whilst in the left hand wing,[5] beneath two prophets in the angles, is the Crucified Saviour, no longer the fine simple figure of Giotto, but a long slender nude, as yet not colossal, as Gaddi afterwards conceived it. The Magdalen grasps the foot of the Cross; and the Virgin and S. John Evangelist stand at each side. Above this also, a scene from the life of S. Nicolas of Bari is depicted, in which,[6] as in its counterpart on the other side, individuality and animation are conspicuous. None, indeed, but a pupil of Giotto could have followed with such certainty his laws of composition. The saints on the altarpiece,[7] when closed, are inferior to the inner

[1] As usual, the line of the cheek follows that of the nose and mouth.

[2] SS. John Baptist, Francis, and twelve apostles.

[3] The group of women washing the Child is absent. In the distance the Adoration of the Shepherds.

[4] Where Taddeo represents the saint returning the child to its parents, and the affection of the latter is well shown by the action. A natural incident, too, is that of the dog recognising in the child an old friend. In the upper angles two prophets. The *Berlin Catalogue* calls this a scene from the life of S. Catherine.

[5] No. 1080, *Berlin Catalogue*.

[6] The saint presents the child with the cup to its surprised parents, who sit at a table.

[7] SS. Margaret, Catherine, and Christopher carrying the Saviour. Christ between the Virgin and Evangelist. These form No. 1081 of the *Berlin Catalogue*. The three panels, forming originally an altarpiece, were in the Gallery of Mr. Solly.

subjects; and, in the rudeness of their execution, recall more than the rest the rougher manner of the frescoes in the Baroncelli Chapel. But doubtless much of this bad effect is caused by rubbing down.[1] Another, and, if possible, still more important example than the foregoing is an altarpiece in the sacristy of S. Pietro a Megognano near Poggibonsi, inscribed: [2]

TADDEUS GADDI D FLORETIA ME PIXIT. M.CCCLV. QUESTA TAVOLA FECE FARE GIOVANNI DI SS. SEGNIA P REMEDIO DL ANIMA SUO ED SUOI PASSATI.[3]

This picture, which is a Virgin and Child enthroned amongst angels, confirms all that has been said as to the characteristics of the painter's manner, and shows what Giottesque art was twenty years after the death of Giotto.

Guided by the certainty which results from the contemplation of pictures actually signed by Taddeo Gaddi, the spectator may turn with some confidence to the small panels in the Gallery of Berlin which represent the Miracle of the Fallen Child of the Spini Family,[4] and the Descent of the Holy Spirit; [5] both of them forming part of a series, of old adorning the presses of the sacristy in S. Croce at Florence. They were obtained from thence by Baron von Rumohr, and assigned by him, on the authority of Vasari, to Giotto.[6] Taking the first of these panels in connection with the rest of the series, eleven in number, which are now in the Academy

[1] In the Bigallo at Florence, in the room of the "Commissario," is a small triptych which, with slight exception, corresponds exactly with the picture at Berlin (some saints here and there being different). The subjects, the composition, are similar. The painting, too, has the same character and beauty as that of Berlin and is by the same hand. The painter's name is absent, but on the border of the central pinnacle are the words: "ANNO DOMINI MCCCXXXIII." This is a very pretty and well-preserved piece, showing how the painters of this period repeated themselves.

Another very pretty picture in the same character was preserved till quite lately in the convent of the Angeli at Florence. It represented the Crucifixion and saints—a triptych with gables.

[2] [Now in the Gallery of Siena, No. 107. It clearly shows its derivation from Giotto's altarpiece in the Florence Academy.]

[3] The signature and date on the step of the throne—the rest on the lower edge of the picture. The arms of the donor are above the signature—three roses and bar on field azure, probably arms of the Segni.

The Virgin enthroned holds the Infant on her lap. He has a bird in His right. With the left hand He grasps one of the Virgin's fingers. Left and right, an angel erect holding an offering of unguent and of a crown. Lower, at sides, kneel the four angels, two offering flowers, two with the incense and censer. Gold ground. Well preserved, with exception of abrasion on the left lower corner, the picture is a simple arched rectangle.

[4] No. 1074, *Berlin Catalogue*. [5] Ibid., No. 1073.

[6] VASARI, vol. i., pp. 313, 314; and RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., pp. 63–4.

of Arts at Florence,[1] it is evident that the compositions are Giotto's, and executed according to his maxims; that the attitudes, the action, are likewise his; that the subjects are in fact, more or less, repetitions of the frescoes of the Upper Church of Assisi; but that the execution is sketchy, conventional, and decorative; that the feeling of the great master is absent, whilst the heads, features, and extremities are of the false and ever-recurring forms peculiar to Taddeo in the Madonnas of 1334 and 1355, and the frescoes of the Baroncelli Chapel. Nor are the further peculiarities of Taddeo, namely, gaiety of colour, depth of impasto and dash in the handling, less marked than in the certain examples of his hand. The panel at Berlin is undoubtedly the best preserved of the series; and precisely there the style of Giotto's pupil is most positively developed.

The composition of the Descent of the Holy Spirit [2] at Berlin belongs to the second series preserved in the Academy of Arts at Florence, and is, like its companion representing the miracle of the fallen child, in good preservation; but, of the thirteen panels, the finest is the Transfiguration, which has the magnificence of the compositions of Giotto carried out by Andrea Pisano in the bronze gates of the Baptistery of Florence. The Saviour is represented ascending from Mount Tabor with Enoch and Elias at his sides, whilst three apostles are prostrate on the ground in terror at the extraordinary light that shines in the heavens. Yet splendid as the composition undoubtedly is, the execution has the defects of Taddeo Gaddi.[3]

S. Croce could boast in the fourteenth century of more frescoes

[1] No. 4. S. Francis Abandons his Heritage. No. 5. Innocent sees S. Francis in a dream supporting the falling Church. No. 6. Innocent Approves the Order of S. Francis. No. 7. S. Francis appears in a flaming car to some of his disciples. No. 8. Martyrdom of seven Franciscans at Ceuta. No. 9. Honorius III. confirms the rules of the Order of S. Francis. No. 10. S. Francis holding the infant Christ at the Christmas Mass. No. 11. S. Francis appearing to Anthony at Arles. No. 12. S. Francis receiving the Stigmata. No. 13. The Funeral of S. Francis. No. 5 is so far different from the same composition at Assisi that the head of the Pope is turned in the opposite direction, and S. Peter is introduced near the Pope's bed. No. 12 is an exact counterpart of the fresco at Assisi, and so is No. 9.

[2] No. 1073, *Berlin Catalogue*, assigned to Giotto.

[3] The rest of the series at the Academy of Florence comprises:—No. 18. The Salutation. No. 19. The Adoration of the Shepherds. No. 20. The Adoration of the Magi. No. 21. The Presentation in the Temple. No. 22. Christ amongst the Doctors. No. 23. The Baptism of the Saviour. No. 24. The Transfiguration. No. 25. The Last Supper. No. 26. The Crucifixion. Here the form of the Saviour is less perfect in form, shorter, and of worse proportions than in the pictures of Giotto. No. 27. The Resurrection. No. 28. "Noli me tangere." No. 29. The Incredulity of S. Thomas.

by the pupil than by Giotto himself.[1] These have all perished,[2] but there remains one which may well be assigned to him in the great refectory, where, beneath a vast Crucifixion and Tree of Jesse, and four side scenes from the life of S. Francis and S. Louis by some unknown Giottesque, a Last Supper is depicted.

In the latter fresco, the Saviour sits behind a long table in the midst of His disciples, and S. John falls fainting on His bosom. Judas alone is seated in front of the table, and places his hand in the dish; S. Peter, from his place, at the side of S. John, looks sternly at the traitor, whilst the apostles generally are distinguished by animated movement. Amongst the episodes depicted at the sides of the Crucifixion, are S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, and the "Noli me tangere."[3]

The wall so adorned has a fine and imposing aspect, though much of the background is damaged or repainted.[4] The grandeur of the composition in the Last Supper is, however, marred by the somewhat weighty character of the figures, and the large size of the heads. The eyes are drawn with close horizontal lines, and without corners, as was usual with Taddeo Gaddi; the foreheads are low; the necks broad, the hands short and coarse. Abruptness in the passage from light to shade, abuse of red in the shadows, a bold neglectful ease of hand in the drawing and colouring of the parts, draperies more arranged than natural, gay tones of vestment, are all peculiarities of Taddeo. The Crucifixion, on the other hand, is composed of figures remarkable for exaggeration of length and without the just proportions which Giotto always succeeded in maintaining. Some of those in the foreground are, indeed, very feeble. This subject, with its attendant figures in the Tree of

[1] He adorned the walls of the chapel belonging to the Bellaci family, and executed two incidents from the life of S. Peter in the Capella di S. Andrea. (The drawing of one of these incidents, was in Vasari's album. Vasari, vol. ii., p. 121.) At the lower side of the tomb of Carlo Marzuppini was a Pietà which he had produced; and in the great screen of the church the Miracle of the fallen child of the Spini family, with portraits in it of Giotto, Dante, and others (Vasari, vol. ii., pp. 110–11, and vol. iii., p. 198). Beneath this fresco was afterwards a Crucifix by Donatello. Ibid.

[2] [Save those already described in the Baroncelli Chapel; and those on the outer arch of that chapel, which were still covered with whitewash when the authors wrote. The refectory is now the Museo di S. Croce.]

[3] In the Crucifixion, S. Francis grasps the foot of the Cross. To the left is a kneeling figure, behind which the group of the fainting Virgin is placed. To the right a bishop sits, with three saints at his side.

[4] The backgrounds, originally blue, are now red, the under-preparation having cropped up. Near S. Peter in the Last Supper, the intonaco has fallen, and other parts threaten to drop. The corner of the table to the right, and parts of single figures are repainted.

Jesse and side frescoes, is executed, however, with a certain ease of hand, and betrays an artist of the middle of the fourteenth century confident in somewhat slender powers, and sacrificing the great principles of art to boldness and rapidity of execution. Should his name ever become known, it may appear that he is also the author of a Crucifixion in the sacristy of S. Croce, surrounded by smaller frescoes assigned to Taddeo Gaddi, but which must be restored to their real author, Niccola di Pietro, better known as Gerini.[1] The same hand will be found to have produced a Crucifixion with four angels in various attitudes, hovering in the air, the Magdalen at the foot, the Virgin, S. John, and two monks at the sides of the Cross, in the sacristy of Ognissanti,[2] better perhaps in the proportion of the figures than those of Santa Croce, and especially interesting as showing that the author of them must have been the teacher or forerunner of the artist who executed the frescoes of the Patient Job at the Campo Santo at Pisa. It will not be necessary to revert to the works assigned to Taddeo Gaddi at S. Croce further than to state that the frescoes in the Rinuccini Chapel are obviously of a later date and productions of Taddeo's friend, Giovanni da Milano.[3] It is, indeed, remarkable that Vasari, who always pretends to recognise a master's work by his style, should have been in too much haste to discern the difference between the works of Taddeo and those of artists like Giovanni; those of inferior men like the painter of the Crucifixions in the sacristy and great refectory, or those of Niccola di Pietro Gerini, who is evidently the author of the Entombment assigned to Gaddi in the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence.[4] Gerini was an artist who lived till late in the fifteenth century, the painter of several frescoes at Pisa and Prato, and one whose position amongst the followers of the declining Giottesque manner will require future consideration.

Amongst the pictures of Taddeo Gaddi, one in the church of

[1] See later the Gerini. At the sides of the Cross the Virgin, S. John Evangelist, the Magdalen, S. Francis, S. Louis, and S. Helen; in the air about it, six angels complete a fresco exactly similar in character to the Crucifixion and Tree of Jesse in the great refectory.

[2] These paintings have suffered much from damp.

[3] Above the false ceiling of the Cappella Velluti in the Carmine, remains of paintings, particularly a profile of an apostle, perhaps S. Peter, were recently discovered. The character of this painting, Gottesque of the last half of the fourteenth century, is fine, the colour warm, and the handling bold. This head, removed by one of the monks, much altered by retouching of the outlines, and made opaque in colour, is now in possession of Mr. Layard.

[4] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 111. This picture was in the church of Orsanmichele, and is now [No. 116] in the Academy of Arts at Florence.

S. Felicità at Florence stands on an altar beneath and to the right of the organ loft; another reminiscent of his style is in the antechamber to the sacristy of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Pistoia, and a third in the Museum of Naples.

The first, an altarpiece in the form of a five-niched tabernacle, is somewhat restored. It represents the Virgin and Child enthroned amongst saints and angels, with Hope, Faith, Humility, and Charity symbolically depicted on the pinnacles of the throne.[1] It has quite the character of the frescoes at the Baroncelli and the altarpiece of 1355. The second picture similar in subject to the last,[2] but, with the Annunciation in the upper spaces, may be noted for heads perhaps of a lower type than was usual with Taddeo, the foreheads being low and depressed; but the draperies are broad though conventionally arranged.

The third of the pictures is dated 1336, and is a triptych of hard but transparent surface-colour, painted without the usual preparation, but with rapidity, on a white ground in warm tones tending to yellow, high in surface in the lights. In bold handling it rivals the panels of the S. Croce presses. The figures are square and short, but not inelegant.[3]

These and other pictures evidently proceeding directly from the school of Giotto, but bearing no names, and authenticated by no records, would alone prove to what conventionalism the art had already fallen.[4]

Taddeo, like most of his contemporaries, was not merely a painter, but an architect. The inundation of the Arno at Florence, in 1333, had ruined a vast number of bridges and houses, the rebuilding of which no doubt required the skill and the services of

[1] SS. John the Baptist, James the Elder, Luke, and Philip. The Infant holds a bird, and four angels kneel, singing and with offerings of flowers, at each side of the throne. Little prophets in pairs are in the spandrils of the arches, under which the chief saints are painted.

[2] Virgin and Child between SS. John Evangelist, James the Elder, Peter, and John the Baptist.

[3] The centre is devoted to the Madonna enthroned between four saints (SS. Paul, Peter, Anthony, and a bishop, the head of S. Paul damaged); the wings, to the Baptism of the Saviour and the Deposition from the Cross, with the Annunciation in the upper spaces—religious scenes carried out without much religious feeling.

[4] Three parts of a predella (No. 199) in the Louvre, the Dance of Salome, Crucifixion, and Christ surrendering the soul of Judas to demons, have much of Taddeo Gaddi's style. Two pictures in the National Gallery [Nos. 215, 216], will be found in the notices of Don Lorenzo Monaco. The Baptism of Christ [No. 579], in the same Gallery, has the character of the close of the fourteenth century. It is a feeble picture, whose partially obliterated signature must, we believe, read not 1337 but 1387. The figures in the cusps [No. 579A] are by another hand, and have the character of Giovanni da Milano.

all the professional men of the city. Gaddi, in 1336, during Giotto's absence at Milan, furnished the plans of the Ponte Vecchio and Ponte Santa Trinità.[1] According to Vasari, he was one of those employed in the works of Orsanmichele,[2] and he conducted those of the Campanile after Giotto's death.[3] To the last he continued to execute works in both branches of his profession. Yet it was not till 1366 that he took the freedom of the Painters' Guild at Florence.[4] In that year, too, we find him one of the council which usually met to deliberate on the progress of the works at S. Maria del Fiore.[5] His numerous paintings in various churches and edifices of Florence might testify to his untiring industry, had they not been destroyed more completely than those of his master Giotto. The frescoes of the tabernacle of the company *del Tempio*, at the corner of the Via del Crocifisso,[6] fell with the tabernacle itself. The frescoes in the cloisters and convent of Santo Spirito, the altarpieces in S. Stefano del Ponte Vecchio,[7] the wall paintings and pictures in the church of the Servite Brothers,[8] all perished. Pisa, more fortunate than Florence, still preserves a series executed in 1342 by Taddeo for Gherardo and Bonaccorso Gambacorte, in the choir of the church of S. Francesco.

Even here, all that remains is the ceiling, divided by diagonals, and the twelve apostles in the curve of the arch leading into the chapel. The latter are either repainted or in a great measure obliterated. The

[1] The Ponte Vecchio was taken down in 1339, rebuilt in 1345. Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 488. The Ponte alla Trinità was swept away in the sixteenth century, but a view of it may be seen in the fresco of Domenico Ghirlandaio in the church of S. Trinità.

[2] In 1337, according to Richa, vol. i., p. 16, when the first stone was laid, Taddeo being, it is said, the author of the design. Orsanmichele was burnt, according to Villani, in 1304.

[3] Vasari, vol. ii., pp. 113, 114, 115, and 121.

[4] Gualandi's Register of the Guild, in *Memorie di Belle Arti*, Serie 6 (8vo, Bologna, 1845), p. 188.

[5] Rumohr, *ubi sup.*, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., pp. 116, 117–66. Taddeo was of the council in 1359, 1363, and 1366. Del Migliore MSS. found notices of Taddeo as a purchaser of property at Florence in 1352—as umpire in 1355—as purchaser again in 1365. *Annot.* to Vasari, vol. ii., *note* to p. 119.

[6] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 111.

[7] When Richa wrote his *Chiese* in 1755, an altarpiece by Taddeo still existed in S. Stefano. It had remained entire in the sacristy till 1728, been then divided, and was to be seen in scattered panels in the cells of the friars of the place. *Vide Chiese*, vol. ii., p. 77.

[8] Vasari, vol. ii., pp. 111, 112. Fra Prospero Bernardi, in an apology for the miraculous Virgin Annunciate of the Servi, alludes to Taddeo Gaddi's frescoes, and says the documents respecting them were in the records of the convent when he wrote at the close of the last century. See Richa, *Chiese*, vol. viii., p. 89 and following.

rest is much damaged.[1] In one compartment, where S. Francis, in ecstasy, between Faith and Hope, shows the Stigmata on the palms of his hands, the allegorical figures, as they hover in the air which distends their flying vestments, are elegant in form and movement, of good proportions and admirably draped, according to the simple Giottesque maxims. In the angles, two figures were placed, one of which, having escaped the fate of its counterpart on the opposite side, represents Obedience wearing the yoke. In the next compartment, saints hover in couples fronting each other—S. Dominic with S. Augustine, S. Francis with S. Louis of Toulouse, S. Benedict with S. Basil. In the same order in the angles, are the allegorical figures of Temperance, Wisdom, Humility, Chastity, Fortitude, and Penitence.[2] The signature and date, preserved in Vasari,[3] have disappeared with the frescoes of the walls, a portion of which, representing a youthful and an aged saint, were quite lately whitewashed. The distribution of the space in the ceilings is good and agreeable to the just maxims of Giotto. Of the frescoes executed in the cloisters of S. Francesco of Pisa, nothing remains; but if the gigantic head of the Virgin and part of the Saviour, preserved in the Cappella Ammanati of the Campo Santo, be a fragment of them, they cannot have been by Taddeo Gaddi, whose forms were not of the round character conspicuous in these remains.[4]

On his return to Florence, Taddeo painted the tribunal of the "Mercanzia" with allegories which have since perished. He was afterwards called to Arezzo and Casentino, where he executed numerous works with the assistance of Giovanni da Milano and Jacopo da Casentino.[5] These have likewise disappeared, and after 1366 he is no longer known by records or pictures.[6] The date of his death, erroneously recorded by Vasari as 1350, has not been ascertained; but Baldinucci quotes a record of the year 1383 which gives the name of his widow as Madonna Francesca, daughter

[1] The saints represented are SS. Basil, Benedict, Augustine, Dominic, Anthony of Padua, Louis Bishop, and Francis.

[2] On the knees of S. Francis a book bears the words: "Tres ordines hic ordinat." Faith, draped even to the head, carries a Cross and is veiled. Wisdom carries books; Chastity bears a lily and vial; Fortitude a pillar and shield; Penitence an instrument of flagellation. The blue ground is gone.

[3] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 112. "Magister Taddeus Gaddus de Florentia pinxit hanc historiam S. Francisci et S. Andrei et S. Nicolai A.D. 1342 d. mense Augusti." The side walls were whitewashed in 1613. *Vide* MORRONA, *Pis. Illust.*, vol. iii., p. 56.

[4] This fragment is colourless; and the subject is only visible in outline. The surface has been altered by varnish.

[5] He is said to have painted at the Sasso della Verna, where he first met Jacopo. *Vide* VASARI, vol. ii., p. 178.

[6] RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. iii., p. 31, speaks of certain frescoes in the chapel of the family Del Palagio, church of the SS. Annunziata at Florence painted in 1353, and removed to make place for others by Matteo Rosselli.

of *quondam* Albizzo Ormanni.[1] Taddeo was buried in the cloister of S. Croce.[2]

Serious doubts have been very justly raised by Rumohr as to the authorship of the frescoes in the great Cappellone dei Spagnuoli in S. Maria Novella at Florence, which Vasari assigns to Simone of Siena and Taddeo Gaddi. This chapel was built between 1320 and 1350 by one of the numerous architects of the Dominicans, at the expense of Buonamico di Lapo Guidalotti, a rich Florentine merchant,[3] who died in 1355, before the paintings of the walls were completed. Vasari states [4] that Taddeo Gaddi received the subjects from the priori and commenced his labours about the time when the bridges were rebuilt, and when the frescoes of Simone in the chapter of S. Spirito were exhibited to public view. This would be between 1339 and 1346. The frescoes of Simone created such a sensation in the city that the priori determined to ask the Sienese to join in Taddeo's labours. The paintings of the Cappellone were then half-finished, but Taddeo, who loved Simone, his fellow-pupil under Giotto, far from objecting to the appointment, expressed great pleasure at the prospect of dividing his work with such a friend. So Taddeo painted the ceiling and one side, whilst Simone completed the remainder. This story induces the biographer to exclaim, "O noble minds that loved each other so, that each could enjoy without rivalry, ambition, or envy, the honour and reward of his friend." That Simone never was a pupil of Giotto, requires no comment. If Taddeo had half-finished the painting of the ceiling and left side when the frescoes in S. Spirito were exhibited, we should date the incident previous to Simone's journey to Avignon in 1339.[5] Again, if the work had been completed previous to 1339, how could it have been left unfinished in 1355 at the time of Guidalotti's death? But the doubts which are thus raised by the record of a few facts, acquire consistency from a consideration of the frescoes themselves, which the reader, if he pleases, will find described in the following lines:

The vast ceiling of the chapel is divided diagonally into four parts,

[1] Baldinucci, *ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 330.

[2] Albertini, *Memoriale di molte Statue &c. della Città di Firenze* (rippublicato nel 1863, 8vo, Flor.), p. 15. The same author mentions a standard by Taddeo in S. Lorenzo at Florence, p. 11, and six panels in the sacristy of S. Spirito, p. 16.

[3] See the authorities in Marchese, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 124. Mecatti, *Notizie*, says 1320, and Marchese follows him. Fineschi and Borghigiani say 1350.

[4] Vasari, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 117. [5] He then left Italy, never to return.

as in most edifices of the time, and is devoted to the Rescue of Peter from the Waves, the Resurrection of Christ, the Descent of the Holy Spirit, and the Ascension. Of these compositions, the finest is the Rescue of Peter, which, in the highest degree, combines the great laws of Giottesque composition. It may be said, indeed, to compensate for the loss of the mosaic of the Navicella executed by Giotto for S. Peter's of Rome.[1] As the subject stands in the Cappellone dei Spagnuoli, so Giotto may have originally composed his. The apostles are visible in the tempest-tossed vessel, whose balloon sail is puffed out by the wind from the horns of two allegorical figures flying at its mouth. The painter here avoided the mistake prominent in the mosaics of Rome, where the symbolical figures of the winds are blowing from opposite sides of the compass, and ought allegorically to mean that the ship is hove to, which it obviously is not. This is a truthful representation of a bark tossed by the winds. The figures on board express the various feelings which agitate them. Some are calm, others alarmed; more in the agony of fear. Some of those hauling at the ropes are in appropriate motion. At the helm is a proud and more confident figure.[2] One holds on to the sides of the bark with great force, and looks towards the Saviour, who treads securely on the waves; a second sheds tears; a third prays with joined hands. Here is a composition of the first order, and action vigorously and truthfully expressed. To the right, the Saviour rescues Peter. To the left, a figure angles in the water.[3]

The Saviour, in the next compartment, ascends from the tomb, bearing the cross and banner, in a flood of light, whilst the two angels sit on the sepulchre, at whose base the guard lies sleeping. The three Maries approach to the left; and to the right, Christ appears to the Magdalen. Tolerable order marks the distribution and the groups—grace and fair drapery may attract the spectator in the figures of the Maries, but how cold are the glance and action of the Magdalen compared with those which Giotto imparted to her.[4]

In the third scene the apostles are gathered together on the terrace of a house around the Virgin. Prominent amongst them, S. Peter stands in the background with the keys. The Dove of the Holy Ghost sheds its rays on the group, and the flame of the Spirit rests on the heads of the elect. In front of the house, which has a porch supported on pillars, a crowd of figures is grouped. One is about to enter, others look up surprised. The composition is fair, the attitudes decided, and the whole interesting.[5]

[1] That is, its loss by restoring.

[2] Yet in a storm the tiller would hardly remain straight without an exertion of great strength.

[3] The foreground and sky are repainted, and throughout the flesh tints are damaged by damp.

[4] This fresco is in many parts damaged, and the figure of the Magdalen is repainted.

[5] The yellow ground of the upper scene is new, and the blues of some dresses are obliterated.

DETAILS OF THE TRIUMPH OF S. THOMAS AQUINAS

Spanish Chapel, S. M. Novella, Florence.

Alinari.

RISING OF LAZARUS

Alinari.

"NOLI ME TANGERE"

A Follower of Giotto. Lower Church, S. Francesco. Assisi.

The Saviour, in the fourth fresco, ascends to heaven surrounded by an elliptical halo and a glory of angels sounding instruments, or dancing in the heavens. Beneath Him, the Virgin stands in the midst of the apostles, and the group is guarded by an angel at each extremity. These, as well as the celestial choir, are very weak in execution, and have nothing celestial about them. The Saviour is by no means majestic, and, as a whole, the Ascension is the weakest composition of the four.[1]

The west side of the chapel, assigned by Vasari to Taddeo, represents S. Thomas Aquinas enthroned between the prophets, foremost amongst whom, Daniel, S. Paul, Moses, and S. John Evangelist may be noticed, sitting on a long horizontal bench at each side of the throne. At the saint's feet lie prostrate the heretic disputers, Arius, Sabellius, and Averrhoes, whilst the seven Virtues, with their symbols, fly over the scene. Beneath this course of figures sit fourteen females personifying sciences and virtues, in which those may have excelled who are seated at their feet; whilst the action peculiar to each science or virtue is demonstrated in single figures or groups in the pinnacles of the throne devoted to each of them. One may see Grammar, enthroned with a globe in her hand, teaching three children; whilst, at her feet Donatus, who excelled in that science, sits writing; and in the pinnacle, a female looks at the water gushing out of a fountain. Rhetoric, holding a scroll, is the symbol of the excellence of Cicero—and so, as one proceeds, one finds Logic and Zeno, Music and Tubal Cain, Astronomy and Atlas, Geometry and Euclid, Arithmetic and Abraham, Charity and S. Augustine, Hope and John of Damascus, Faith and Diogenes the Areopagite, Practical Theology and Boethius, Speculative Theology and Peter Lombard, Canon Law and Pope Clement the Fifth, Civil Law and Justinian.[2] No talent of composition is shown in a work so

[1] Many of the dresses have lost their colour, and some are repainted.

[2] The dress of the figure of Grammar is new, and half the face and right hand gone. The dress of Donatus is repainted. Rhetoric holds a scroll inscribed: "MULCEO DUM LOQUOR, VARIOS INDUTA COLORES." The figure is entirely repainted. Cicero has been restored so that he has three hands instead of two, one holding a book, another pointing to heaven, and a third holding his chin. This last is old, the two others new. The head has been altered in form by the repainting of the allegorical figure above it. In the pinnacle a female looks into a mirror. Logic has a branch in its right; a scorpion, not a serpent, as Vasari says, in its left hand. Part of the dress is repainted, as well as a hat on the head of Zeno. In the pinnacle is a figure writing. Music plays an organ. Part of its green dress is damaged. Tubal Cain, below, strikes with hammers on an anvil. Above, Time is marked by one with an hour-glass. Astronomy holds an hemisphere and an arm raised, of which the hand is gone. The draperies, which are here preserved, are fine and broadly treated. The head of Atlas, below, in profile, is in a good original state. In the pinnacle is a figure with a sickle and a bow. Geometry carries a set square. The compass in its right is gone, and the whole figure is much damaged by restoring. Euclid holds a book; and in the pinnacle a warrior with helmet and shield carries a sword. Arithmetic has a multiplication table, yet counts on its fingers. Below, Abraham, with a book and a hand raised, is well preserved as regards the head, but the dress is

evidently dictated in its arrangement and distribution; but the vastness of the fresco makes it imposing, and some of the figures of the lower course are not without animation and character. It must also be borne in mind that much damage has been caused by repainting.

If the figures in the ceilings be considered attentively, it will be seen that they are marked by weakness of features, length and slenderness of shape, a peculiarly close fit of costume, and a certain affected bend of body. They lack the masculine force, the broad and decisive mass of light and shade, which characterise the certain works of Taddeo Gaddi; whilst in the study of extremities, and in details of outline, more care was bestowed by the painter than is common in the works of Giotto's first pupil. As regards colour, the boldness of hand which one might expect is less marked than a soft, clear, and careful manipulation. The compositions, which are Giottesque and may possibly have been those of Taddeo Gaddi, are evidently executed by another hand. Antonio Veneziano probably painted the Navicella, the Resurrection, and the Descent of the Holy Spirit; another pupil, the Ascension, which is the lowest of the series in merit.[1] There is, indeed, in the figure of the Redeemer in the Ascension, some points of resemblance with that of the Saviour in Limbo, in the Crucifixion on the north wall of the chapel, assigned by Vasari to Simone Martini. In the west face,

repainted. In the pinnacle a king sits with the orb and sceptre. Charity holds a bow and arrow, and is a much damaged figure; the head only in part preserved, the dress repainted. In the pinnacle is a soldier, with his hand on the hilt of his sword. Hope, much damaged, carries a falcon on his fist, of which only the claw remains. John of Damascus, beneath, mends a pen, and is a fine figure. In the pinnacle a female is about to grasp two heads in front of her. Faith points to heaven, whilst Diogenes, below, looks at his pen and holds an ink-bottle. This is a well-preserved figure. In the pinnacle stands a figure with her hand on her breast. Boethius, pensive, leans his head on his hand and his arm on his knee. In the pinnacle, a child is held up by a female. Speculative Theology holds a disc in which a figure with two heads is depicted. Peter Lombard, beneath, rests his two hands on the edge of a book. In both figures the heads are preserved and the dress repainted. In the pinnacle a female gives alms to an aged man. Canon Law holds in one hand a model of a church, in the other a wand; the background is repainted. In the pinnacle, a man points with one hand to money which lies in the palm of the other. The Pope gives the benediction, and holds the keys of S. Peter in his left. Civil Law is a fine figure with the terrestrial globe in its left and a drawn sword held horizontally in its right. The head is preserved and the dress repainted. Justinian with a book and staff, in profile, is all repainted. In the pinnacle a woman, of grievous aspect, wrings her hands. Most of the nimbuses are removed by the repainting of the background. According to Richa (*Chiese*, &c., vol. iii., p. 88), these frescoes were restored in his time by Agostini Veracini; but they had been retouched before, as the three hands of Cicero puzzle the ingenuity of the Abate Mecatti, who wrote in 1737.

[1] See further the life of Antonio Veneziano.

assigned to Gaddi, the slender frames and close-fitting dresses are again remarkable, together with a careful and precise execution and a character less Florentine than Sienese. The three remaining frescoes of the Cappellone may also be proved to have more a Sienese than a Florentine character. But it can also be shown that they are not by Simone Martini, though it is very possible that some of his compositions were used by the artist. As to the name of the painter, it is sufficient here to remark that, if it could be clearly proved that Andrea di Florentia painted the frescoes of the Campo Santo assigned to Simone, he also painted the four walls of the Cappellone dei Spagnuoli at S. Maria Novella of Florence, the two works being evidently by the same hand. These productions of the art of the fourteenth century are, indeed, second-class works, executed by pupils of the Sienese and Florentine school, and unworthy of the high praise which has ever been given to them.

CHAPTER XIV

PUCCIO CAPANNA AND OTHER GIOTTESQUES

Time, which dealt but roughly with the remains and memorabilia of Taddeo Gaddi, has naturally been all but regardless of less important persons; and the student seeks in vain for the historical basis of Vasari's narrative as to Puccio Capanna, Guglielmo da Forlì, Ottaviano and Pace da Faenza. That Puccio is not a mere phantasm would appear from his admission to the Florentine painters' guild in 1350 (old style).[1] Less tangible is the authority which characterises Puccio's manner,[2] and assigns to him a friendly station at Giotto's side, similar to that occupied in Raphael's studio by Penni.[3] The creations of his talent, if he really possessed talent, are, however, either totally absent or of little value; whilst amongst the confused mass of works he is supposed to have executed, the student is perplexed to find the majority differing from each other in style, and all beneath the standard of one who should have inherited "the mode of execution of Giotto."[4] We fail to discern in the Crucifix at S. Maria Novella of Florence, which Puccio is supposed to have executed in Giotto's company, either the form or character of the great Florentine.[5] S. Trinità[6] and the Badia[7] at Florence, S. Cataldo of Rimini,[8] Bologna,[9] where it is hard to find frescoes in a church which Vasari does not condescend to name, no longer yield any clue to Puccio's style. Scenes illustrative

[1] Gualandi, *ubi sup.*, Ser. vi., p. 187. Baldinucci, *ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 358, gives the date of registry as 1349, no doubt modernising the old Florentine style.

[2] Vasari says, "he was a good painter," vol. i., p. 338.

[3] [*Cf.* Vasari (Edit. Sansoni), vol. i., p. 613, *note.*]

[4] Vasari, vol. i., p. 337.

[5] Ibid., vol. i., p. 329.

[6] In S. Trinità he painted a chapel belonging to the Strozzi, with the Coronation of the Virgin, much in Giotto's manner, and scenes from the life of S. Lucy. Ibid., p. 337.

[7] Puccio painted the chapel of the Covoni near the sacristy. Ibid., p. 337. An altarpiece in that chapel is mentioned by Cinelli, in Richa, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 199.

[8] Here he painted a wreck, in which his own likeness was introduced. Ibid., p. 336.

[9] Ibid., vol. i., p. 338.

of the Passion in the Lower Church of Assisi would do him honour, were it possible to forget that Giotto is the author of them ;[1] or did Vasari, in assigning them to Puccio, merely intend to suggest that he helped his master? Surely the Aretine did not intend to pass him off as the painter of frescoes in the north transept. The critic might be forced to fall back at once upon the so-called Puccios at Pistoia, were he not induced to pause before the wall paintings of the Maddalena Chapel in the Lower Church of Assisi, where, it is clear, none but a pupil of Giotto laid out the varied scenes of the lives of the Magdalen and S. Mary of Egypt.[2] The chapel was devoted to the remains of Pontano, Bishop of Assisi,[3] whose days were finally numbered in 1329, whose arms in the spandrils of one of the feigned arches of the chapel certify that he is represented receiving consecration from S. Rufinus. Amongst the thoroughly Giottesque compositions of a series clearly due to a pupil of the Florentine master, though assigned, on no conceivable grounds, to Buffalmacco,[4] the finest is one in which the Magdalen lies prostrate at the Saviour's feet, whilst He addresses His host and the apostles present. A Raising of Lazarus and a "Noli me tangere" are counterparts of the compositions at the Arena in Padua. The technical execution and colouring of the series are similar to those of the allegorical ceiling by Giotto in the Lower Church of Assisi, and to the scenes of the Passion in the south transept. His designs are copied, his elegance of type, form, and bearing imitated ; and the whole is coloured in clear bright keys. None but a painter who actually

[1] Assigned to Puccio by VASARI, vol. i., p. 337.

[2] In a triple course of frescoes, six scenes from the life of the Magdalen and S. Mary of Egypt are depicted. Lunettes (3)—the Communion, where three figures look on and four angels carry the saint to heaven ; the Gift of his Garment to Mary by Zosimus the saint, being in her cave ; the Ascension of the Magdalen, carried to heaven in a mantle by two angels supported by two others. In the lower courses—Christ Anointed by the Magdalen, the Resurrection of Lazarus, the "Noli me tangere," and Lazarus miraculously reaching the port of Marseilles. In the spandrils of painted arches, imitating recesses in the side walls of the chapel—the Consecration of Bishop Pontani, the figure of a female saint, another female saint raising a kneeling monk, and a half figure of Lazarus ; twelve figures of saints male and female in the entrance vaulting, amongst them SS. Peter, Matthew, Chiara. Ceiling in diagonals—Saviour, Magdalen, S. Mary of Egypt, Lazarus in medallion. Pontani is buried in the chapel. [MR. BERENSON is inclined to assign these frescoes to Giotto himself. *Cf. The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance* (1898), p. 114.]

[3] [Tebaldo Pontano of Todi was a Franciscan. He founded the chapel of the Maddalena in the Lower Church of S. Francesco, and chose it for his burial-place. *Cf.* FRATTINI, *Storia della Basilica e del Convento di S. Francesco in Assisi* (Prato, 1882), pp. 155–6.]

[4] *Note* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 61.

assisted Giotto could have done this; and one may discern in the painter the helpmate who worked as a subordinate at the ceilings, who was not ambitious of daring more than to reproduce his master's creations without alteration, and whose secondary talent would suit the characteristics under which Puccio is presented to his readers by Vasari.[1] Yet it may be admitted that the frescoes of the Maddalena Chapel are not like the solitary remnant of those in the choir of S. Francesco of Pistoia. This fragment, in the altar-plate press, represents S. Mary of Egypt taking the Communion from Zosimus, rudely executed in the Giottesque manner by one whose ideal of type was vulgar enough.[2] That Puccio at one time resided in Pistoia is affirmed by Ciampi and Tolomei,[3] who give the authority, without quoting the text, of conventual records in S. Francesco. That a Crucifix by him once existed in S. Domenico of Pistoia is affirmed by Vasari, who quotes the inscription by which it was authenticated.[4] In addition to the fragment in the choir of S. Francesco, the frescoes in the chapel of S. Lodovico (S. Francesco) are assigned to the master; but these are not unlike the productions of a local artist, Giovanni di Bartolommeo Cristiano;[5]

[1] These frescoes are in part damaged by time and dust and by partial dropping of the plaster, but generally in a fair state of preservation.

[2] Vasari says Puccio painted in the choir of S. Francesco scenes of the life of S. Francis, not scenes from the life of S. Mary of Egypt (vol. i., p. 337). The walls are whitewashed, with the exception of the part enclosed by the press. S. Mary of Egypt kneels, with her arms crossed on her breast. Part of the head, arms, and breast of the saint remain. The flesh tints, damaged by rubbing, are somewhat purple in shadow. [It is curious to note that the church of S. Francesco al Pinto at Pistoia stands on the site of the church of S. Maria Maddalena, which was destroyed in 1295. S. Francesco is itself now a great empty church, which the Municipality holds as a kind of Museum. No idea can be had of its former splendour. The frescoes of the life of S. Francis in the choir have been uncovered, not with much success. They appear to be from the hands of pupils of Giotto. *Cf.* VENTURI, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 250 *et seq.* The same painter seems to have worked there in the chapels of S. Jacopo and S. Antonio.]

[3] TOLOMEI, *ubi sup.*, p. 138. Ciampi adds that, according to records in S. Francesco, Puccio began to labour there, but the work was interrupted by his death. *Notiz. Ined.*, *ubi sup.*, p. 103.

[4] VASARI, vol. i., p. 337.

[5] These frescoes, lately rescued from whitewash, represent the Crucifixion, with the usual attendant groups, and, in front, a lady kneeling, supposed to be Donna Lippa di Lapo. This lady died in 1386, leaving a will in which she ordered the chapter-house of S. Francesco to be painted and the ceiling of the sacristy to be "intonacata." The communication of this will, which mentions the name of no artist, is due to the kindness of the Superior Bernardino del Torto. It is Vasari who states that the chapel of S. Lodovico was painted by Puccio with subjects drawn from the life of S. Louis. No such subjects exist, and it is obvious that if Donna Lippa be really portrayed in the Crucifixion, she can hardly have been limned by Puccio, who was registered at Florence as early as 1349. The subjects in S. Lodovico (chapel

whilst in the chapter-house of the same convent, a Crucifixion and Root of Jesse, to which Puccio's name also clings, recall the same subjects in the great refectory of S. Croce at Florence.[1] Other works alluded to by Vasari may be dismissed without comment.[2]

As regards Guglielmo da Forlì and the two artists of Faenza, Ottaviano and Pace, the student may spare himself the trouble of search; for the frescoes of the first in S. Domenico of Forlì have disappeared,[3] and other Giottesque remains are insignificant.[4] Yet we may except a fragment in the Gymnasium at Forlì, part of the series once adorning the church di Schiavonia. We may, indeed, regret that nothing remains of this series except a life size Adoration of the Magi, SS. Peter, Jerome, Paul, Augustine, three figures and two horses, creations that do more honour to the school of Giotto in these parts than any assigned to the artists named by

in S. Francesco) are, besides the Crucifixion, two scenes at its sides, the Nativity and Deposition from the Cross. On an opposite wall, traces of S. Francis receiving the Stigmata. In the ceiling, more modern and rude, are figures of SS. Peter, Paul, Louis, and Lawrence, the two first restored; scenes from the life of S. Louis may be under whitewash.

[1] In the chapter-house the usual fainting Virgin, and the Evangelist. Yet a bishop writing and other saints, a kneeling man, and a nun in the foreground supposed to be Donna Lippa, form part of the Crucifixion. In two side compartments, the Transfiguration and another sacred incident seem the product of a painter of the close of the fourteenth century. The ceiling represents the Presepio reproduced at Greggio by S. Francis, the Burial and Ascension of S. Francis, the Resurrection of Christ, and another subject, rude and in part repainted works of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.

[2] Vasari mentions paintings above the door of S. Maria Nuova at Pistoia (three half figures). The Virgin and Child between S. Peter and S. Francis in S. Francesco of Pistoia, both absent. (Vol. i., p. 337.) The Chapel of S. Martin in the Lower Church of Assisi is by Simone Martini, as may be seen hereafter. Vasari, vol. ii., p. 337. In S. Maria degli Angeli near Assisi no paintings exist which can be assigned to a pupil of Giotto. Ibid., same page. The Virgin and Child between SS. Chiara, M. Magdalen, Catherine, Francis, Lawrence, Anthony the Abbot, Stephen, and another female, engraved by Agincourt as by Puccio, is now in Press IV. of the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican—a common product. The Saviour at the Column, mentioned by Vasari, vol. i., p. 338, as on a road near Assisi at a place called "Portica," is not to be found; nor indeed do any pictures or frescoes exist in or about Assisi that are worthy of attention. Above the portal of S. Crispino at Assisi, a fresco of the Virgin between SS. Roch, Blasius, Francis, and other saints, partly damaged, is a rude production of the close of the fourteenth century. Another remnant of the same time, reminiscent of the lowest class of Sienese pictures, the Madonna between Angels and mutilated remains of saints, is in the ex-church of S. Bernardino. Similar feeble paintings may likewise be seen in S. Damiano, outside that town.

[3] Vasari, vol. i., p. 339.

[4] A repainted fresco, Virgin and Child, in the sacristy of the Servi, a Virgin and Child and Crucifix in the old chapter-house, and a Madonna "delle Grazie" under glass in the cathedral of Forlì, are assigned to Guglielmo degli Organi.

Vasari. The spectator will concede that a certain nobleness distinguishes the slender figures and heads, the finely drawn hands and broad draperies.[1] No name has yet been attached to this work, but history records that of Baldassare, a painter of 1354, who is said to have laboured long at Forlì, and this date would apply to the paintings now before us.[2] In the absence of all traces of Ottaviano,[3] an altarpiece in the Academy of Faenza is still assigned without sufficient warrant to Pace,[4] who is thus unwittingly classed amongst the followers of a low Giottesque style, the principal illustration of which is a hitherto unknown artist called Peter of Rimini. Living in the early part of the fourteenth century, this local painter left his name on a Crucifix at Urbania near Urbino,[5] whose peculiarities of manner may be traced in the frescoes still preserved in the chapter-house of Pomposa and in S. Maria Portofuori of Ravenna.[6] Of these let the reader, if patient enough, take the following summary.

He painted the Saviour of a thin and bony frame, with somewhat overhanging hip in the old style, but he drew the form with the utmost nicety and care; and proved that he had studied the anatomy of the nude. The hands and feet are thin but fairly accurate. The Virgin

[1] A head in the same manner is in the upper story of the same Gymnasium.

[2] Bonoli, *Storia di Forlì* (4to, Forlì, 1661), p. 154, in Giov. Casali's *Guida per la Città di Forlì* (12mo., Forli, 1838), p. 71.

[3] Vasari mentions works at S. Giorgio of Ferrara by Ottaviano without giving the subject (vol. i., p. 338), a Virgin between SS. Peter and Paul in S. Francesco of Faenza. Both have perished.

[4] To Pace Vasari assigns frescoes in S. Giovanni Decollato at Bologna, a Tree of Jesse and an altarpiece with scenes from the life of the Saviour and of the Virgin at S. Francesco of Forlì, gone; scenes from the life of S. Anthony in the chapel of that name in the Lower Church at Assisi, now whitewashed. Another chapel of S. Antonio of Padua is decorated at Assisi with frescoes of the legend of S. Lawrence rudely executed and assigned by modern critics to Pace, perhaps because of some resemblance between them and the so-called Pace in the Academy of Faenza. These frescoes and those of the chapel of S. Catherine assigned to Buffalmacco have also a family likeness. The picture at Faenza is a Virgin and Child between SS. John Baptist, Peter, Mary Magdalen, and Paul, with the angel and Virgin Annunciate in the upper spaces. According to Lanzi (*ubi sup.*, vol. iii., p. 31), this is the picture by Pace formerly in S. Sigismondo fuori di Porta Montanara. Yet it is a product of the beginning of the fifteenth century, coloured in raw and violently contrasted tones, unrelieved, and marked by figures short and defective in the extremities.

[5] In the fraternity of S. Giovanni Decollato, inscribed: "PETRUS DE ARIMINO FECIT HOC . . ." Passavant, *Raphael*, vol. i., p. 425, mentions this Crucifix as signed "JULIANUS PICTOR DA ARIMINO FECIT HANNO MCCCVII."

[6] [*Cf.* Brach, *Giotto Schule in der Romagna* (Strassburg, 1902). These frescoes are not by Petrus of Rimini. For Petrus or Pietro da Rimini, see Anselmi, *Memorie del Pittore Trecentista P. da R.*, in *La Romagna* (1906), vol. iii., fasc. Settembre.]

on one side clasping her hands in grief, is of a Giottesque type and not without dramatic power. S. John, also full of force, is a little more vulgar in features. The Saviour blessing at the top of the Cross is a good figure, noble in face, soft in expression, in the character of the good Giottesque time. A fair definition of light and shade, and consequent relief, warm yellowish colour, add to the value of the work. Petrus no doubt lived in the early part of the fourteenth century.

If the traveller follows the road which leads from Ravenna to Ferrara, he will stumble near Commachio upon the old Benedictine abbey of Pomposa, whose second consecration took place in 1027.[1] The pavement of the three aisles is in the old Alexandrine style; and it is highly probable that the apsis and tribune, and the whole of the spaces above the arches of the nave were filled with mosaics in early times. These, however, apparently shared the fate of many others in Italy, and were replaced by paintings, possibly on the same lines. Thus, one may still remark in the apsis a figure of the Redeemer, and on the arch of the tribune, an angel holding a scroll, with the Four Doctors of the Church, and the Four Evangelists round him. In the courses of the nave, stories from the Old Testament, commencing with the Creation, and almost obliterated; scenes of the New Testament beginning with the Annunciation; and, in the birth of the arches, illustrations of the Revelation of John. In the tribune, incidents from the life of S. Eustace seem not to have been copies like the rest from older works; but in the wall above the chief portal, the Saviour is represented in glory in a company of angels—lower, as the Judge distributing blessings and curses to the elect, and the condemned beneath Him. These feeble paintings may have been executed by Chegus (Cecco or Francesco) of Florence, whose name was found in the records of the abbey by Federici, and who laboured at Pomposa in 1316.[2] Contiguous to the abbey is the chapter-house of Pomposa, now the property of Count Guiccioli,[3] in which numerous frescoes are still preserved.

On one of the walls of the old refectory three large and fairly composed subjects remain. In the central one whose figures are all marked by dignity, fair proportion, and natural attitudes, the Saviour sits in the act of benediction between the Virgin, SS. Benedict, John the Baptist, and Guido,[4] while the others, parted from each other by

[1] As is proved by an inscription in the body of the building.
[2] *Rerum Pomposiensium* by Placido Federici (fol., 1781), p. 279.
[3] For whose kindness and courtesy public thanks must here be tendered.
[4] The youthful and slightly-bearded Saviour is reminiscent of that in the medallion of the Crucifix of Petrus of Rimini. Similar qualities are to be

feigned columns supporting a painted entablature, display similar qualities. The heads in the Last Supper are deficient in drawing so that the back of the neck and cranium form but one straight line. The staring eyes, broken draperies, and feeble red shadows,[1] are disagreeable, but the style is that of Petrus of Rimini, which, though far below the perfection of Giotto, is evidently that of a student, perhaps that of an assistant, of the Florentine master.[2] Of the same period and manner, but almost obliterated, is a Crucifixion, with attendant figures of SS. Benedict, Guido, and other saints, in dead colour in feigned niches on the walls of the old chapter-house. Petrus of Rimini did not labour in Urbania and Pomposa only, but in Ravenna also, in the choir and lateral chapels of the church of S. Maria Portofuori.[3] In a niche in the choir, the Communion is represented; and the Redeemer has the type and character of that in the Pomposa refectory. In the chapel to the right of the choir, a fresco, of the ascent of a saint to heaven in a cloth held by an angel, is in the same manner, but, side by side with these, are frescoes by an inferior hand. On the left wall of the choir the Expulsion of Joachim, the Birth of Mary, and the Presentation in the Temple are composed of long lean figures in exaggerated movement. On the left wall, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Death, Assumption, and Coronation of the Virgin—in the ceiling, the Four Doctors of the Church and the Four Evangelists. Various frescoes in the lateral chapels, on the arches leading into the tribune are painted, in the feebler style of a follower of Petrus, who can be no other than Julian of Rimini.

Of this painter, who reduced the second-rate manner of Petrus to a third-rate manner of his own, a very fair example may be seen in a Virgin and Child, angels, and saints in the sacristy of the cathedral of Urbania near Urbino, inscribed:

ANNO DÑI MILLE CCC. SETTIMO.
JULIANUS, PICTOR DE ARIMINO FECIT
HOC OPUS, TEMPORE DÑI CLEMENTIS
P. P. QUINTI.

This is a picture not essentially different in appearance from those of most Italian productions of the same period at Tolentino, Fabriano,

found in the Last Supper on one side, and in a scene, on the others representing Guido, abbot, and S. Gebeardo, bishop of Ravenna, sitting behind a table in presence of six other persons. On the opposite walls are remains of a Christ on the Mount, and on the third, a headless figure of a monk seated, the mutilated part showing an under intonaco, already covered with older paintings.

[1] The shadows are of a purple-red.

[2] Federici does not hesitate to assign these paintings to Giotto himself. See *Rerum Pomposiensium, ubi sup.*, p. 286.

[3] All these paintings are strangely enough assigned by Rosini, *Storia della Pittura*, vol. ii., p. 63) to Giotto. [*Cf.* Brach, *op. cit.*, and Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 938.]

Gualdo or Camerino.[1] The male figures are not without character and animation, the females not without grace in costume and head-dress. The forms of the hands are regular; the drawing of the whole conscientious, and the draperies not ill lined. The light and transparent colour, though soft, is flat and unrelieved. Julian of Rimini thus had his own peculiar style, which may be traced with certainty in the picture of the Academy of Faenza attributed to Pace,[2] one of those tabernacled and pinnacled altarpieces which are so common in the Umbrian school, enclosing no less than twelve subjects or figures, and six medallion half-figures of saints or prophets. The centre represents the Virgin enthroned, above which the Crucifixion is depicted, and here the Saviour is of a long attenuated form, and some heads are remarkable for absence of all beauty. The saints, in the side niches, are in character like those of Urbania, the best of them a S. Chiara.[3] Inferior to these pictures, perhaps because of extensive restoring, but by the same hand, are the frescoes in a chapel to the left of the choir in the convent of S. Antonio Abate of Ferrara,[4] representing, in a series of feeble compositions, coloured with flat rosy tones, scenes from the Passion of the Saviour. The date of 1407 may be seen beneath a figure of the Redeemer on one of the walls; but this date seems to have been placed there after the frescoes had been some time completed. The gradual decline of this manner may be traced in a colossal Crucifix in the church of S. Paolo at Montefiore near Urbino, in a Crucifix in the chapel to the right as one enters the cathedral of Rimini, and in a third relic of the same kind in the deadhouse of the hospital of Urbino. It might indeed be possible to give a long catalogue of similar works, differing only from those which preceded Giotto's time in this, that, whereas before him an uniform model was derived from

[1] The Virgin, a feeble and defective figure, both as regards form and type, sits enthroned with the infant Saviour between four angels waving censers and holding up the drapery of the throne. In front, eight figures kneel to the right and left, and in eight panels, in a double course at the sides, are an equal number of male and female saints, S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, SS. John the Baptist, John Evangelist, Mary Magdalen, Chiara, Catherine, another female, and Lucy.

[2] In Pungileoni, *Elogio Storico di Giovanni Santi* (8vo, Urbino, 1822), the reader finds record (p. 47) of one "Giuliano depentore" at Urbino in 1366 and 1367. It remains doubtful whether this be the same as the author of the Crucifix of 1307. [Giuliano da Rimini was the forerunner of the Giottesques of Romagna. *Cf.* Brach, *Giotto Schule in der Romagna* (Strassburg, 1902). In the Pinacoteca of Urbino is a picture by one Giovanni Baronzio from the refectory of the Franciscan convent of Macerata, with this inscription:

ANNO DNI MILLO CCCXL QTO TRE DNI CLEM TIS PP
OC OPUS FECIT JOANNES BARONTIUS DE ARIMINO.

Baronzio was buried in the Tempio Malatestiano at Rimini. *Cf.* Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 938.]

[3] The niches at each side of the centre are six in all, containing SS. Christopher, Chiara, John the Baptist, Elizabeth, Francis, and Louis of France. In the pinnacles, at each side of the Crucifixion, are Christ on the Mount, the Kiss of Judas, the Deposition from the Cross, and another subject.

[4] A chapel not usually open to visitors.

past ages, painters now sought to imitate that of which the type had been created by the great Florentine; and there is evidence enough in the stories of Sacchetti to prove that Crucifixes were manufactured, so to say, by the gross.[1]

Thus, whilst the student may seek in vain for the works of men like Guglielmo di Forlì, Ottaviano and Pace da Faenza, he stumbles, even in the nineteenth century, on painters hitherto scarcely noticed, and evidently forming a second-rate school, the chief of which may have known Giotto, and assisted him in his works at Rimini and Ravenna. In the course of two generations the art of Giotto was thus brought to a very low and uninteresting standard. It would be difficult to say in what respect this poor Giottesque differs as to quality from the older art which was previously called Byzantine. The same class of painters who, before Giotto, existed everywhere is noticed in greater numbers after his death, but still at an uniform level of inferiority. The tendency of the last half century has been to impart to inferior productions a value they do not possess, whilst, previous to that time, too little importance was given to them. At first everything old was Greek; then it was assigned to Cimabue; now it is by Giotto. Nor is it the least painful deception which awaits the critic that, wherever he turns, he finds men who pretend to appreciate the great master, and yet attribute to him the feeble productions of second or third-rate artists.

[1] An ex-chapel of S. Chiara at Ravenna (abandoned and close to a riding school) is covered with frescoes in which the manner of Petrus and Julianus of Rimini may be found. Christ, on a rough hewn cross in convulsive movement, is bewailed by angels in vehement action in the air. Four fly about in grief, three gather the blood from the wounds, one tears its dress from its breast. The Virgin and S. John are at the sides, and S. Mary Magdalen at the foot stretches out her arms to heaven. Beneath this Crucifixion is the Baptism of Christ, with an ugly and partly repainted nude of the Redeemer. On other walls, the Annunciation, SS. Francis, Chiara, Anthony the Abbot, and Louis; the Adoration; and in the ceiling, the Four Doctors of the Church, are all frescoes, whose principal figures display the defects noticed at Pomposa and S. Maria Portofuori (note the long, thick necks, protruding chins, massive hair, and heads without cranium), and repeated in other parts of Italy in pictures and frescoes assigned to Simone (No. 159 of the Academy of Arts at Bologna, No. 161 and No. 231 of the same Gallery), or Jacobo at Bologna.

CHAPTER XV

BUFFALMACCO—THE CAMPO SANTO OF PISA

It is usual to find amongst men who work in common and who form a company in any given society, one or two who are the merry-andrews of the community, and at least one who is the butt of all the rest. Such, amongst the painters of the fourteenth century at Florence, were Buonamico Cristofani called Buffalmacco,[1] Bruno Giovanni,[2] and Nozzo called Calandrino.[3] Calandrino, the butt, was an older man than his tormentors, a bad husband, avaricious, credulous, and a fool. It is impossible not to laugh at the practical jokes successfully played off upon him; how he is induced to believe in, and then to search for, a stone which has the property of making the possessor invisible; how Buffalmacco and Bruno, having encouraged him to load his dress with all manner of rubble picked up on a road outside Florence, induce him to think that he has found the treasure of which he was in search by pretending suddenly to miss him; and, having loaded themselves with stones, curse his luck and pelt him mercilessly home. It is ludicrous to read how Buffalmacco and Bruno persuade him to believe that he is pregnant because his digestion has been affected by over-eating, that he never possessed a pig which they had stolen. It is amusing to read the narrative of Buffalmacco's success in forcing Andrea Tafi to rise late instead of early; his rivalry with the monkey of Guido, Bishop of Arezzo,[4] who repainted in the evening the frescoes which had been completed during the day;

[1] The existence of Buffalmacco has been denied. See Rumohr, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., *note* to p. 14. But his name appears in the form given in the text in the register of the Florentine Company of Painters in 1351. Gualandi, Ser. 6, *ubi sup.*, p. 178.

[2] This painter is inscribed on the register of Florentine Painters as "Bruno Giovanni pop. S. Simone dipintore, MCCCL." (Gualandi, *ubi sup.*, p. 177), and is found mentioned by Baldinucci in a contract of 1301 (*Opere, ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 296).

[3] His name appears in Florentine records: "1301. Nozzus vocatus Calandrinus pictor quondam Perini pop. S. Laurentii testis." See Baldinucci, *ubi sup.*, p. 200.

[4] Guido, Bishop of Arezzo, died in 1327.

the trick which he played on the very same bishop, a fierce and haughty Ghibelline, by painting for him, instead of an eagle humbling the Florentine lion, a lion devouring the Imperial eagle; and the revenge he took on the impatient people of Perugia by painting their patron Saint Ercolano with a diadem of fishes. Wonderful was the cunning with which he deceived the nuns of Faenza into the belief that he was labouring assiduously at the frescoes of their church, by substituting a lay figure for himself during a fortnight spent in idleness; and then persuaded them that the sacramental wine was the best for mixing colours. Equally jocose is the trick perpetrated on a peasant who, having ordered a S. Christopher of twelve *braccia* to be painted in a chapel that had only nine *braccia* in height, was obliged to content himself with a figure on the floor whose legs passed out of the entrance; that too in which the painter took revenge for non-payment of the price of a Madonna by secretly painting a bear's cub in the arms of the Virgin. No wonder that such a man should die in an hospital; or that the fame of his adventures should have survived his pictures. It may be doubted, indeed, whether even Vasari, who gives a vast catalogue of his works, did not group together under his name a mass of inferior productions by various hands, being anxious to illustrate the life of so jolly an artist with something more than the stories of Sacchetti and Boccaccio. Yet Ghiberti affirms that Bonamico, or Buffalmacco, was an excellent master; that his colour was fresh; and that, when he set his mind to a task, he surpassed every other painter. Vasari, who copies Ghiberti, repeats after him that:

Buffalmacco, at Pisa, painted many pictures for the town and in the Campo Santo, and that he executed important works there for S. Paolo Ripa d'Arno, and at Bologna, for at least one edifice.[1] On his own responsibility he adds that at Florence, Buffalmacco worked in the Badia di Settimo, in the Certosa, in the Badia at Ognissanti, and S. Giovanni fra l'Arcore; that, at Bologna, he painted the chapel of the Bolognini in S. Petronio; at Assisi, in 1302, the chapel of S. Catherine and the chapel of Cardinal Egidio Alvaro;[2] at Arezzo, the chapel of the Battesimo in the episcopal palace, and part of the church of S. Giustino; at Pisa, the four frescoes of the Genesis in the Campo Santo; at Cortona, a chapel and an altarpiece in the episcopal palace; and at Perugia, the Cappella Buontempi in the church of S. Domenico.

[1] GHIBERTI'S *2nd com.* in VASARI, vol. i., p. xxi.

[2] In 1304, according to Vasari, he arranged, on the Arno, a theatrical representation of the infernal regions which had fatal consequences. The bridge was burnt and many people perished. Buffalmacco, however, escaped. VASARI, vol. ii., p. 56.

Not a single picture of all those he is said to have painted at Florence, Arezzo, or Cortona remains. As for the rest :

The frescoes of the Bolognini Chapel in S. Petronio of Bologna were painted after the building of the church in 1390,[1] and cannot have been executed by one who, according to Vasari, was a master in 1302.[2] The chapel of S. Caterina in the Lower Church of Assisi, and the chapel of Cardinal Alvaro, or more properly Albornoz, are one and the same, and, so far from having been painted in 1302, was only erected after 1382, when Albornoz obtained the purple hat.[3] That chapel is covered, as Vasari truly says, with frescoes representing incidents from the life of S. Catherine. One of the paintings, in the vaulting of the arch leading into the chapel, is devoted to the Cardinal's consecration by a Pope, at whose side S. Francis stands. The counterpart, on the vaulting at the other side, represents three bishops, amongst whom S. Louis is conspicuous. The compositions, as a whole, are the weak production of a third-rate artist of the close of the fourteenth century, ill arranged, rudely executed, and patchy in colour ; though, as regards the latter defect, time may have helped to alter and darken the surface. Some figures, taken separately, may be called animated and fair in movement ; but the proportions are defective, and the outlines coarse. As to the chapel of the Maddalena in the same sanctuary of Assisi, it may be remembered that the frescoes there have been described as productions of an immediate pupil of Giotto,[4] and if it were proved that Buffalmacco executed them, as

[1] See the original record which certifies this fact in GUALANDI, *Memorie de' Belle Arti* (8vo, Bologna, 1842). Series 3, p. 93. It appears from the will of Bartolommeo della Seta, executed in 1408, that he ordered the paintings in the Bolognini Chapel, with subjects given by him, and carried out, as they may now be seen, to be produced at his expense. See *note* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 53, and the *Graticola di Bologna* of LAMO, *ubi sup.*, *notes* to p. 39,

[2] Hence a picture in the Bologna Gallery (No. 229), assigned to Buffalmacco, because it is a copy of a part of the frescoes in S. Petronio, cannot be by him. The latter can be assigned, indeed, with some certainty to Antonio da Ferrara, who may be worthy of special mention in a notice of the early Ferrarese school.

[3] [Albornoz was cardinal before he came to Italy in 1352. In 1353 he built the Infermeria Nuova for the Convent of S. Francis at Assisi, and his arms are blazoned there to this day. Not content with this munificence, for he, soldier as he was, had a great devotion for Il Poverello, he built at the southern end of the transversal nave at the west end of the church, a chapel which he dedicated to S. Catherine of Alexandria. He commissioned these paintings, and was painted there himself genuflecting to S. Clemente, the titular of his church. There he is buried, his body having been brought from Viterbo in 1367 when he died. *Cf.* FRATTINI, *op. cit.*, p. 186 *et seq.* VENTURI (*op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 862) thinks the frescoes there are by a painter of the Marche influenced by the Sienese. I think the authors have judged these frescoes hardly. If we were to judge them by the fragment of the Marriage of S. Catherine, where she is almost fainting in ecstasy, we should consider them the work of some eager and even passionate hand. But they are not of the school of the naturalists.]

[4] [*Cf. supra*, p. 315, *note* 2.]

some assert,[1] then, instead of being the pupil of Tafi, he must have been the apprentice of a far greater master. The chapels of S. Caterina and of the Maddalena are by two different painters, one of whom flourished in the first, the other in the second half of the fourteenth century; one formed on the manner of Giotto, the other to be confounded in the ruck of common painters of which Italy might, at that time, boast a considerable number.

The frescoes of the Cappella Buontempi at Perugia are of another order altogether. The subjects are taken from the life of S. Caterina of Siena, a holy personage, who lived from 1347–1380, and whose life can hardly have become a subject for pictorial delineation before the very close of the century.[2] Very few of the figures which adorned the chapel, now the bell room, remain; but remnants of a female in a white and black dress, of an elegant and well-proportioned form, surmounted by a fine oval head of aquiline features, may still be seen. A natural and easy attitude, the saint holds her dress with the right and a key in her left hand, a broad style of drapery, remind the spectator of the fine figures painted by Orcagna in S. Maria Novella at Florence. Near this figure, which no doubt is that of S. Catherine of Siena, is a magnificent life size head of S. Dominic, of regular shape, firmly drawn, well modelled and painted in warm light flesh tones. Vestiges may be found also of a head of S. Bartholomew —of the Saviour in Glory—of soldiers wielding swords.[3] Vasari, however, not content with assigning the frescoes to Buffalmacco,[4] attributes them in another place, and quite as arbitrarily, to Stefano Fiorentino.[5]

At Florence a picture in the Academy of Arts,[6] assigned to Buffalmacco, represents S. Humilità of Faenza, and scenes from her life. But the style is that of the Sienese school.[7]

It would appear that the Pisans commenced, for the first time, to order paintings for the Campo Santo in 1299 and 1300, when one Datus, assumed by many to be identical with Deodati Orlandi of Lucca,[8] executed certain works; and Vincinus Vanni of Pistoia, with Johannes Apparecchiati, painted a Virgin and Child between

[1] See *notes* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 61.

[2] Yet ROSINI, vol. ii., p. 52, does not hesitate to give these figures to Buffalmacco. Nay, he presents them engraved as a specimen of the painter's art.

[3] Hardly visible without a lantern, on account of the darkness of the chapel.

[4] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 61. [5] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 20. [6] [No. 133.]

[7] [This picture is inscribed: "A MCCCXVI HEC SUNT MIRACULA BEATE HUMILITATIS PRIMA ABBATISSA ET FUNDATRICII HUIUS VENERABILIS MONASTERII ET IN ISTO ALTARI EST CORPUS EIUS." *Cf.* MAUD CRUTTWELL, *The Florentine Galleries* (Dent, 1907), p. 253. BERENSON, *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (Putnams, 1900), p. 150, gives it to Pietro Lorenzetti.]

[8] See FÖRSTER, in *Kunstblatt*, 1833, No. 68.

the Baptist and Evangelist.[1] A painter of the name of Nuccarus was employed in 1301 to execute the Virgin and Child above a gate of the Campo Santo.[2] After this the records give little or no notices of paintings till much later.[3] Pisa, in truth, did not produce during the fourteenth century any painter above the most ordinary stamp, a fact which is the more incomprehensible if one considers that most important pictorial works were undertaken not only in the churches and cathedral, but in the Campo Santo. It will be seen that the Pisan painters of the fourteenth century formed themselves more or less upon the models of Siena, but at so humble a distance from them that the masters of the great Pisan works employed strangers from Siena rather than entrust their commissions to native artists. Thus, in the early part of the fourteenth century, the Lorenzetti illustrated hermit life on the walls of the Campo Santo;[4] and though Vasari affirms that Orcagna took a great part in the production of that series, there is little doubt that he committed in this statement one of the blunders which are so frequent in his biographies. Whatever may have been the adornments of the walls in addition to the frescoes of the Lorenzetti, and whoever may have been employed to execute them, or whether such adornments ever existed, it is impossible now to say. But towards the close of the century the want of competent artists at Pisa was still sensibly felt, and many from distant parts of Italy were sent for in succession. Yet in no instance were the persons engaged of high renown. As in the earliest days neither Giotto nor Simone could be secured by the Pisans, either because these artists were too much in demand elsewhere, or because the price they claimed was too high for Pisan purses, so, later, none of the great Florentines were employed. In 1370 the frescoes of the Trials of Job were produced, as it is now believed, by Francesco of Volterra, a painter who had long been settled at Pisa, who, as early as 1358, had been elected one of the Great Council of the people,[5] and in 1346 had already executed an altarpiece for the cathedral.[6]

[1] *Libr. Entr. e Uscita dell' Opera del Duomo di Pisa a*, 1299, 1300, in Förster, *Kunstblatt*, 1833, No. 68; and Ciampi, *Notizie, Doc.* xxiii., *ubi sup.*, p. 143.

[2] *Libro F. del Duomo di Pisa*, 1301, 1302, in Ciampi, *ubi sup.*, p. 145.

[3] [*Cf.* for the painters in Pisa, Tanfano Centofanti, *Notizie degli Artisti tratte dai Doc. Pisani* (Pisa, 1897).]

[4] [*Cf.* Berenson, *The Central Italian Painters*, p. 150. He thinks that the Thebaid was painted by some unknown follower of the Lorenzetti.]

[5] Bonaini, *Memorie, ubi sup.*, p. 94.

[6] "*Memoriale*" *of the Opera of the Duomo.* The value of the altarpiece is given at 67 florins 8 den.

Had the records of the Campo Santo been searched with care previous to the destruction of their old bindings,[1] more certainty might exist as to the authorship of these frescoes, which were long assigned to Giotto. Some of the bindings contained entries of payments to artists for work in the Campo Santo, and one, amongst others, to the following effect: "The story of Job in the Campo Santo was commenced on the 4th of August 1371."[2] With the guide of this date a further search in the books of 1372 resulted in the discovery of the following record: "Francesco da Volterra, of the Cappella S. Nicholai, received of the said *operaio* sixty lib. six sold. eight den. due to him for blue and other colours, size, eggs, and other things bought for him and used in painting and retouching paintings done by him and his companions, as more fully appears from a written parchment in the cover of a previous book."[3] The name of Francesco da Volterra, in company of one Neruccio and one Berto is, however, to be found in the records of 1370 as well as in those of 1372. That of one Cecco di Pietro, a Pisan painter who has left behind him some interesting works, remains in notices of the same year; and of Neruccio alone it is known that, in 1370, he furnished designs for the glass windows of the "opera."[4] The only doubt which may assail the reader of these records is that, whereas the paintings of Job are said to have been commenced in 1371, the payments to Francesco da Volterra appear to have been made as early as 1370, and the following alternative must be put: either it is an error to assign the frescoes of Job to Francesco, or the transcript from the book covers errs in the use of the word "commenced." Supposing, however, that Francesco did execute these interesting works, one may inquire of what school he is, and whence he came. His style is doubtless Giottesque, but so many painters went by the name of Francesco at Florence that it is not possible to determine which of them is Francesco da Volterra. The following list is extracted from the register of the Painters' Guild:

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[1] Which took place in 1802–3.

[2] This record has been given fully by E. FÖRSTER in *Beiträge, ubi sup.*, p. 114, and may still be seen at Pisa (1864).

[3] This record was found by Dr. Heyse of Magdeburg. E. FÖRSTER in *Beiträge, ubi sup.*, p. 115.

[4] See the records now (1864) in possession of Signor Ciappei, also CIAMPI'S notice of them, in *Notizie, ubi sup.*, p. 96, and FÖRSTER, *Beiträge, ubi sup.*, p. 114.

Years.	Names.	Surnames.	Years.	Names.	Surnames.
1340	Francesco	Pardi.	1344	Francesco	Cialli.
—	—	Consigli.	1348	—	Bondanza.
—	—	Bertini.	—	—	del Maestro Niccola.
—	—	Carsellini.			
—	—	Vannini.	1365	—	Bartoli.
1341	—	di Maestro Giotto.	1368	—	Neri.
			1371	—	Boni.
1342	—	Cennamella.	1378	—	Pucci.[1]

Vasari mentions amongst the artists enrolled and registered in the old Company of Painters, Francesco di Maestro Giotto, of whom he is unable to give any notice,[2] and, as the foregoing list is extracted from the register, it would appear that he was a member of the Painters' Guild as early as 1341.[3] The first notices of Francesco da Volterra at Pisa date back only to 1346. Possibly he and Francesco di Maestro Giotto are one and the same person.

The frescoes of Job, painted in a double course at the western end of the south wall in the Campo Santo, and now cut down by the Algarotti monument, adapted to the middle of the space which they originally covered, are divided into six great compartments, beginning from the top near the western gate, with the subject of the feast,[4] and continuing with Satan pleading before the Redeemer, the battle of the Sabeans, the destruction of Job's house, and below, a scene of which no vestige remains, then Job on the dunghill, the rebuke of Job's friends, and his return to prosperity. In the first composition, traces exist of Job feeding the poor, and feasting with his friends at a table, whilst a musician plays the viol, and herds, tended by shepherds, are grouped around. In the second, the Saviour, in an elliptical glory supported above the horizon of a landscape varied with seas and mountains, sits and listens to the pleading of Satan represented as a horned monster with bat's wings and the legs of an ox. Separated from this incident by a high and bare rock is a massacre, over which a flying demon hovers; and, in the distance, the dispersion of the flocks and the burning of Job's house. In the third compartment, Job is prostrate, with his arms raised to heaven in front of two other kneeling figures. He is attended by a group of friends to the right, and seems to have descended from a throne beneath an arched building, to humble himself before God. [5]

[1] Gualandi, *ubi sup.*, Ser. vi., pp. 180, 181.

[2] Vasari, vol. i., p. 339.

[3] Baldinucci assumes, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 167, that this Francesco is Giotto's son, but without any proof.

[4] This fresco was restored in 1623 by Stefano Maruscelli. Morrona, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 205.

[5] This fresco was completed, says Cav. Totti, by Nello di Vanni of Pisa (a pupil of Orcagna); but, adds Morrona, he only repaired damage which

No one who has not the engravings of Lasinio at hand can now take in, without incredible trouble, the whole of these ruined frescoes. With their assistance, he may admit that the compositions do not deviate much from the great maxims which Giotto carried out so perfectly. He will find animation and action in many groups, an advanced study of the detail of form, and a certain amount of pictorial feeling. Some types, indeed, are both grand and natural. The colours, judged from what remains, were evidently handled by the master with ease. The artist, whoever he may be, whether Francesco of Volterra, as the evidence would almost prove him to be, or another, doubtless executed many works besides these of the Campo Santo. There is a common style between them and the four frescoes representing scenes from the life of S. Francis by the side of the Crucifix and Tree of Jesse in the great refectory of S. Croce at Florence ; nor is it improbable, from the resemblance between the latter works and those of the sacristy in the church of Ognissanti, that these are early works from the hand of the painter of the Job of the Campo Santo.[1]

In 1377, Andrea da Firenze commenced the series of frescoes illustrating scenes from the life of S. Raineri, assigned by Vasari to Simone of Siena ; and Antonio Veneziano continued it in 1386, after Barnabà of Modena had been called (1380) to Pisa by the master of the works. In 1391, Spinello Aretino laboured at the series illustrating the life of SS. Ephesus and Potitus. At the same time the frescoes of the Genesis, assigned by Vasari to Buffalmacco, were executed by a painter and mosaist of Orvieto named Pietro di Puccio. Pietro had been employed under Ugolino di Prete Ilario[2] to paint in the choir of the cathedral of Orvieto in 1370,[3] and, in 1387, to execute the mosaics of the front. Invited, in 1390, by a special letter from Parasone Grassi, who then directed the works of the Campo Santo, to visit Pisa, he came ; and, after suffering from a sickness during which he seems to have received every kindness,[4]

had been caused by rain. *Vide* MORRONA, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 205. Yet ROSINI, *Storia della Pittura*, vol. ii., p. 7. and the *annot.* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 135, affirm that Nello was "the author" of this fresco, which differs in no respect from the rest of the series.

[1] The frescoes of the Ognissanti sacristy are more Giottesque and less modern in style than the Job of the Campo Santo, and may have been produced about 1350.

[2] The author of feeble frescoes which Vasari assigns to Pietro Cavallini.

[3] DELLA VALLE, *Stor. del Duomo d'Orvieto*, pp. 117 and 285. Puccio's pay was 18 soldi per diem. See the curious error of DELLA VALLE, *ubi sup.*, p. 288, who makes the painter and mosaist of the same name two different artists.

[4] His apothecary's bills, paid by the superintendent of the Campo Santo, have been preserved. See CIAMPI, *Doc.* xxxi., p. 150.

he painted the frescoes of the Genesis at the western end of the northern side, and the Coronation of the Virgin above the entrance of the Aulla Chapel.[1] Pietro, in the former, exhibited some merit, particularly in the fresco of the ark; but he was evidently a second- or third-rate artist of the Sienese rather than of the Florentine school;[2] so much so that the Coronation was assigned by Vasari to Taddeo Bartoli.[3] On the eastern wall of the Campo Santo, Buffalmacco is said to have painted scenes from the Passion,[4] the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Appearance of the Saviour to the Apostles, and the Ascension. The Crucifixion, a most common production of the close of the fourteenth century, is remarkable for figures of a long and exaggerated shape, ugly in character and features; and the Saviour on the Cross is repulsive. The Resurrection, Apparition, and Ascension, though much damaged, display, in short and stout figures, another hand and third-rate talent, but seem likewise to have been executed at the close of the fourteenth century. The life of Buffalmacco thus necessarily leads the student to the comparison of pictures varying in style and in period, and precludes all chronological sequence. But the aim of the critic is attained if he succeeds in proving that the frescoes assigned to Buffalmacco all differ from each other, and that the life of this artist, as written by Vasari, is utterly untrustworthy.

In so far as Bruno Giovanni is concerned, the reader may, if he pleases, skip the following:

The frescoes which Bruno is said to have executed in company with Buffalmacco in the abbey of Ripa d'Arno are obliterated, but the altarpiece of S. Ursula, produced for the same church, is de-

[1] Ciampi, *ubi sup.*, p. 151. In the first, Puccio represented the Eternal holding the sphere of the universe with the earth in the centre, surrounded by the remaining planetary spheres as explained by the cosmographers of the Middle Ages. In the lower corners, to the right, S. Thomas Aquinas, to the left, S. Augustine; next the Creation of Man and of Woman, the Temptation, the Expulsion from Paradise, the Death of Abel and of Cain, the Ark of Noah, the Deluge, and the Sacrifice of Abraham.

[2] In Casa Oddi at Perugia, an altarpiece in three parts representing the Virgin and Child enthroned between SS. Jerome and Paul, with the Eternal between the Angel and Virgin Annunciate in the pinnacles, is inscribed: "PETRI DE URBIS OPUS." On the predella, the Ecce Homo is depicted between two incidents from the lives of Paul and Jerome. It is a small third-rate work, possibly by Pietro di Puccio.

[3] Vasari, vol. ii,. p. 221. The greater part of the intonaco of this fresco is gone.

[4] Others assign these scenes to Antonio Vite of Pistoia, respecting whom see *antea* and *postea*. [Berenson, *ubi sup.*, assigns these frescoes to the "unknown follower of the Lorenzetti."]

scribed by Vasari [1] in terms almost completely applicable to a picture formerly in the Casa di Commenda,[2] and now in the Academy, of Pisa. There the virgin companions of the British saint are represented with S. Ursula herself, holding in one hand the Pisan standard, and supported by a symbolical figure of Pisa. This is a rough distemper picture split in four places, in great part repainted, of a feeble character and without relief.[3] Nor will it be easy to discover any very sensible difference between it and the neighbouring panels by Ghetto di Jacopo, Jacopo detto Gera, or Turino Vanni.

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., pp. 56–7.
[2] Near the canonry of the church of S. Paolo Ripa d'Arno.
[3] The picture has been engraved in Rosini, *ubi sup.*

CHAPTER XVI

STEFANO FIORENTINO

Stefano Fiorentino shares with Taddeo Gaddi the praises of Vasari, who forgets in exalting the latter that he has already exhausted almost all that can be said in favour of an artist in eulogy of the former. Stefano, indeed, must be considered one of the greatest artists of his time, if it were possible to prove "that he surpassed Giotto in drapery, that he sought to develop with the help of folds the nude of the figure;" "that he brought perspective to such a height of improvement as might show he enjoyed a ray of the perfect manner of the moderns;" "that he foreshortened arms, torso, and legs much better than they had ever been before."[1] He may have done all this; yet such progress would have left its mark upon the art of the time; and, if it did not, as is evident enough, one may assume that the biographer lavished his encomiums on Stefano, that he might, as a Florentine, stand in a better light when compared with Ugolino of Siena, a patriarch who sternly maintained the traditional forms of past centuries.[2] Still, to affirm anything of Stefano at the present time would be presumptuous, and it is best to admit at once that of his works no one can have the slightest knowledge. Baldinucci would lead his readers to believe that Stefano was not merely a pupil, but a grandson of Giotto, because, according to the records of the monastery of Castello of Florence, Catherine, Giotto's daughter and the wife of a painter named Ricco di Lapo, had, in 1333, a son, a painter, called Stefano. The identity only exists, as yet, in the obvious similarity of names. That in the first half of the century a Stefano

[1] He is called by Albertini, *Opusculum mirabil. Novis et Veteris Romae* (4to, Rome, 1510), p. 56, the precursor of Vasari, who used his books, Stefano "symia." Vasari, enlarging upon this, says Stefano was the ape of nature. Vasari, vol. ii., p. 15 and following. Cristofano Landini, apology to his comment on *Dante ap. Botari* (Rom. Ed. of Vasari), also says: "Stefano da tutti è nominato Scimmia della natura, tanto espresse qualunque cosa volle;" to which Lanzi adds: "An eulogy of a rude age." *Hist. of Painting, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 65.

[2] Vasari wrote the lives of Stefano and Ugolino together, and says they were intimate friends. The truth of the latter statement may be doubted.

did exist at Florence is proved by Sacchetti,[1] who mentions him as contemporary of Orcagna and Taddeo Gaddi, and by his registry in 1369 as pupil of one Giotto; and the recurrence of the latter name could give some force to the assumption of Baldinucci.[2] As to pictures, the difficulty of making any deductions from Vasari's or Ghiberti's statements will be evident from the following considerations: "Stefano painted in fresco the Madonna of the Campo Santo of Pisa, which is better designed and coloured than the work of Giotto."[3] Lanzi, who repeats the foregoing from Vasari, substituting for the words "Nostra Donna" those of "our Saviour,"[4] says: "the work has been retouched." It is difficult to ascertain, from statements so vague and contradictory, what may exactly be intended; but if Vasari meant to allude to the Assumption on the inner lunette of the chief gate of the Campo Santo, he assigns it in another place to Simone Martini;[5] and, no doubt, though much damaged, it has the character of a Sienese rather than of a Florentine painting.

Ghiberti, in his commentary,[6] distinguishes amongst the works of Stefano "a S. Thomas Aquinas so capitally executed, at the side of a door in S. Maria Novella, leading to the cemetery, that it seems to stand out from the wall in relief." Vasari repeats the words, adding, "that the figure was painted at the side of a door in the *primo chiostro*," where Stefano also drew a Crucified Saviour!! In the *primo chiostro* of S. Maria Novella, a Crucified Saviour with the Root of Jesse, the sun and moon, and remnants of a head of S. Thomas, may now be seen at the side of a door leading to the cemetery. In the same cloister, a Christ Crucified, between SS. Dominic and Thomas Aquinas, decorates the lunette of the door leading into the Chiostro Grande. The latter has been so completely renewed as to defy all criticism. To which of these frescoes does Vasari allude? Probably not to the latter. The former is injured, but may still be criticised. It is striking in no sense, but has the appearance of a work of the close of the fourteenth century. In design and execution, indeed, it resembles a half figure of S. Thomas Aquinas with a pen in his right, and an open book in his left hand in the convent of S. Maria Novella. This figure cannot be the one alluded to by Vasari or Ghiberti, as it is placed in a lunette

[1] Sacchetti, *ubi sup.*, vol. ii., *Nov.* cxxxvi., p. 221.
[2] Baldinucci, *ubi sup.*, vol. iv., pp. 171, 316.
[3] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 15.
[4] Lanzi, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 65.
[5] Vasari, vol. ii., pp. 91, 92.
[6] Ghiberti, in Vasari, vol. i., p. xx.

above a door which led of old to the chapel of S. Tomaso,[1] but its character is that of a work such as a pupil of Giotto might have painted in the latter half of the fourteenth century, fair as regards movement, natural and regular as regards attitude and form. Yet here, the quality of relief cannot be said to exist. Nor, indeed, is any one of these frescoes such as to contrast in a favourable sense with those of Giotto. Vasari calls by Stefano's name the frescoes of the chapel of S. Jacopo in the cathedral of Pistoia, which Ciampi proves to have been completed by Alessio d'Andrea and Bonaccorso di Maestro Cino in 1347.[2] Ciampi, however, adds that Stefano did, indeed, paint in the Duomo of Pistoia, but in the chapel of the Bellucci, not in the chapel of S. Jacopo. Yet even this fact is immaterial to the present inquiry, as both chapels are whitewashed.[3] There are old paintings in the Palazzo del Comune at Pistoia which reveal the presence of Florentine artists—amongst others, a second-rate Madonna between SS. James and Zeno, in the Salone, dated 1360; but though this fresco makes some approach to those already noted in S. Maria Novella at Florence, they are still insufficient to entitle the author to the name of a great artist.

The frescoes of the Buontempi Chapel in S. Domenico of Perugia, have been noticed as attributed without sufficient reason to Buffalmacco. Were they by Stefano, he would appear to the student as a painter of the fifteenth century, and therefore not a pupil of Giotto.[4] At Rome, at Milan, at Assisi, Stefano is said to have painted, but the alleged fruits of his labour have all disappeared.[5]

[1] A chapel now suppressed.

[2] See the *doc.* in Ciampi, pp. 93, 145–7. These took the place of earlier ones by Coppo di Marcovaldo. See *postea*.

[3] Ciampi, *ubi sup.*, p. 95, also Tolomei, pp. 16–17, and Tigri, p. 123.

[4] Rosini has fallen into this error. See *Storia. ubi sup.*, tom. ii., p. 127. He gives, p. 125, an engraving of a picture at the Brera which is signed Stefanus, but dated 1435. Rosini also gives an engraving of a picture representing the Virgin with the Infant sitting near her, having brought in a bird. This piece is exactly suited to the description of a lost fresco by Stefano in a tabernacle of old near the Ponte alla Carraia at Florence.

[5] Vasari (vol. ii., p. 15), describing the subjects of frescoes in S. Spirito at Florence, repeats what Ghiberti (vol. i., p. xix.) says of frescoes at S. Agostino of Florence. SS. Spirito and Agostino are one and the same church, in which, however, the frescoes in question no longer exist. At Assisi, a painting by Solimena covers the niche of the choir in the Lower Church originally painted by Stefano. At S. Peter's and Araceli, Rome, there is nothing.

CHAPTER XVII

GIOVANNI DA MILANO

Taddeo Gaddi, on his death-bed, recommended his son Agnolo to Giovanni da Milano for the sake of his knowledge in art, to Jacopo da Casentino for guidance in the path of the world.[1] These were artists, interesting in more than one respect; the first, as exhibiting a certain phase of the progress which aided the development of the great Florentine school; the second, as laying the foundation of a line of bastard Giottesques which sunk to Parri Spinelli and the Bicci.

Giovanni Jacobi[2] was long an assistant to Taddeo Gaddi,[3] and was probably educated far away from his native place, which, in the middle of the fourteenth century, was not remarkable for a high standard of education in painting. Gaddi's recommendation to Agnolo that he might take example from the skill of his guardian, displays some misgiving as to the course which the youth seemed bent on pursuing. In his earliest efforts, careful and steady, Agnolo soon imitated, and ultimately rivalled, the dash of handling peculiar to his father; and Giovanni da Milano, had his precepts been attended to, might have arrested and calmed the headlong nature of his style. Giovanni, indeed, though he left the art of his time stationary in regard to composition, contributed much to its progress in less essential and material parts. He strove earnestly to introduce a faithful imitation of the reality, where Taddeo had been most inclined to conventionalism and neglect. To the facility of the latter, he opposed careful minuteness of drawing and research of form; thus aiding the development of that grand line of progress which was likewise followed up by Giottino and Orcagna. But though skilled, he had not simplicity. Not content with Florentine, he studied Sienese examples. Whilst in types he affected the tenderness and formal grace of the latter, in colour he combined

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 119.

[2] This is the real name of Giovanni da Milano, as is proved by an official record, of which more hereafter.

[3] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 115.

Florentine lightness with Sienese warmth. Were the joint works of Taddeo and Giovanni, in the Company of the Spirito Santo at Arezzo, preserved, a more complete idea might be formed of the development of his manner than that which results from contemplating his pictures on panel. These, however, are of great interest, because they supply by their undoubted genuineness the place of records. The earliest of them is that of the Florence Academy of Arts,[1] an altarpiece removed from the convent of S. Girolamo sulla Costa, and inscribed :

IO GOVANI DA MELANO DEPINSI QUESTA
TAVOLA I M.CCCLXV.[2]

It represents the Dead Saviour supported erect, but visible only to the knees, by the Virgin, the Magdalen, and S. John Evangelist. A long rigid form, regular in its anatomy, with a face and hands contracted by suffering, a head with well-proportioned features, betray the realistic tendencies of the artist. In the aged features of the grieving Virgin a sort of Mantegnesque naturalism is apparent. The Magdalen, wailing as she holds the Redeemer's left arm, is youthful but vulgar in expression. The careful drawing defines every form with accuracy, and reveals a habit of excessive conscientiousness. There is a tendency to define the substance of various stuffs in drapery and embroidery, and a prying detail in the fold. The art of Giovanni is realistic, a step towards the more correct definition of natural forms, but undignified by grand or noble thought. As a colourist he is not to be judged by a work which has been darkened and rubbed down.

A more vast and important work by Giovanni is an altarpiece, now in the Municipal Gallery of Prato.

It represents the Virgin enthroned[3] between four saints, with prophets in medallions above—an episode below. Thus, beneath the Virgin enthroned is the Annunciation ; beneath, S. Bernard,[4] the Virgin approving his doctrine ; and so, the martyrdoms of S. Catherine by the sword, of S. Bartholomew by flaying, and of S. Barnabas at the stake. Divided from the foregoing, but really forming the base of the same altarpiece, are six compartments,[5] representing the Birth of Christ,[6] the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Presentation in the

[1] [No. 131 in Sala Prima.]

[2] See the engraving in Rosini, vol. ii., p. 112.

[3] The picture not long since (1857), was exposed to every vicissitude of weather in the hospital of that city. Half of the Virgin's face, part of the right hand, are gone ; the red dress is damaged and the blue mantle repainted. The head of the infant Saviour is new, and the nimbuses regilt.

[4] The white dress of S. Bernard is repainted, as well as those of the three other saints.

[5] Assigned to a Sienese painter of the fifteenth century.

[6] Parts of this scene are obliterated. S. Joseph, as usual, sits pensive on the foreground.

Temple, Christ on the Mount, the Kiss of Judas, and the Procession to Calvary.[1] This picture, of which the upper parts have received serious damage, is inscribed at the base of the enthroned Virgin :

EGO JOHANNES DE MEDIOLANO PINXI HOC OPUS

and beneath the Annunciation :

FRATE FRANCESCO FECI DEPINGERE QUESTA TAVOLA.

Long and slender shape, an affected bend, and somewhat forced tenderness of expression, eyes of the small closed kind which become familiar in the school of Siena, mark the principal and most of the remaining figures of the altarpiece. There is vigour and bold action in some, grace in others ;[2] in all, breadth of drapery. In the Annunciation, the angel, though graceful, is somewhat affected in action. The head of the Virgin, with its prim bend, its small eyes, is reminiscent of Simone Martini's conceptions of the same kind. Very graceful are the small scenes of the pediment, whose groups combine the dramatic action of a Giottesque with the soft resignation of expression of a Sienese artist. The Saviour, carrying His cross and looking round at the Virgin in grief, is a reminiscence of a similar scene in the Giottos of the Arena at Padua ; but the wail of the mother of Christ is rendered with vulgar coarseness.

The painting as a whole may have been produced later than the Pietà at the Florentine Academy, the hands and nude, generally, being more studied from nature, more neat and precise. The artist betrays an evident intention of defining the different character of male and female hands, the latter being thin and pointed in the finger, the former coarse at the ends and knotty at the joints. In the heads of males great realism is apparent. The drawing is everywhere most precise and conscientious, and the draperies broad. But the principal charm of the picture is the warmth and juicy nature of its colour, not only in flesh tints, but in the vestments.

Another work, evidently by Giovanni, and formerly in the church of Ognissanti, is now in the Uffizi at Florence,[3] having been damaged and subjected to a necessary restoring.

It consists of two fragments respectively comprising two and three painted niches, with saints in couples above which medallions contain scenes from the Creation, partly effaced or damaged ; whilst below are choirs of martyred saints and virgins, apostles, patriarchs and prophets.

[1] In the Kiss of Judas, and the Calvary, the paint has in parts fallen out.

[2] The executioners in the three martyrdoms are all in bold and natural action, whilst in that of S. Catherine the bending form of the saint is very graceful. The head of S. Bernard before the Virgin is fine.

[3] [No. 32.]

Alinari.

TEBALDO PONTANO BEFORE S. MARY MAGDALEN

School of Giotto. Lower Church, S. Francesco. Assisi.

Brogi.

THE BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN

Giovanni da Milano. S. Croce, Florence.

S. JOACHIM EXPELLED FROM THE TEMPLE

GIOVANNI DA MILANO. S. Croce Florence.

Brogi.

" NOLI ME TANGERE "

GIOVANNI DA MILANO. S. Croce. Florence.

Fine as this work undoubtedly is, because of its colour, pleasing as is the character and individuality of the male heads, the carefulness of the modelling and breadth of draperies, yet is the realistic imitation of nature in it already carried too far for the state of Florentine art at that time, so that one may notice that want of subordination of parts to the whole, which is a fault unknown to Giotto.

But these defects will be found more conspicuous in the frescoes of the Rinuccini Chapel at S. Croce, which, though assigned by Vasari to Taddeo Gaddi and his assistants, are evidently by Giovanni da Milano.[1]

On the walls are scenes from the lives of the Virgin and Saviour. In the centre of the ceiling a figure of the Saviour in a relief rosette, in the usual attitude of benediction, alone, and at once reveals the hand of Giovanni. The careful style of drawing, the broad and somewhat round form of head, ending in a pointed beard, a peculiar mode of detailing the features, coarse, contracted and muscular hands; the mixture, in fact, of Florentine and Sienese styles, all point to the same conclusion. In the diagonals of the ceiling, the four prophets, with their scrolls,[2] one of them with a small head affectedly bent, have all the character proper to the figures of the master, and this character is to be found, likewise, in all the frescoes of the chapel. In the Expulsion, where Joachim with his lamb is shoved out of the temple by the high priest in the presence of the more favoured Jews, there is much movement and great realism in the rendering of details. The features and dresses of the females are exactly rendered as they may be seen in other pictures of Giovanni. In combination with a certain breadth of composition is a study of the details of drapery which afterwards becomes remarkable in Masolino and Masaccio. Relief by light and shade is in part attained, and only diminished in effect by too marked minuteness of study. This, the least damaged fresco of the series, discloses, in fact, the hand of one more capable of imparting movement within the limits of nature, and more able in the delineation of the varied forms in the human frame than Taddeo Gaddi. In the meeting of Joachim and Anna, the action is natural

[1] Vaulting of entrance arch: SS. Anthony and Francis, Andrew and Louis. Between them, twelve half-length apostles. Wall to the left of entrance, lunette: Joachim's Expulsion. Two lower courses: Joachim's Meeting with Anna, Virgin's Birth, Presentation, and Marriage. Wall to the right, lunette: the Magdalen Anointing the Saviour's Feet. Two lower courses: Martha and Mary before Christ, Resurrection of Lazarus, "Noli me tangere," Dream of the Merchant of Marseilles. All these frescoes, framed, as usual, in painted ornament, with cornices supported on pillars, have been damaged by time and restorers. Of the latter, Agostino Veracini and G. F. Giarré are known to have worked in 1736.

[2] Painted in niches like an altarpiece.

and spontaneous, the distribution fair, and the draperies graceful.[1] The Birth of the Virgin is also a good composition of eight figures, illustrating an affectionate and natural episode with realistic truth.[2] The figures are long, slender, and elegantly draped. The Virgin going to the Temple is not unlike the same subject painted by Taddeo in the Baroncelli Chapel, but not an exact copy of it;[3] the Sposalizio a confused composition. The Magdalen before Christ washes one of His feet, whilst He, pointing to her with His right hand, addresses Simon.[4] There is something peculiarly natural in the attitudes of the latter, and of the two apostles who have suspended their eating to listen to the words of Christ; and the composition generally is well ordered and animated. An equally real scene is that in which, Mary being calmly seated at the feet of the Saviour, Martha scolding appears, and, pointing with both hands to her kitchen, declares "that she is cumbered about much serving." The realism of the scene is increased by the view of the kitchen, the cook, and the fire in the distance. Realism in the next compartment takes the proportion of the trivial; Lazarus is dragged out by two disciples; and a smell, which assails the nostrils of the bystanders, is made patent to the spectator by the action of some holding their noses.[5] Wherever the colour has been preserved in this series of frescoes, it is lively, powerful, warm, and transparent. The flesh is finished with mellow transparent glazes, which serve to fuse the parts together. The art of colouring has evidently been technically improved by the painter, and this is a quality not visible in these frescoes only, but in the pictures of Giovanni da Milano.

The impression which the paintings of this chapel creates is not that which results from the contemplation of a purely Florentine work such as that of Taddeo might be. There is something Sienese in the warm, yet powerful colour, in the costumes and their ornamental accessories, in the careful drawing and minute details, in the types and movements of the persons represented. But amongst

[1] The background, now yellowish, has been repainted.

[2] The infant, affectionately held in the arms of the nurse, is tickled on the chin by a waiting woman, whilst another female, by the water pan, stretches her arms out for the babe. S. Anna rubs her hands, over which a maid pours water. An attendant stands by. The cover of the bed, the yellow dress of the nurse, the basin, the dresses of the two servants at the door, are all repainted, and the background damaged.

[3] Like the next scene (Sposalizio) much damaged and repainted, particularly in the backgrounds.

[4] The blue mantle and red tunic of the Saviour are repainted. The background of the picture is damaged. Two attendants wait; and a third goes down the steps outside, to the left.

[5] Martha and Mary in vehement action stretch forth their hands at the end of the grave, behind which the Saviour stands. The dresses of the Saviour and the women are repainted.

The "Noli me tangere" is completely repainted; and so is the dream of the Merchant of Marseilles.

the pure Sienese, no painter possessed so much of Florentine composition, whilst at the same time, the principles and maxims of Giotto were better preserved by Taddeo.

That the Rinuccini Chapel was built late in the fourteenth century seems to be admitted. The altarpiece which adorns it is by an inferior hand, and has in common with the frescoes the date of 1379. It is evident, indeed, that the latter are of a later date than the authentic pictures of Giovanni da Milano. In 1366 he had finally settled with his family at Florence ; and the record of his admission to the freedom of the city, on the 22nd of April of that year, is still preserved.[1] To him may be assigned the recently discovered frescoes of a nun and a knight with their patron saints at each side of the Virgin in the cloister of the Carmine at Florence.[2] With some grandeur and nobleness in the figure and attitude, the Virgin's face recalls the Sienese type of Simone Martini. The kneeling nun is fine, and the saints full of dignity. The colour, where it remains, is warm and pleasing, the draperies broad and flowing.

Another painting which presents many of the characteristics of Giovanni da Milano is a lunette fresco above the portal of S. Niccolò of Prato, representing the Virgin and Child enthroned between S. Dominic and S. Nicholas of Tolentino. The movement of the Virgin is given with masterly ease, the colour generally is bright and vigorous.[3]

[1] See the original document transcribed in *Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani* (Flor., Vieusseux, 1858, 8vo), vol. ii., p. 65. He is there called Johannes Jacobi de Mediolano. [Giovanni da Milano was, however, at work in Rome in 1369 in the Vatican with the artists called to Rome by Urban V. *Cf.* Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 897.]

[2] Subject : Virgin enthroned with the Infant, the latter extending its hand to an armed man kneeling in front and presented by S. James, near whom S. Anthony. To the right of the Virgin, a kneeling nun introduced by S. John Evangelist, near whom is a female saint with a palm and cup. The fresco is much damaged by time. On the painted cornice are the arms, according to Passerini, one of the best heraldic scholars in Italy, of the Bovarelli, a Florentine family of the fourteenth century.

[3] See *antea*, as to pinnacles of the altarpiece [No. 579 in the National Gallery]. Other fragments or relics in other places are of insufficient importance, and require no further comment.

CHAPTER XVIII

GIOTTINO

Contemporary with Taddeo Gaddi in Florence lived a vast number of artists whose labours have remained unknown to posterity. Of fourteen masters composing the council of painters at S. Maria del Fiore in 1366, two or three in addition to Taddeo and Orcagna have names connected with works. If, from the list of members of the council, one passes to that of painters allowed to compete for designs and models, the number of unknown names is surprising. Yet paintings without ascertained authors are not less numerous than masters without authenticated works. Half the difficulties of classifying the productions of Italian art arise from the precipitation with which early writers connected pictures with names and names with pictures, thus creating confusion of styles, of dates, and of men. These difficulties become insurmountable when nicknames occur, and a new element of doubt is superadded to so many others previously existing. Orcagna is known to be the nickname of Andrea Cioni, shortened from "Arcagnolo." No success has yet attended the effort to trace the real name of Giottino. Ghiberti in one of his commentaries[1] affirms that Maso,[2] the disciple of Giotto, painted a chapel in S. Agostino at Florence (later S. Spirito), a space above the portal of the same church, and a tabernacle on the square before it. In the church of S. Croce, he decorated the chapel of S. Silvestro with scenes from the life of that saint and from that of the Emperor Constantine. Vasari, writing many years later, assigns the whole of these works to "Tommaso di Stefano called Giottino,[3] born in 1324, and a pupil of his father Stefano." Having thus affirmed that Tommaso is the son of

[1] Ghiberti, *Com.* 2, in Vasari, vol. i., p. xxi.

[2] [Vasari under the name of Giottino really includes at least three persons: the Maso mentioned by Ghiberti—Maso di Banco, that is—working from 1320-1352; Giotto di Maestro Stefano, who was in Florence in 1368 and in Rome in 1369; and Tommaso di Stefano the architect. *Cf.* Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 461, *note* 1 and 495. *Cf. also* Suida, *Studien zur Trecento Malerei.* II. in *Repertorium für K.*, xxvii.]

[3] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 140.

Stefano, he adds : " some believed he was the son of Giotto, which is not true, it being certain, or rather generally believed (for in such matters who shall ever dare to affirm) that he was the son of the painter Stefano Fiorentino." Without, for the present, attempting to fathom the contradictions of Vasari, who a little further adds that Giottino " was more perfect than his master Giotto," it is best to pass at once to the consideration of the only work which remains of those assigned by Ghiberti to Maso and by Vasari to Tommaso called Giottino. This work is the series of frescoes which decorates the chapel of S. Silvestro in S. Croce at Florence. They represent the miracles of S. Silvester as related in the Golden Legend. It is affirmed there :

" That, the Emperor Constantine being afflicted with a sore leprosy, three thousand boys were brought together for slaughter, that a bath of their warm blood might assist in curing him. Moved, however, by the wails of the mothers, and in this of more tender frame than Herod, he declared himself ready to die rather than be cured by such means. In the night, S. Peter and S. Paul appeared to the Emperor telling him that they were sent by the Lord Jesus Christ to reward him for his holy horror of human blood, and to inform him that if he were bathed in water by Sylvester, Bishop of Rome, he should be cured of his leprosy. Sylvester, who had prudently retired from Rome for fear of persecution, returned thither at Constantine's desire, and, being told by the Emperor that he had seen two gods in a dream, replied that those he had seen must be the apostles Peter and Paul. Of this Constantine was convinced when Sylvester showed him portraits of the apostles, and he then consented to be baptized.[1] Helen congratulated Constantine on having surrendered idolatry, but regretted that he should have become a convert to the religion of Christ. Constantine agreed to allow that a dispute should take place between Sylvester and one hundred and sixty-one Jewish doctors, before himself and two judges, Craton and Zenophilus. All were converted to Sylvester's opinion except Zambri, who, to prove the might of the God of the Jews, ordered a wild bull to be brought in, and killed him by whispering in his ear. Sylvester triumphed over the Jew by restoring the bull to life in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and finally ensured the triumph of Christianity by sealing the lips of a dragon, who with his breath had already killed upwards of three hundred persons daily. Further he restored to life two magi who had perished in the vicinity of the monster."

The principal incidents of this legend were painted on the walls

[1] The bath in which Constantine was cured of his leprosy was of porphyry ; and it was a charge against Rienzi that he had sacrilegiously used it. The legend was believed till much later.

of the chapel: the last, in which Sylvester seals the lips of the monster, being the finest of the series. All, however, are well arranged, and explain their subject. The movements are animated and the heads not without individuality. The great laws of composition are admirably maintained in the final miracle, where the groups and incidents are bound together with a perfect sense of unity. The landscape of houses and ruins, suited to the scene, and to the distribution of the space, displays that freedom from conventionalism or artifice which is so pleasing a feature in Giotto's frescoes. Nothing can be more forcibly rendered than the action of Sylvester, who, with dignified repose and fearlessness, seals the mouth of the monster; nothing more natural than the expression in the eyes of the friar holding his nose to exclude the smell. The art is here, it is true, pushed on in the path of realism. Still the form and the action, if not conceived from a high and noble point of view, are true and decorous. The draperies are broad in their sweep, the drawing firm. Form and detail are studied, without detriment to the mass, and in the draperies, in joints and articulations, and even in more minute particulars, the neglect common to so many Giottesques even at the end of the fourteenth century, is not too apparent. Naturalism is carried much further than it was by Giotto, quite as far as it was by Giovanni da Milano; but, by its side, the great laws of composition are preserved; and in this the painter shows himself purely Florentine. He gave an impulse to Giottesque art without any pedantry of imitation, and possessed the motive principles which must regulate its progress. He coloured his pictures with warm but still clear tones, using them with a full brush and broadly modelling the parts, yet giving their due share of importance and finish to details.[1] If Vasari meant that this painter inherited the spirit of Giotto, he was right. The rest of the paintings in the chapel are much damaged.[2]

[1] The intonaco has in many places fallen out.

[2] On the wall opposite the foregoing are traces in a lunette of the wailing mothers before Constantine, who sits in a chariot. To the right, the vision of SS. Paul and Peter, Constantine crying out in his sleep, tended by two attendants at the bed foot (all but obliterated), whilst a servant outside looks in inquiringly. Beneath this, in a recess, the Saviour on the tomb (repainted) with two saints in the vaulting and two prophets in side medallions. Beneath the fresco of the wailing mothers is a stone monument to Bettino de' Bardi, on the top of which is painted the kneeling figure of that person in prayer looking up to the Saviour, above him, in a red mantle carried to heaven by angels. This fresco has suffered much from damp. Of the angels, two sound trumps and four bear the emblems of the Passion. They are weighty in form and proud in bearing. In the vaulting of the recess, in which the tomb

Similar character and style, technical execution, drawing and colour, reveal the same manner in the crypt chapel or funeral vault of the Strozzi beneath the Cappellone degli Spagnuoli in S. Maria Novella,[1] where an inscription, carved on a slab, runs as follows :

DOM. BENEDICTI PETRI ET BENEDICTI CARROCII DE STROZZIS, ET DESCENDENTIUM.

In the Crucifixion,[2] the Saviour, in features like one in glory in the Cappella S. Silvestro is no longer grand and imposing like that of Giotto, but shows an effort at greater realism in the research of nude forms. Amongst the principal figures, one old and bearded, behind the Virgin, the second from the left, is full of character. On the wall to the left of the entrance is a powerful composition representing the Virgin in Adoration [3] before the infant Saviour,[4] where a curious realism may be noticed in the action of one of the shepherds who holds back a barking dog. The painter might, indeed, well deserve for this the nickname of " ape of nature " which Vasari applies to Stefano Fiorentino. This is no Giottesque composition, yet it is well ordered and distributed. The features of the Virgin are not without softness and feeling. A pensive gravity marks S. Joseph, whose head is Giottesque in type and powerfully rendered. The angels, though graceful and slender, have still something more than usually masculine about them, and he who announces the advent of the Saviour to the shepherds is somewhat in Taddeo Gaddi's manner. Here as at S. Silvestro is the art of one combining Giottesque qualities with a technical advance equal to that which marked the work of Giovanni da Milano, and therefore of one apparently living in the second half

and fresco are placed, are two prophets and medallions of saints. Above, two medallions with figures. In the third side of the chapel pierced by a window, are figures, to the right, of S. Zanobi and a bishop, much damaged, to the left, of S. Romolus well preserved, and a bishop. The frescoes of the last-mentioned sides are damaged by time, damp, and repainting.

[1] This crypt-chapel is not to be confounded with the chapel of the Strozzi in the same church, decorated by Orcagna.

[2] Lunette fresco facing the entrance, where, as usual, the Magdalen grasps the foot of the Cross, the Virgin faints in the arms of the Maries, soldiers and priests stand around, and angels wail about the principal figure. Where the colour has fallen the original grey preparation of the angels appears. In the four sections of the ceiling, four prophets. Vaulting of entrance, the four Evangelists between S. Benedict and another saint.

[3] The Virgin's dress is scaled away.

[4] In a shed with S. Joseph sitting to the right, the ox and the ass in a corner, and a choir of angels about. Three celestial messengers fly above the shed, one of whom announces to the shepherds in the distance to the left.

of the fourteenth century.[1] Yet even this may not be affirmed with too great certainty, because it is possible to point out yet another work having the same characteristics, the subject of which would lead the student to believe that it must have been produced before 1350. This work is a fresco on the staircase of the present Accademia Filarmonica, in the Via del Diluvio at Florence, a building called the Stinche Vecchie, in olden times. Here is allegorically represented the expulsion of Walter of Brienne, Duke of Athens, on the day of the feast of S. Anna.

His empty throne stands on the right side of the picture. He has just been expelled from it by a figure holding a column, hovering in the air, and threatening him with a dart. He flies away, treading on the prostrate symbols of justice and law, figured by a pair of scales, a book, a broken banner, and a sword on the ground; and he holds tenderly in his arms a monster emblematic of treason, with a human head hoary with age, and a tail like that of a lobster.[2] In the centre of the fresco, S. Anna, enthroned under the guardianship of two angels, points to, or rather touches with her left hand, the towers of the old palace of the tyrant,[3] and presents to the new guardians of the security of Florence the banner of the city. These kneel in armour and sword in hand, and seem to do homage.

It may not be necessary to take for granted that this damaged fresco was executed in 1343, the date of Walter de Brienne's expulsion, particularly as the character of the paintings would point to a later time. It is certainly not to be confounded with that which, according to Vasari, was commissioned of Giottino for the Palace of the Podestà, where shapeless vestiges still remain of portraits of the Duke of Athens, and his minions, Cerettieri Visdomini, Meliadusse, and Ranieri di S. Gimignano, with the mitres of justice on their heads;[4] nor is it easy to conceive how these portraits or the fresco at the Stinche should have been produced in 1343 by one who at that time, if Vasari's chronology be correct, was but nineteen years of age.[5] But, setting aside again for a time the question of authorship, the same hand as that which

[1] Amongst the painters of the time whose names present themselves as capable of having executed the frescoes of this chapel, we may mention Bernardo of Florence, respecting whom see *postea*.

[2] This symbol may be seen in the figure of Treason in a fresco by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Palazzo of Siena.

[3] The fresco is, indeed, highly interesting as it gives an exact representation of the Palazzo Vecchio as it stood in the middle of the fourteenth century.

[4] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 142.

[5] Being born, according to Vasari, in 1324. VASARI, vol. ii., p. 140.

seems to have produced the frescoes at the Cappella S. Silvestro in S. Croce, and the Cappella Strozzi in the crypt of S. Maria Novella, executed the Piétà, formerly in S. Romeo, and now in the Uffizi at Florence.[1]

Here the Saviour lies on His winding-sheet on the ground. In rear of the body the Virgin raises the head, whilst one of the Maries kisses the right hand, and, leaning over her, the Evangelist looks on in grief. A female saint, melancholy and pensive, sits on the right foreground near the Saviour's head, and another of the Maries kisses the left hand of the corpse. At the Redeemer's feet, the Magdalen kneels, with two females to her left, the first of whom is protected by the hand of S. Benedict placed on her head, the second by S. Zenobius with his crozier in similar action. On the gold ground is the Cross.

Composed entirely in the Giottesque manner, the picture is fine; the Saviour is youthful, well formed, and simply rendered. It is a genuine piece of Giottesque nude. Great feeling and passion mark the attitude and action of the Maries. In the Virgin, however, intense grief is expressed with some realism. In the manner of introducing the patronesses and their guardian saints the artist ably overcame a great difficulty, and succeeded in satisfying at once the demands of his employers and the laws of composition. The forms, modelled and drawn as in the examples previously noticed, show the progress of one advanced in the study of nature, seeking to reproduce minute details in flesh, in draperies, in articulations, and other minutiæ. This tendency almost becomes trivial and vulgar in the figure of the Evangelist. The colour, though altered and deprived of its freshness, is still warm and powerful, and is handled with a profusion of vehicle. Here are many of the qualities of Giovanni da Milano, with greater force of expression than he possessed, and more talent in composition.[2] The question which puzzles the inquirer is, how to reconcile the fact that all these works at S. Croce, S. Maria Novella, the Stinche, and the Uffizi, are of the latter half of the century, with Vasari's statement, that Giottino, called Tommaso, was born in 1324 of Stefano Fiorentino and died in 1357.[3] Ghiberti calls the painter of the Sylvester

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 144. This picture was in the sacristy of S. Romeo in the time of Richa. See *Chiese Fior.*, vol. i., p. 258. [Now No. 27, Uffizi Gallery. Probably the work of Maso di Banco. It was brought to the Gallery from S. Remigio in 1842.]

[2] Baron v. Rumohr assigns this picture to Piero Chelini, a painter of the fifteenth century. See *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 172.

[3] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 144.

Chapel Maso, and gives no statement as to his birth or age. Del Migliore, in his MS. comments to Vasari, notes the existence in 1344 of one "Tomas pictor, filius Dominici, populi Sancte Marie Novelle, afterwards (1379) in the guild of painters."[1] But Tomas, the son of Dominic, would be a different person from Tommaso, the son of Stefano. In no record, however, can the latter name be found. The register of Florentine painters does contain that of one Giotto di Maestro Stefano under the date of 1368,[2] and it is evident that the artist so-called would be much better entitled to the by-name of Giottino than one who should have been baptized as Tommaso. Of this Giotto, Bonaini very reasonably thinks he has found a trace in a record of 1369, wherein it is noted that "the painter Giotto receives seventy livres for two caskets presented to Margaret, the wife of the Doge dell' Agnello de' Conti at Pisa."[3] It has been assumed that Giottino's real name was Giotto di Maestro Stefano; and as this painter lived in the latter half of the century he may be the author of the frescoes described in the foregoing pages. But the difficulty which attends the history of Giottino does not end here. Amongst the works assigned by common consent to him are the frescoes of the Cappella del Sacramento at the end of the south transept in the Lower Church of Assisi. Vasari, it is true, does not mention them, but he says that Giottino painted in an arch above the pulpit, in the Lower Church of Assisi, the Coronation of the Virgin in the midst of a choir of angels, and, about the arch, scenes from the life of S. Nicholas, there being no room left to paint on in any other part of the church.[4] The Coronation of the Virgin may be seen in the place mentioned by Vasari, partly obliterated and partly damaged. The remains would justify the assertion that the fresco was finely and warmly coloured by a painter of the first half of the fourteenth century. At the sides of the arch there are, however, no scenes from the life of S. Nicholas. The Crucified Saviour is there, with the Virgin in grimacing grief, and S. John in a violent attitude at the sides of the Cross. The Redeemer is a coarse figure, but still Giottesque in type and form. Two remaining scenes are taken from the martyrdom of S. Stanislas of Cracow; but, besides being of a different period from the Florentine works assigned to Giottino, and of a different hand, they are vastly inferior to the frescoes of the

[1] *Note* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 140; and GUALANDI, *ubi sup.*, Ser. vi., p. 188.
[2] GUALANDI, *ubi sup.*, p. 182.
[3] BONAINI, *ubi sup. Notiz.*, p. 63.
[4] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 143.

Cappella del Sacramento, which is really decorated with those scenes from the life of S. Nicholas which may be sought in vain where Vasari describes them.[1] Many of these frescoes are, however, gone altogether, and the following is all that remains to be described :

S. Nicholas, hearing that a consul had been bribed to put three innocent youths to death, appears on the place of execution, where he finds the patients kneeling with their arms bound, and arrests the hand of the executioner as he is about to strike off the head of one of them. Constantine, having sent out three generals, Nepotian, Ursus, and Apilio, to a distant expedition, causes them, on their return, to be arrested for treason. But S. Nicholas appears in a dream before Constantine, who sleeps by the side of his prisoners, enclosed in a cage, and calls upon him to release them. These are the first frescoes on the left wall. In the lunette, on that side, is an episode relative to a posthumous miracle of the saint.

Nicholas is at once the patron of thieves and the protector of property. A Jew hearing that no thieves ever robbed houses under S. Nicholas' protection, ordered a statue of him to be placed in his room, and was nevertheless plundered of everything he possessed. In his rage, he took a large stick, and with it administered a beating to the useless image. S. Nicholas so keenly felt this outrage that he appeared to the thieves, and induced them to restore what they had stolen. The painter here represented the Jew thrashing the figure of S. Nicholas with a whip. S. Nicholas is also the protector of maiden virtue ; and one of the first acts that brought him renown was his secretly throwing gold into the room of a neighbour whose poverty would have induced him to sacrifice the honour of his three daughters.[2] He was depicted in the wall of the chapel, to the right of the entrance, standing on the threshold of a room where three females and their father all lie in sleep, a curious and probably real picture of humble life in the fourteenth century. Lower down, on the same wall, S. Nicholas may be seen pardoning the consul at the intercession of the three youths whose lives he had ordered to be taken. In the next lunette the saint restores to life a child enticed from home and killed by an evil spirit. Beneath this, again, S. Nicholas snatches away from before a king a captive youth, and restores him to his parents. The saint flies downwards and catches the youth by the head. The latter is in the act of handing a cup to the king, seated on a throne.

[1] In the old ex-chapter, as one issues from the church, where a door leads to the room, celebrated as being that in which S. Giuseppe da Copertino died, are, on a wall, frescoes, now restored, of a Crucifixion with figures of SS. Paul, Peter, Louis, and Anthony of Padua, and at the foot of the Cross, S. Francis. Six angels hover about the Cross. In the arch, traces of saints appear. These paintings, much damaged by restoring are like those above the pulpit in the body of the Lower Church of Assisi.

[2] *Purgatorio*, xx., v. 30, sings the praise of Nicholas for this.

To the left, the child stands before two persons, seated at a table. Beneath this, again, a youth who had been drowned as he drew water in a cup originally intended as a present to the altar of S. Nicholas, is restored to his parents by the saint. In the side pierced by the arch of the entrance, above the lowest course in which nine out of twelve standing apostles are still visible,[1] S. Mary Magdalen stands in prayer to the left; and S. John the Baptist, to the right, points to a figure of the Saviour in a niche in the lunette. At his sides S. Francis holds by the hand a kneeling cardinal in episcopal dress, beneath whom the arms of the Orsini are depicted, and S. Nicholas holds by the hand a monk in white dress upon which the arms of the Orsini are embroidered. Beneath the first of these groups is the word "Cardinalis" and below the second, "Dñs Johēs Gaetanus frater ejus."[2]

Vasari declares[3] that Agnolo of Siena erected a chapel and a tomb of marble at Assisi to the brother of Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, who, being a cardinal also and a Franciscan, died there.[4] The latest record which has been preserved of Agnolo of Siena is dated 1349.[5] Napoleon Orsini was one of Boniface VIII.'s cardinals, and died in 1347 at Avignon. His brother Giovanni Orsini received the hat in 1321 from John XXI., and died at Avignon in 1339.[6] The Chapel del Sacramento was built for the mortal remains of members of the Orsini family; and it is obvious that the paintings which now adorn it were painted for, or in commemoration of,

[1] Three on the wall to the left are obliterated.

[2] All that remains of two long inscriptions.

[3] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 9.

[4] [According to Frattini, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 94, the two Cardinals Orsini, Gian Giordano and Napoleone built each a chapel in the Lower Church one at the head of the north, and the other at the head of the south transept, *circa* 1310. Certainly the authors are wrong when they say that Napoleone was one of Boniface VIII.'s cardinals, and that he died in Avignon in 1347. Napoleone received the hat from his uncle Nicholas IV., and he died in 1342. He was in Italy, however (Muratori, *an ann.*) in 1308, and it might seem that it was then he built this chapel of S. Niccolò; and may well have had it decorated too. Ciacchoni says, and Savio (*Le Tre Famiglie Orsini*, in *Bollettino per l'Umbria*, vol. ii., Perugia, 1896), pp. 89, 90, agrees, that Giovanni Gaetano Orsini was created cardinal-deacon of S. Teodoro in 1316. He is represented in this chapel without the hat; therefore it might seem that the frescoes must have been painted before that date. No credence need be given to Vasari when he asserts that "Giottino" was born in 1324; but if he is right it would seem that he cannot have painted the frescoes here. We shall probably never know who did paint them, but on all accounts it seems that the authors are right when they say that they belong to the "first half" of the fourteenth century.]

[5] *Documenti dell' Arte Sanese*, by Gaetano Milanesi, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 206.

[6] See Eggs, *Purpura Docta*, vol. i., pp. 248, 317. Eggs corrects Ciacchoni, who affirmed that Gaetano Orsini died at Avignon in 1355. Richa relates of the latter, that he caused the steeple of the Badia of the Benedictines of Florence to be rebuilt in 1330 (vol. i. of *Chiese Fior.*, p. 195).

Anderson.

THE DEPOSITION

GIOTTINO.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

Brogi.

THE VISION OF BETTINO DE' BARDI

? GIOTTINO. S. Croce, Florence

Alinari.

PRESENTATION OF CARDINAL ORSINI AND HIS BROTHER TO OUR LORD

GIOTTINO. Lower Church, S. Francesco, Assisi.

Napoleon and Gaetano, whose remains were no doubt transferred, as was usual, from Avignon to Italy. There is no certainty as to the date of the paintings of the chapel, but the style points to the first half of the century as the period of their execution. One may say generally of them that they are fine, well ordered, and animated compositions, and that they exhibit considerable power in the rendering of movement and action. Artists of the earlier part of the fourteenth century seldom imparted more life to their incidents than may be observed in the groups formed by the saint presenting to the delighted parents the child who had been drowned. Paternal affection overflows in the figure and face of the father, who, as he sits at the table, embraces his son. A longing to grasp him to her bosom appears in that of the mother with outstretched arms; trust in that of the person who points with a finger to heaven. The dog barks and capers with joy at sight of the lost regained, and the saint himself is admirable in repose as he presents the boy. Ease of movement may be found in the figure of S. Nicholas, flying down to rescue the young captive, great energy in his action where he stops the arm of the executioner. Variety of expression, noble forms and features, mark the faces of the youths interceding for the consul. The apostles of the lower course are, after those of Giotto in the altarpiece of Rome, the most admirable that were produced in the early times of the revival, exhibiting that gravity, repose, and individuality of character which are essential to effect in such representations. In the vaulting of the arches are figures of male and female saints with fresh and attractive faces, noble in shape and stature, finely and broadly draped, and executed with great intelligence of form. Great feeling, too, is shown for the rotundity resulting from the proper juxtaposition of light and shade. Hands, feet, carefully drawn, though not more minutely detailed than was usual at this time, reveal a pupil of Giotto; but there is a tendency to display the human features in comparatively small proportions, and to lavish minute care on embroideries. The colour is light and clear, rosy and well fused, and transparent in shadow.[1] No painter ever showed himself at once a better or a closer imitator of Giotto. Not even Taddeo Gaddi exhibited so completely his great laws of composition, nor did any pupil of Giotto so thoroughly preserve his great qualities; yet, at the same

[1] One may point to the figure of the Saviour before S. John as grand in the regularity of its forms. The lights of some draperies are touched in gold, as for instance in the figure of S. Peter.

time, display symptoms of progress within the bounds of the truth and of nature as they were defined by the great Florentine. The frescoes of the Cappella del Sacramento, at Assisi, do more honour to the school of Giotto than any that were produced at the same period—that is, in the first half of the fourteenth century. But the frescoes inside the chapel are not more remarkable than those which decorate the outer face of the wall in which the entrance arch is pierced. These frescoes are, indeed, close to those of Giotto and differ slightly from them ; but they also differ slightly from those illustrating the life of S. Nicholas so that it is difficult to say whether they are by the same hand. They are, however, of a later date than the frescoes by Giotto, and are executed in a style not dissimilar from those inside the Chapel del Sacramento. They represent, on one side of the arch, the death of a child by the fall of a house, and his resurrection at the intercession of S. Francis.[1] On the opposite side of the arch is the resurrection of the child,[2] a very fine composition, in part damaged and discoloured, but very animated. The medallion prophets in the painted ornament are different from those of the other frescoes in the transept. Above these two scenes is a splendid Annunciation, with a majestic figure of Gabriel, and a Virgin erect and shrinking back in surprise, but matronly and well folded in her blue mantle. The draperies have the breadth of those in the apostles of the chapel. The head of the announcing angel is round and pleasant. Puccio Capanna is, according to some writers, the painter of the Annunciation ; but who can pretend to affirm this with any certainty ? A Madonna amongst saints,[3] in style much resembling these frescoes, perhaps feebler, adorns the Medici Chapel in S. Croce at Florence. Of the saints, Bartholomew is especially fine. In S. Chiara of Assisi, an

[1] In the first of these scenes, the ruins of a house may be seen in the distance to the left, and on the foreground a man, almost turning his back to the spectator, holds the corpse of the child, which the mother in an agony of grief stoops to kiss. Behind her, a female wrings her hands, another tears her hair, a third lacerates her cheeks with her nails, and more to the right are other female spectators. On the extreme left, a man stands in profile, to whom tradition gives the name of Giotto. Vasari having stated in a general way, that in the sides of this portion of the church a portrait of Giotto existed. VASARI, vol. i., p. 317.

[2] S. Francis in flight appears in the upper story of a house where he lay, and may be observed to rise in bed. A youth runs down a flight of outer steps to make the miracle known, whilst in front of the house, a tressel lies ready for the body. The clergy has arrived and a crowd waits to follow the funeral.

[3] SS. Louis, John the Baptist, Bartholomew, Peter, and other saints. In the medallions of the niches are prophets.

edifice which owed much of its internal decoration to Giottino,[1] some vestiges of the art of the fourteenth century are preserved. The figures in the ceiling of the transept [2] seem, however, to have been painted there by an artist of the fourteenth century, but of much lower powers than he who executed the Chapel del Sacramento. Vasari only affirms that Giottino painted scenes from the life of S. Chiara in the church of that name. Traces of such subjects have lately been recovered from whitewash in the sides of the right transept, as well as remains of incidents from the life of the Saviour ; [3] but the remnant so recovered seems to have been originally of very small value. Besides these frescoes or fragments of frescoes in S. Chiara, a Crucifixion (altarpiece) of the fourteenth century is also preserved, which, though some resemblance may be traced in it to other third-rate paintings at Pistoia, one may still hesitate to ascribe, as has been done, to Puccio Capanna. Even in the private church of the convent of S. Chiara, whose frescoes have that species of renown which generally attaches to carefully guarded treasures, the scenes of the Passion, painted on the walls, are of a low order, the least defective of which, a Deposition from the Cross,[4] is painted in a soft method of colour.[5] A diligent search throughout the convents of Assisi produces no further result ; their walls being in every instance carefully whitewashed.[6] That the works of two or more painters are concealed under the name of Giottino has been shown ; but, with the knowledge at present attainable, all that can be done is to classify the frescoes and paintings according to

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 143.

[2] SS. Agnes, Monica, Catherine, Mary, Chiara, Cecilia, Lucy guarded by angels, in the space diagonally divided.

[3] The Flight into Egypt and Massacre of the Innocents, for instance, which had not been whitewashed when Rumohr wrote at the beginning of this century. He notices them for the purpose of showing that in the fourteenth century no one objected to seeing the acts of S. Chiara compared to those of the Virgin. This is truer than the artistic opinion that these frescoes are like others assigned to Giottino. *Forschungen*, vol. ii., *note* to p. 213.

[4] Above which are S. Chiara, a monk, the Virgin and Child, S. Francis, and another saint.

[5] In the same chapel a miraculous Crucifix is preserved, which certainly dates as far back as the tenth century.

[6] The following is a list of works mentioned by Vasari, which have since perished—at S. Stefano al Ponte Vecchio, at the Frate Ermini, SS. Spirito, Pancrazio, Gallo, Lorenzo da Ginocchi, in S. Maria Novella, Ognissanti, Convent alle Campore, Ponte a Romiti in Valdarno, all in and about Florence; at Rome in the Lateran, in Casa Orsini (? which of them) at Araceli, at Assisi, above the gate leading to the Duomo. Vasari also assigns to Giottino a marble statue on the campanile of S. Maria del Fiore, which still exists and has the Giottesque character of a follower of Andrea Pisano. *Vide* Vasari, vol. ii., pp. 140 to 144.

style and technical execution. Time may bring some records to light and facilitate the studies of later historians. The clue which might be given by the works of Giottino's pupils is wanting; of Giovanni dal Ponte and Lippo, whose lives are written by Vasari, not a single picture or fresco remains. Of Giovanni Tossicani d'Arezzo no works have been preserved; but it is characteristic of Vasari that he makes that artist, a pupil of Giottino, born in 1324, the author of an Annunciation executed at Arezzo for the Countess Giovanna Tarlati about the year 1335.[1] If, however, Giovanni Tossicani mentioned by Vasari be the same who appears in the register of Florentine painters under the name of Giovanni di Francesco Toschani, Vasari erred to the amount of a century in his dates. The painter of that name was registered in the corporation in 1424, and in 1427–30 made the usual returns of his income to the Catasto of Florence. He died May 2, 1430, and was buried in S. Maria del Fiore.[2] As for Michelino it is not possible to say which of the painters of that name Vasari specially alludes to.

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 145.

[2] *Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani, ubi sup.*, 1860, p. 15; and Gualandi, *ubi sup.*, Ser. vi., p. 182.

CHAPTER XIX

ANDREA ORCAGNA

Not the least important or numerous class of artists in the fourteenth century were the goldsmiths, whose costly and beautiful works adorned alike the altars of churches, the treasure chambers of princes, and the plate chests of wealthy citizens. It is unfortunately in the nature of things that gold and silver carving or chasing should be difficult to preserve. An extensive system of credit made the Florentines bankers to the majority of European princes; but at Florence, as in every other part of the Continent, the quantity of the precious metals in circulation was frequently out of proportion with the demand. It is characteristic, indeed, of all great enterprises in the fourteenth, as in later centuries, that they were undertaken with totally inadequate means; and the pawning of jewellery and plate was one of the commonest resources of princes. An unsuccessful campaign, a battle lost, or an expedition in prospect, were frequently decisive as to the existence of valuable gold and silver work; and whilst the knight, when inclined or forced to pay, exchanged the commodity which he required for a link wrenched from a costly chain, the sovereign or duke, the chiefs of a republic, melted cups and candelabra, statues and images, to satisfy their wants. Thus it is that so few specimens of the goldsmith's art have been preserved, and that nothing more remains to represent the genius of the Florentine goldsmith Cione than the silver altar-table of the Baptistery of S. Giovanni.[1] Commenced, as is proved by the inscription, in 1366, it was finished at divers times by men of various talent and renown.[2] Cione, who had a share in it, was the father of a numerous family, whose members distinguished themselves as architects, sculptors, and painters, being the progenitor of Bernardo, Andrea, Ristoro, Jacopo, and

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 11. [Cione the goldsmith seems never to have existed. Bernardo should be Nardo or Leonardo.]

[2] Cione is not, as Vasari affirms (vol. ii., p. 11), the author of the silver head of S. Zenobio in the cathedral of Florence. The artist was Andrea Arditi.

Matteo, the majority of whom have a claim to the admiration of posterity. Bernardo, of the Grocers' Corporation in 1358 and registered in the Guild of Florentine Painters in 1364, is said by Vasari to have been the oldest member of the family, and to have contributed in a great measure to the fame of his brother Andrea.[1] Ristoro is known as *caput magister* in the Uffizio del Fuoco at Florence during the great plague,[2] as of the "Signori" in 1364, 70–76, and 88,[3] and as one of the Uffiziali della Guerra in 1369.[4] Jacopo was a sculptor who worked from the models of his brother Andrea; and all that has been preserved regarding him is, that he erected the tower and gate of S. Piero Gattolini and executed a model of a horse which, after being gilt, was placed in S. Maria del Fiore above the gate leading to the Company of S. Zanobi.[5] Jacopo took the freedom of the Guild of Florentine Painters in 1387.[6] Matteo, often companion to Andrea, as at Orvieto, was professionally an architect.[7]

The most eminent of the sons of Cione was, however, Andrea, known in his lifetime as l'Arcagnolo, and celebrated later under the corrupted name of Orcagna.[8]

Andrea had neither seen nor known Giotto, yet carried out his maxims better than any of the immediate followers of the great Florentine. At once a painter, a sculptor, and an architect, he was endowed with a genius of power and fibre similar to that which marked Giotto and Michael Angelo. His was a mind of wonderful scantling, of that tough and durable material which is rarely found more than once in a century—one which, by the very nature of its being, exercises a striking influence on its contemporaries, and gives a bias to all that comes in contact with it. Orcagna not only understood and grasped the great maxims and laws of Giotto, but he combined, like that great master, all the essentials which unite to make an art progress. He lived at a time when the Gaddi and others had debased the standard which their master had raised.

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 123. He is registered as Nardo Cioni in the Guild of Painters at Florence in 1364. Gualandi, *ubi sup.*, Ser. vi., p. 186.

[2] In 1350. See Gaye, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 500.

[3] *Note* to Vasari, vol. ii., p. 122.

[4] Gaye, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 523. In 1366 (Gaye, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 517) he values certain buildings purchased to erect the barbican of the gate of S. Frediano at Florence.

[5] This horse is in a magazine of the cathedral. *Annot.* to Vasari, vol. ii., p. 136.

[6] Gualandi, *ubi sup.*, Ser. vi., p. 184.

[7] See *postea*.

[8] [Andrea was born about 1308.]

Placing himself on the vantage ground which Giotto had occupied, and keeping within those limits of truth and of nature which were necessary, Orcagna restored the art to its simplicity and grandeur, and corrected the errors into which so many of his contemporaries had fallen. Giovanni da Milano and Giottino had remained in so far behind their time, that they sacrificed the laws of composition and design to the elaboration of parts. Details were by them frequently better carried out than the mass. Expression was sought out to the detriment of the general balance of the whole; or lively colour, in itself pleasing, seemed to crush the composition. Whilst these artists sacrificed the unity which alone produces a perfect picture, Orcagna, like Giotto, gathered into his grasp the scattered reins loosely held by his contemporaries, gave an impulse to art in all its branches, and placed it on a grand level of general progress.[1]

Nature had evidently marked out Orcagna for an universal genius;[2] and, had he lived at the time when perspective became a science he might have been numbered amongst the greatest artists whom his country produced. Intuitively, he accomplished almost as much as was in the power of man without the aid of science. Vasari pretends, but does not convince us, that Stefano Fiorentino and Giottino surpassed Giotto in the production of perspective effect and in the foreshortening of figures. Orcagna was better deserving of this praise; and the student of his works will admit that, in so far as one accustomed to scrutinise nature can fathom the difficulties of imitation, so far he penetrated with success. Figures may be found in his frescoes, foreshortened with a certain daring and success; and his wall paintings generally are more strongly stamped with the characteristic features of his genius than his easel pictures. This was not the opinion of Vasari;[3] but Orcagna was in this the true child of his country. His greatest works were frescoes, as were the greatest works of Giotto, of Ghirlandaio, and of Raphael. His easel pictures were second to them and clearly entrusted, in a great measure, to pupils. It is to be deplored, however, that the frescoes of Orcagna should have shared the common fate of all artistic works of the fourteenth century. The greatest productions of that period in Italy are irretrievably damaged by time or by restoring; and it is not possible to recall

[1] Rumohr feels and endeavours to explain why Orcagna, who developed the qualities of Giotto and improved art in many respects, should hitherto have received less attention than he deserves. *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 215.

[2] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 123. [3] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 131.

a single instance of a fresco in which the merit of the author can be truly recognised. Sadly veiled is the beauty of the design and colour, except in small spaces which have escaped the general wreck. But, whilst enough remains for the satisfaction of a searching critic, too little is left to charm less determined observers; and it might be difficult to convince the superficial that, where, owing to the effects of time, harmony and colour are wanting, those qualities were once conspicuous. Colour is the language of art, appeals to our sense, and leads us to the analysis of the other beauties of a picture. It blinds us indeed to otherwise obvious defects. Its absence may deter us from the admission of beauties which really exist, repels us when we are forced to reconstruct, mentally, the whole of that which is in a great measure altered by the effect of time. Yet in the case of Orcagna, such reconstruction is necessary. Then, however, it becomes possible to compare him with Giotto, the only painter that can stand comparison with him; and the results of the process are equally important and interesting. Giotto is a dramatist, a thinker: he studies and reflects the expression of human passions. He is to the art what Dante was to the poesy of his country. In severe and simple, yet elegant metre, he inculcates great and durable lessons. Orcagna introduces a more yielding and sensitive religious feeling into art—the mild, soft mysticism which finds its culminating point in Angelico. He is a link in the chain of Giotto, Masolino, Masaccio. From the school of Florence he derives his greatest qualities, from that of Siena, from Simone and the Lorenzetti, the lesser ones. He tempered the sternness of the first with the softness of the second, combining in his figures tenderness and grace with severity of form, decorum, and nobleness of deportment. A Florentine, and therefore imbued with the best maxims, he takes from his Sienese rivals only that which suits his purpose; and, though partial to the expression of tenderness, he never sinks to affectation. Vasari is evidently right when he says that Andrea Pisano was Orcagna's first teacher,[1] Orsanmichele still exists to confirm the statement; nor could any one be more clearly fitted to impart grandeur and severity to Orcagna's style than he who had so successfully and conscientiously carried out the conceptions of Giotto. One may almost realise, even at this day, Andrea, moulding the youthful genius of his disciple on the model and with the precepts of his own master and friend; and one may say that, through him, Orcagna was the pupil

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 123.

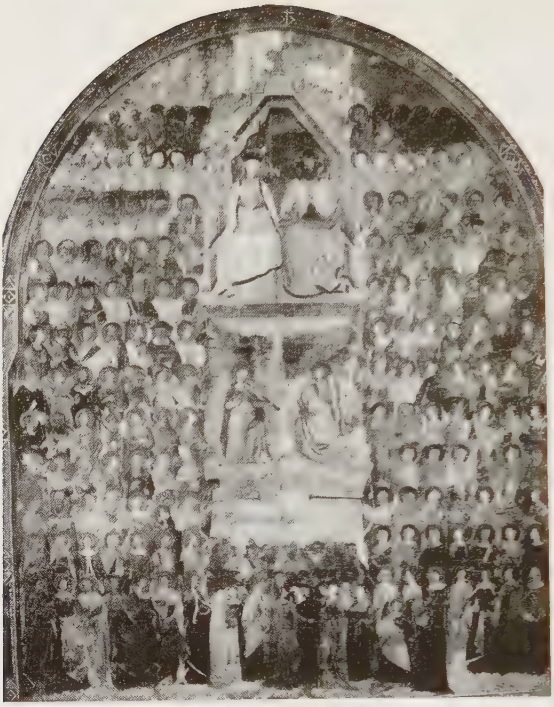
Alinari.

Brogi.

DETAILS FROM THE FRESCO OF THE PARADISE

ORCAGNA.

S. M. Novella, Florence.



Brogi.

PARADISE

TWO ANGELS, DETAILS OF ABOVE

ORCAGNA. S. M. Novella, Florence.

of Giotto. It is less obvious who taught him to paint; perhaps his brother Bernardo, as Vasari states; but, evidently, he combined Florentine and Sienese qualities, and at S. Maria Novella, he united the great maxims of Florentine composition, its dramatic force, with the Sienese tenderness, and practice of colour. In this he marks a new phase of art. It was admitted in his own time [1] that he was the greatest painter who had lived since Giotto; and though Taddeo Gaddi was inclined to believe that painting had declined after the death of his master, this was true only of himself and of those who, like him, were but humble imitators. Sacchetti has preserved the memory of a meeting of artists at S. Miniato, where, after a pleasant dinner and much drinking of wine, Orcagna, being at that time *capo-maestro* of Orsanmichele, suggested as a subject for debate "Who, setting aside Giotto, was the greatest master in painting?" No one appears to have hinted that Orcagna was himself the person best entitled to election. Yet his name was no doubt at that time well known. He had painted the whole of the choir of S. Maria Novella for the family of the Ricci, a chapel and altarpiece in the same church for the Strozzi; he had furnished, in 1357, the model of the pillars for S. Maria del Fiore; he had been, in 1358, to Orvieto to superintend the mosaics of the cathedral, and had already commenced the carving of the statues and reliefs which were to ornament the tabernacle of Orsanmichele. He was an architect, a sculptor, a mosaist, and a painter, and even in those days, when artists were conspicuous for most varied acquirements, he might be considered as one gifted beyond the measure of his contemporaries.

The records of S. Maria Novella are silent as to the period when Orcagna decorated the choir of that edifice,[2] but Baldinucci authorises us to believe that the frescoes there were damaged by a storm in 1358.[3] Their disfigured remains were preserved for upwards of a century, until Ghirlandaio was appointed to replace them by others. In doing so, he used many of the incidents which had already been set forth by his great predecessor.

Equal uncertainty exists, as to the date of the frescoes in the Strozzi Chapel, but they may have been executed previous to the altarpiece, which bears the date of 1357.

[1] Sacchetti, *ubi sup.*, *Nov. cxxxvi.*, vol. ii., p. 220.
[2] Baldinucci says this occurred in 1350, but supports his assertion with no proofs. *Vide* vol. iv., p. 395.
[3] Baldinucci, *ubi sup.*, p. 396.

Here Orcagna painted on the three principal walls, the Judgment, Paradise, and the Final Abyss.

The first of these subjects decorated the wall facing the entrance, and was distributed so as to suit the spaces above and about the sides of the high pointed window of the chapel. Instead of presenting the Saviour in the usual glory, held up by angels, Orcagna conceived Him as if soaring in heaven, majestically wafted onward and half visible out of the clouds, distributing blessings and curses, wearing the diadem of celestial empire, announcing His coming by two heavenly heralds, whose horns sound the last call, and accompanied by angels,[1] bearing the symbols of his Passion. Below him, to the left, kneels the Virgin, with reverence and inspiration in her glance, her arms folded on her bosom, and clad in white; she heads a double kneeling row of six apostles, whilst a similar number, on the right side of the window, is presided by the kneeling Baptist, raising his arms and face in ecstasy to the Saviour. Beneath these tenants of the clouds forming the bases of the highest Paradise, are patriarchs, prophets, and prophetesses, Noah, holding the ark, Moses, Abraham, then saints and martyrs of the early Church, a cardinal, kings and princes, whose joys are symbolised still lower in the space, by a group of female dancers, by whom stands a woman in prayer. In the corner of the foreground, an angel aids one of the elect out of the grave. The guilty and accursed tear their clothes, gnash their teeth, and exhibit the most various evidences of despair, on the side beneath the Baptist. Females, though in agony and torture, bear their suffering with feminine composure. In contrast with the dancing females on the left, stands a group of women on the right contemplating in silent grief the Paradise they have lost, whilst in the corner of the foreground, a demon drags one of the accursed with a cord towards the Hades on the neighbouring wall.

A noble and serene youthfulness, dignity and decorum, easy lightness of motion and a fine attitude are here given to the Saviour.[2] Repose and contemplation are well rendered in the face of the Virgin, the ecstasy of a dweller of the desert in the wild features of the Baptist. Grandeur and dignity mark the apostles, as they sit upon the clouds, majestically enveloped in their draperies, and holding their several symbols, as S. Peter with the keys behind the Virgin. The groups of crowned princes and dignitaries are much damaged, as well as that of the dancers beneath it, by restoring;[3] but in the elegant form of the latter is evidently the

[1] Four in number.

[2] A red tunic covered by a blue mantle, the traditional dress of traditional colours, girds the Saviour. The colour is, however, much damaged.

[3] All the lower part is damaged; and one can only speak of outlines and general movement of figures.

original conception of the dances which charm in the pictures of the Dominican of Fiesole. In the Distribution of this subject, Orcagna perfectly observed the laws of composition, and symmetrically divided the space he had to fill. He gave an additional charm to the picture by making it, as it were, a moving vision. Nature and individuality mark the faces, whose type and character are select. The angels, forcible in motion, are graceful in form and fine in proportions; and they seem truly to fly. Remarkable, however, above everything is their foreshortened attitude. Orcagna dared much in this place. He intended to foreshorten; and, in the general movement, he realised that intention. His figures will not bear the test of scientific perspective, but they are evidently at the highest level which an artist can attain without mathematical rules; nor is it possible to conceive that more should have been, at this time, attained by Stefano or Giottino, even if we admit, with Vasari, that these painters executed works in which perspective was a conspicuous quality.[1] In the choice of human proportion, Orcagna had a clear knowledge of the most favourable conditions, and in that of form, a delicate sense of the beautiful. Life, action, natural grace, slenderness, and elasticity mark the frames of his figures; and they stand on the necessary plane with the necessary firmness of tread. In this, and in the positive relation of his creations to nature, Orcagna was clearly Giottesque; but he displayed the progress of his time by defining and more fully rendering form, without sacrifice of detail to mass. Hands, feet, articulations, in fit relation to the general parts, as in Giotto, were yet perfected with more study. Drapery preserved its old simplicity and breadth of form, clothed the frame beneath it judiciously, and yet was true and natural to the accessory folds. This, indeed, was one of Orcagna's great qualities. His line was simple, but firm and decisive, and displayed the inward consciousness of every form that was to be represented. In colour, Orcagna united brilliancy with softness, vigour of light and shade with transparence. By a massive distribution of chiaroscuro, he imparted relief and rotundity in a measure which Giotto had not attained. His flesh tint was a natural and charming tone, well fused in the passages. His harmonies were true and pleasing. His idea of atmosphere was advanced for his age, and was in proportion to his power of giving rotundity to parts. He was thus preparing the way for the perfection of aërial, as intuitively,

[1] Certainly no such works are now to be found.

he had divined the results of linear perspective. Such qualities as these justify the critic in affirming that Orcagna was the great representative of artistic progress in his time.

To the right and left of the fresco which has given occasion to the foregoing observations are the Paradise and Infernal Regions, the first of which has suffered much from damp and from restoring.

"High up in the centre of the space, to the left of the entrance, the Saviour and the Virgin sit enthroned, the former, young, crowned, and wielding the sceptre,[1] the latter, in calm repose with her arms crossed upon her bosom.[2] About and beneath them, in rows, and tinged with the red and azure hues of the zones of celestial light, are red warrior seraphs and blue warrior cherubs, in prayer, turned towards the presence of the Redeemer, parted on each side of the central heaven, on the clouds of which the throne reposes.[3] Lower down, and at each side of two central angels playing music,[4] are the orders of the heavenly hierarchy, likewise in rows, and comprising the apostles, prophets, saints and martyrs, the latter with their emblems, and each accompanied by his guardian angel, playing instruments, singing or praying. Yet lower, a dance of males and females, on a ground of clouds, separates rows of female saints, whose emblems are accurately given, and who have not the protection of guardian angels. On the corner of the foreground, to the right, an angel introduces a female into Paradise."

What remains of this great work deserves the same praise as the Last Judgment. The tenants of the Paradise seem really in heavenly repose. The easy and graceful movement of the two angels playing music at the foot of the throne seems to accompany sounds of sweet music. Their forms, made out with graceful lines, are grand and beautiful, and, in their conception, one may ascribe to Orcagna the possession of all those qualities which marked Giotto, enhanced by new features of progress. A soft contemplative expression beams in the faces of the blessed, and reveals that mystical spirit in Orcagna which descends afterwards to Angelico; but, in conjunction with it, is more of the manly beauty and force of the creations of Giotto. Here it is that one finds the alliance of Florentine grandeur with Sienese tenderness. The spectator must, however, carefully study what time and restorers have left untouched before he can come to this conclusion.[5]

[1] Dressed in the blue mantle which is much altered in colour.
[2] The Virgin is in white.
[3] The rows to the right have been seriously damaged.
[4] Both of these angels have repainted mantles.
[5] The upper parts of the rows of cherubs, to the right, have been best

The Inferno is completely repainted,[1] and the student can only judge, by the Dantesque arrangement of *bolge*, what Orcagna intended to represent. For the rest, he seems to have expended much fancy in the conception of the figures.[2]

The time when all these works were completed cannot, as has been said, be accurately defined, but they were probably produced previous to 1354, when Tommaso di Rossello Strozzi ordered of Orcagna the altarpiece of the chapel, on condition that it should be finished in a year and eight months. The knowledge of this fact has been preserved in a record of the family, wherein it is declared that Orcagna failed to complete his contract in the given time ;[3] and, in truth, the altarpiece, as it now stands, bears an inscription, which Vasari correctly copied, as follows : "AÑI DÑI MCCLVII. ANDREAS CIONIS DE FLORENTIA ME PINXIT."

In this altarpiece, which consists of five niches resting on a predella in three divisions, the Saviour may be seen enthroned under a red and blue prism filled with seraphim and cherubim, giving with His right hand the Gospel to S. Thomas Aquinas, with His left the keys to S. Peter. Both these saints kneel at His sides with two angels sounding

preserved. The rows of saints immediately beneath these have been damaged by retouching of the most sweeping kind. On the right hand foreground not a dress of the numerous saints standing on the clouds has remained unrepainted. On the left side, many heads are discoloured, some retouched, and others new. The central foreground group has been so completely changed that, where of old possibly interesting contemporary likenesses were to be found, nothing remains but the outlines of some heads.

[1] According to GHIBERTI, *2nd com.* in VASARI, vol. i., p. xxiii., this Inferno is by Bernardo. The modest RICHA (*Chiese*, vol. iii., p. 71) is shocked at the representation of so many waggeries (*baie*) and nudities, which, he says, ill suit the sanctity of the place and the terrible nature of the story.

[2] The ceiling, divided, as usual, by diagonals, is adorned in the centre with the arms of the Strozzi, around which the symbols of the Four Evangelists are distributed. In the ornaments are emblematical figures of Virtues, and in four medallions in the centres of the triangles are Dominican monks, amongst which S. Thomas Aquinas stands pre-eminent, with figures near them, of Faith, Hope, Charity, Fortitude, Justice. The head of S. Thomas, the all but obliterated figure of S. Augustine above him, SS. Jerome and Dominic (much damaged by restoring), a fine S. Ambrose and S. Gregory decorate the pilasters of the entrance arch, in the key of which is a painted Root of the Strozzi family. The three principal frescoes of the interior rest on a painted cornice imitating white marble, supported by feigned pilasters, enclosing rectangular slabs, in the centre of which are heads in medallions in dead colour. In the painted glass of the window is S. Thomas Aquinas, holding a head from which rays are projected on a model of a church in his hand. Time has deprived this figure of its colour, but the design is worthy of Orcagna, and was doubtless his. Above the figure and the arms of the Strozzi is a representation, on the glass, of the Virgin and Child, likewise probably by Orcagna.

[3] See the original document in its mutilated state in BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*, vol. iv., pp. 392, 393.

instruments. The first is presented by the Virgin, at whose right stand S. Catherine and S. Michael, the second by S. John Baptist, on whose left are S. Lawrence and S. Paul.[1] In the predella are two scenes from the life of a saint at each side of one representing S. Peter saved from the waters by the Saviour.[2] To the left is the celebration of the Mass; to the right, a king dying amidst the wails of a crowd surrounding his bed, with a monk kneeling at one side of the foreground, and an angel at the other weighing the soul of the departed in a balance which two demons are vainly striving to weigh down.

Here Orcagna represented the Saviour youthful and not without majesty, with features reminiscent of the Giottesque type and as fine as any of the period. In the figure of S. Thomas, the noble and fine head shows an advanced study of form. S. Peter exhibits an eager desire to grasp the keys. The draperies are grand. In the predella scenes, much vivacity of action may be noted chiefly in the central one.[3] A clear, light, yet powerful colour charms the eye, yet the execution is not, on the whole, so fine as that of the best preserved parts in the frescoes of the surrounding walls, where Orcagna, like most of his countrymen, developed all his powers and displayed all his skill. There is no doubt, however, that this is the finest of his panels.

Another combining all his qualities hangs to the first pilaster, on the left as one enters the northern front portal of S. Maria del Fiore at Florence, and represents S. Zanobius, the patron saint of the city, majestically sitting *in cathedra* with SS. Crescenzius and Eugenius kneeling at his sides.[4] His feet rest in scorn upon the two allegorical vices of "Pride" and "Cruelty."[5] In a medallion on the pinnacle of the throne, the Saviour gives the blessing; and in the predella are two episodes from the life of S. Zanobius.[6] Here, in spite of partial restoring, the colour is fine, clear, and luminous. The life size figure of the Florentine

[1] At the bottom of the Saviour's dress is a hole. The blue mantle is retouched at the knees. The black portion of S. Thomas's dress is retouched and the white part new. The colour and part of the ground, the breast of S. Paul, are gone.

[2] In this central predella compartments some of the colour in the head of S. Peter is gone, and a few of the apostles in the vessel are repainted.

[3] Which, however, is damaged.

[4] The former with a censer, the latter with a book; Charity and Humility, as allegorical figures, support a damask cloth behind S. Zanobius. The head of Charity is much damaged. S. Zanobius in episcopals holds a crozier.

[5] The first remarkable by the golden horns on his head, the second sucking the blood of an infant.

[6] In one a youth is restored to life, in the other the withered elm blooms anew.

saint is imposing and majestic in deportment, of well-chosen type, and lined out with severely simple contours. Animation is in his glance. Orcagna's manner is here revealed, and the spectator has no difficulty in finding the same hand as that which painted the Strozzi altarpiece. A picture in the Medici Chapel at S. Croce, inscribed 1363, is of the same class, and represents in four pointed niches the following enthroned saints: SS. Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, and Augustine. Above the pinnacles are the four symbols of the Evangelists.[1]

Of less marked resemblance with the undoubted Orcagna's, but in the same chapel, is a picture in three parts, devoted to the apotheosis of S. Giovanni Gualberto and four episodes of his legend.[2] The saint in the garb of a monk, holding a staff and book, fills the central space, above which the Saviour gives a benediction. In one of the compartments the saint goes through the ordeal of fire. On the pediment six lozenges are filled with figures of male and female saints. Many of the characteristic features of Orcagna's style mark this piece. In the same chapel, to the right of the door, is a Virgin and Child between Pope Gregory and Job, inscribed: "ANNO DOM. MCCCLXV TELLINUS DINI FECIT FIERI HOC OPUS PRO ANIMA SUA."[3] Three scenes in the pediment are almost obliterated. This picture has much the character of the one devoted to S. Giovanni Gualberto, but is slightly inferior to it. The Virgin and Child are not ungraceful, and the forms of the draperies are fine. Very majestic likewise, and much in the style of Orcagna, is a life size S. Matthew, erect with the pen and book, the central figure of an altarpiece which, till 1860, hung high up in the church of S. Maria Nuova at Florence, and is now in the refectory of the Franciscan nuns of the Hospital of S. Matteo.[4]

Grandly posed and nobly grave in expression, the saint occupies a pointed niche,[5] the companions to which on each side are divided into compartments, in which four scenes from the legend of S. Matthew

[1] [These four saints have been removed.]

[2] Marked No. 21 on the wall to the left of the entrance.

[3] [In the refectory, S. Croce.]

[4] Falsely assigned by some to Lorenzo di Bicci, this altarpiece is noted by RICHA (vol. vi., p. 92) as in S. Matteo and in the manner of Giotto. Signor Gaetano Milanesi informs us, from records in the convent, that Mariotto di Nardo Cioni, Orcagna's nephew, laboured there. [Now in the Uffizi, No. 20, Sala iv., Tuscan School.]

[5] In a blue tunic and red mantle. Beneath the saints' feet is the inscription: "S. MATHÆUS APOSTOLUS ET EVANGELISTA."

are depicted.[1] One of these, an encounter with two dragons, is a grand composition of four figures of tall proportions, full of life and character, and in the pure Giottesque style; whilst another, in which the son of Egippus is restored, presents to us in the rising youth a form of the finest kind as to beauty and character. In these scenes, indeed, one finds the same power and animation as in the predella of the altarpiece signed by Orcagna at the Strozzi Chapel.[2]

As regards execution, this picture, with the exception of its predella, is finished with a bold rapidity of hand, and warmly tinged with vigorous colour. In the second chapel belonging to the Company of the Misericordia, in the cloister of the Badia of Florence, an altarpiece in three parts may be seen, representing the Descent of the Holy Spirit.

The Virgin occupies the middle of the space, and stands, with her arms crossed on her bosom, in the midst of the apostles. Above her are the Dove and two angels. This picture, enclosed in a modern frame, has been in part restored,[3] but the character and style are like those of Orcagna, whether one considers the forms and types, the individuality impressed on each figure, the truthful action, or the breadth of the draperies. The colour has become a little brown, but the same hand may be traced in it as in the altarpiece at S. Matteo, and both resemble in style the Orcagna of the Strozzi Chapel.

Without absolutely assigning these works to the master's own hand, one may say that they combine the qualities which were conspicuous in him.[4]

[1] In the first and lowest, to the left, Christ with four apostles calls Matthew from his bank. An inscription has the following words: "QUOMODO SANCTUS MATHÆUS RECESSIT DE TELONEO, ET SECUTUS EST CRISTUM." In the second, the Taming of the Dragons sent by the soothsayer to worry S. Matthew. Here again: "QUANDO MISERUNT SUPER EUM SANCTUM MATHÆUM DRACONES." In the third S. Matthew restores to life the son of Egippus, King of Ethiopia. In the last S. Matthew is decapitated by a soldier. The inscription on these two last are: "QUOMODO SANCTUS MATEUS RESUSCITAVIT UNUM MORTUUM." "QUANDO S. MATEUS FUIT OCCISUS."

[2] In two medallions, at each side of the central pinnacle, are angels holding severally a crown and a palm. On the medallions of the sides golden balls. The predella, representing a Crucifixion and two scenes from the life of S. Nicholas of Bari, are by a feebler painter, and in a more modern frame than the rest of the altarpiece.

[3] The names of the apostles on the frame are new. The red mantle of S. Simon is damaged, and likewise the red dress of S. Philip. The restoration is of the last century, as may be gathered from the following inscription: "TABULAM HANC, VETUSTATE FERE DELETAM PROPRIA MANU HANC IN FORMAM REDEGIT CAN. BONSUS PIUS BONSI HUJUS SACELLI PATRONUS A.R.S. MDCCLXXI."

[4] One may add to the list a vision of S. Bernard in the Academy of Arts at Florence a feeble example, but soft in colour. [No. 138 of Sala Terza.]

[There is also a picture of the Coronation of the Virgin attributed to

The altarpiece which once adorned S. Piero Maggiore[1] at Florence, and is now the property of the National Gallery,[2] is much altered by restoring. The lightness of the tempera has been destroyed, and the beauty of the master's style cannot therefore be judged from it.

Vasari says that Orcagna painted the choir of S. Maria Novella and the Strozzi Chapel, in company with his brother Bernardo. There is no trace of two hands in the latter, and as to the period when they were produced, it has been proved that their completion may date as far back as 1354. Orcagna must at that time have been an artist of acknowledged merit. In 1357, his model was taken for the columns of S. Maria del Fiore,[3] yet it does not appear that he was a citizen of Florence before 1358, when he took the freedom of the Grocers' Company, and he did not join the Guild of Painters before 1369.[4] As early as 1355, he had received the appointment of *capo-maestro* to the oratory of Orsanmichele, one of the great monuments of mixed architecture, sculpture, and mosaics of the time, the tabernacle of which was executed from his designs.[5] Without entering into a minute description of this monument, which has been admired and descanted on, with not more fulness than it deserves, by the very best authorities in matters of art and of taste in most countries, it may be sufficient to remark that, in the bas-reliefs of the basement the spectator will find the composition and the figures characterised by the same severe style, the same grandeur, united to softness and elegance, which are peculiar to Orcagna's painted Virgins and angels. In the handling of the chisel, Orcagna perhaps exhibited more force and energy, and was more imbued with the necessity of breadth than when handling the brush; yet nothing can be more careful than the polish of his marble. These sculptures

Giotto in Sir Hubert Parry's Collection at Highnam Court, near Gloucester. Mr. Langton Douglas gives this to Orcagna, but Mr. Roger Fry assigns it to Agnolo Gaddi. See *Burlington Magazine* (London, 1903), vol. ii., p. 117 *et seq.* A photograph of it is there given.]

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 124.

[2] [Nos. 569 to 578 inclusive, Nat. Gal.] represent the Coronation of the Virgin and Choirs of Saints, with nine small subjects attached. The No. 581 in the National Gallery, representing three figures of saints assigned to Spinello, has some features of the school of Orcagna.

[3] See the original record in Rumohr, vol. ii., p. 113.

[4] See Baldinucci, vol. iv., p. 395.

[5] See the records in Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 52 and following, which prove that Andrea was *capo-maestro* of Orsanmichele from Feb. 1355 till as late as 1359, at the salary of 8 florins a month. See Sacchetti's poem, describing Orsanmichele in Gualandi, *ubi sup.*, Ser. 3, p. 133 and following.

surpass those of Orcagna's contemporaries quite as much as the frescoes cast in the shade all that were produced by his rivals; and they are, without any doubt, the finest that were produced by an independent artist in the fourteenth century. Amongst the bas-reliefs the best, and that certainly entitled to the highest praise, is one representing the Transit of the Virgin. Nothing can be better than the group in which she is carried to heaven by the angels. The lower scene, in which the mother of the Saviour lies dead, in presence of the apostles, is less perfect, because a certain stiffness and naturalism mar the chief figure; still the passion, the fire of Orcagna are here, and the noble breadth of his drapery is conspicuous as in his frescoes. One may ask, after contemplating these masterpieces, from whence Orcagna could have derived the vigour and character of his style unless from Giotto through Andrea Pisano. Were it even proved that Orcagna had another master, it might still be affirmed with certainty that he owed much to the great Pisan Giottesque, and that in the reliefs of the bronze gates and campanile at Florence he studied those lessons which yielded fruits of surpassing value in the tabernacle of Orsanmichele. Orcagna's genius is proved by his painting and sculpture. His acquirements and taste in architecture may be judged from the elegant and light proportions of the stonework which surrounds the great monument of his skill. Even the iron rail which encloses the whole is a part of a grand unity. It is a pity only that the oratory should be closed, as it thus loses much of its beauty particularly from want of light.[1] This great work was completed, as is shown by the inscription, in 1359: "ANDREAS CIONIS PICTOR FLORENTINUS ORATORII ARCHIMAGISTER EXTITIT HUJUS MCCCLIX."[2] One may remark the affectation of the form in this inscription. As a sculptor perfect, Orcagna calls himself "pictor." Vasari tells us that in his pictures he called himself "sculptor," a statement not corroborated by the only inscribed picture that is known.[3] Francia, at a later time, signed himself "aurifex," thus imitating the example of a great predecessor.

The course of this narrative now leads us to Orvieto, where we renew acquaintance with the cathedral, its great council,

[1] See in RICHA, vol. i., p. 1, a copy of the original sketch for this tabernacle preserved amongst the records of the Strozzi family.

[2] Vasari assigns to Orcagna seven figures of Virtues in the Loggia, which, according to Baldinucci, are by Agnolo Gaddi and Jacopo di Piero (1368). See BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 344 and 402. Also the Zecca or mint erected in 1361. VASARI, vol. ii., p. 130. See also GAYE, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 512.

[3] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 133.

Maestro Andrea Senese its chief architect, and Andrea Pisano, Orcagna's teacher. This great edifice was at last approaching completion, but its external mosaics were incomplete, and its internal paintings unfinished. The Orvietans pressed the Florentines, accordingly, to grant them the services of Orcagna, and this having been unwillingly conceded, Andrea proceeded thither early in June 1358. It is on record that, on the fourteenth of that month, a contract was signed by him in presence of two vicars of Messer Egidio,[1] the apostolic legate, the "Seven" of the city, and the authorities of the cathedral, in which he agreed to hold the office of *capo-maestro* for a year, with the option of a renewal for five years.[2] Having exchanged signatures to this contract, Orcagna returned to Florence, where he continued to labour at Orsanmichele, and did not again visit Orvieto till February 21, 1359, when he spent fourteen days there with his brother Matteo di Cione, and, having carefully examined and determined how the works were to be carried on in his absence, returned to Florence after a treat and dinner given to him, in the name of the authorities, by Andrea da Siena the architect, who for the occasion invited Consiglio da Monteleone a glass-painter, Matteo Cioni, Andrea Pisano, Ugolino di Prete Ilario, Matteo of Bologna, and the Franciscan friar Johannes Leonardelli, to meet him.[3] At the end of two months, little remained to be done at Orsanmichele, and Orcagna reappeared (October 18, 1359) with Matteo in Orvieto.[4] Having taken the oath of service and engaged his brother to work under him at a fixed monthly salary,[5] he diligently conducted the erection of a window in the front of the cathedral.[6] But the Florentines would not let him rest; and as early as February 1360 they recalled him to Orsanmichele, where he might have remained, but for the instances of the Orvietans. A letter is extant[7] in which the Florentines,

[1] [Messer Egidio is Cardinal Albornoz.]

[2] With a right on the part of the authorities to give four months' notice of the close of the contract before the expiration of each year. Andrea's salary to be 300 gold florins per annum in monthly payments of 25 florins. See the original "condotta" in Gaetano Milanesi's extracts from Orvietan records. *Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani*, vol. iii., p. 100 and following. [*Cf.* Fumi, *Il Duomo d'Orvieto* (Rome, 1891).]

[3] He was at Orvieto fourteen days, and the expense (1 flor.) for the parting dinner is recorded. *Vide* in Della Valle, *Stor.*, *ubi sup.*, pp. 115–16, and 284, and Milanesi, *l.c.*

[4] Della Valle, *ubi sup.*, and Milanesi.

[5] 8 florins per month. Ibid., ibid.

[6] Milanesi, *ubi sup.*

[7] In precis in Gaye, *Carteggio*, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 512, in full in Milanesi, *ubi sup.*

dispensing again with Orcagna in his official duties, recommend him to the people of Orvieto, and excuse themselves for delaying his coming (August 3, 1360). But Orcagna speedily disagreed with the heads of the *fabbrica*, and they released him (September 12, 1360) from his contract.[1] He remained, however, for the time in Orvieto to complete a mosaic ordered of him immediately after (September 16, 1360), for the front of the cathedral,[2] and then withdrew, leaving Matteo to fill his place, which that industrious artist seems to do still in August 1367.[3] It had been arranged that four masters named by the Orvietans and two chosen by Orcagna should value the mosaic on the front of the cathedral, after its completion. Petruccio di Vanni came from Rome (February 10, 1361) to perform this duty,[4] but his verdict is not known. Much time elapsed before it was settled what Orcagna was to claim for his work, and a year had already expired since its completion when, on the part of Orcagna, Ugolino and Jacopo di Lotto, on the part of the cathedral authorities, Matteo di Cecco of Assisi and Maestro Paolo di Matteo, met and made a report (September 10, 1362) to the effect that the colours of the stones and the paste had changed, that the plane of the mosaic was not level and the binding substance not good; hence that the mosaic (in diameter eighty-one hands) was not likely to last.[5] In spite of this unfavourable report the authorities of Orvieto met on September 15, 1362, and ordered sixty florins of gold to be paid to Orcagna.[6]

From this time forth no further record of the painter has been preserved except that we find him inscribed in the Guild of S. Luke at Florence as a painter in 1369.[7]

In 1376, an instrument was drawn up before a public notary at Florence in favour of Cristofano Ristori as tutor to Tessa and Romola, daughters of Orcagna, by Francesca his widow.[8] Vasari, who makes Orcagna live till 1389, is thus proved to have com-

[1] Milanesi, *ubi sup.*

[2] See the original contract in Milanesi, *ubi sup.*

[3] Della Valle, *Stor.*, p. 284. At all events, the payments to Orcagna cease to be recorded. The name of Matteo Cioni appears as late as 1380 in a record of works executed at Orsanmichele. See Passerini (L.), *Stabilimenti di Beneficenza* (8vo, Florence), p. 53.

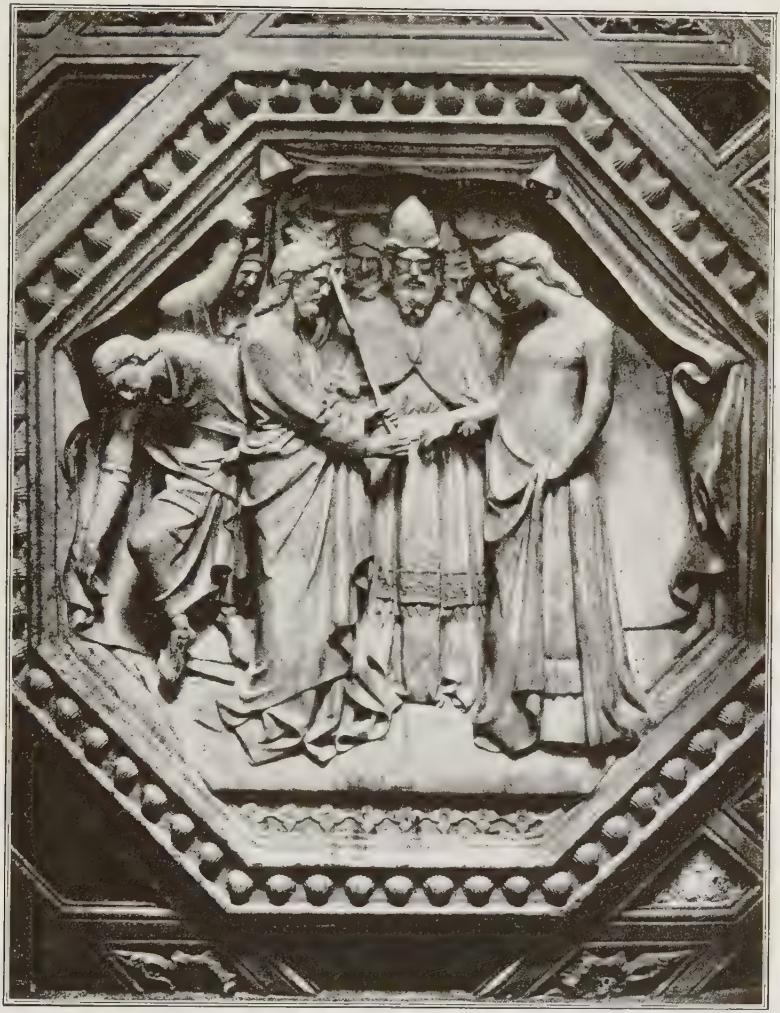
[4] Milanesi, *ubi sup.*

[5] The statement may be seen in G. Milanesi, *ubi sup.*

[6] Ibid.

[7] Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. ii., p. 36, as follows: "Andrea Cioni Pop. S. Michele Bisdominis Orgagnia M.CCCLXIII." Baldinucci copies the register and gives the date as 1369, but see Gualandi, *ubi sup.*, Ser. vi., p. 176.

[8] See the original record in Bonaini, *Mem. Ined.*, *ubi sup.*, p. 106.



MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN

ORCAGNA. Orsanmichele, Florence.

Brogi.

DETAILS FROM THE TRIUMPH OF DEATH

FOLLOWER OF THE LORENZETTI. Campo Santo, Pisa.

mitted an error of some years in his computation. It will have been observed that no mention has been made of Andrea Orcagna's birth. Before the discovery of the record which proves his death, it was customary to trust to Vasari's statement that he died in 1389, at the age of sixty, his birth being thus placed in the year 1329–30; but the date of death being false, who shall vouch for the truth of the assertion that Orcagna lived to the age of sixty? This, however, is not the only error into which Vasari has fallen. To him we owe the assertion that Orcagna painted, in the Campo Santo of Pisa, the great frescoes of the Triumph of Death, the Last Judgment, and the Inferno.[1] It may be necessary to devote a little space to the consideration of this assertion.

At the eastern extremity of the southern wall in the Campo Santo of Pisa, a painter of considerable talent depicted with surprising power the advantages of contemplative over active life, suggesting that, whereas in the pursuit of pleasure, and in the enjoyment of wealth, death invariably takes the common mortal by surprise; on the contrary, the lowly hermit expects it without fear, and welcomes its approach. Various episodes illustrate the main idea:

In the foreground of a rocky and broken landscape forming the left of the fresco, a party of knights, going out hawking with ladies, and accompanied by servants and dogs, have been arrested by a spectacle of no pleasing interest. Before them stands the hermit Macarius and three open coffins, whose contents are doubtless the subject of a sermon contained in the long scroll to which he points. In the first coffin lies a body in its shroud, in the second a body evidently decomposed, in the third a skeleton. A snake glides away at the approach of men. The sudden thought of death, thus presented in its most naked form before a company bent on pleasure, affects the various members of the hunt in divers ways. One of the riders sits on a horse who snorts at the sight of the corpses and looks astonished. To his right, and nearer the spectator, a second, holds his nose; and his hack, stretching its neck, looks with glaring eyes before it. This, we are told, is a portrait of Andrea Uguccione della Faggiuola. Between these, a dame timidly pensive, revolves the past, or dwells on the future with apparent melancholy, whilst the knight at her side boldly points to the objects which cause her reverie. In rear are more riders and huntsmen. The group could hardly be more powerfully delineated whether one considers the human or the brute creation. The track upon which the party is riding leads up

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., pp. 125–7. Ghiberti says nothing of this. But for that reason, Rosini, vol. ii., pp. 73 and 98, reproaches him.

a stony path edged with trees to an hermitage, near which a bearded and cowled inmate sits reading, whilst another stands by, leaning on a pole, a third under a tree to the left milks a goat, and a fourth stoops, looking down. The advantages of peaceful retirement and penitence are thus portrayed. To the right of this scene, and parted from it by a high and barren rock, a group of players, male and female, sits in an orchard, whilst Cupids fly amongst the branches. Castruccio of Lucca [1] sits with a falcon on his fist listening to a lute played by a buxom dame, and a fiddle played by a minstrel. A female, on Castruccio's right, fondles a lap-dog as she listens to the compliment of a knight near her. But, close at hand in the centre of the fresco, Death with her falchion comes sweeping through the air in the shape of an aged female, with dishevelled hair and ferocious aspect, beating space with batlike wings, as one of the harpies of old. In vain a troop of beggars, tottering on crutches, call upon her to hasten the period of their earthly sufferings. Death has mown down kings and princes who lie pell mell at her feet, spares the beggar, and rushes towards the groves where love and pleasure hold their sway. It is that wealth and crime appear in this age synonymous; for on a scroll held up by two angels, hovering above the figure of Death, it is written:

"*Ischermo di savere e di richezza,*
Di nobiltate ancora e di prodezza,
Vale niente ai colpi de costei;
Ed ancor non si truova contra lei
O lettore, neuno argumento.
Eh! non avere lo 'ntelletto spento
Di stare sempre in apparecchiato,
Che non ti giunga in mortale peccato."

A beggar, on the other hand, seems to say:

"*Dacche prosperitade ci ha lasciati,*
O morte, medicina d' ogni pena,
Deh vieni a darne omai l' ultima cena."

Amongst the dead, however, some have been of virtuous lives; for an angel draws the soul of one from his mouth with intent to make it partake of heaven; whilst two devils perform their less pleasing office upon another of the departed. In the sky, a legion of angels and devils contend in the labour of transferring souls to heaven and hell. The abyss may be seen to the left in the distance, with flames issuing from it, and demons feeding its infernal gulf. The angels all carry the cross, the emblem of human redemption; and the groups which they and the demons form are full of fancy and energy.

Nothing remains to be desired in all this as regards order, symmetry, and distribution. Each part is bound to the other

[1] So according to Vasari.

so as to form a grand unity. It is a tragedy in acts and scenes, the sequence of which is regulated with successful art. The parts are everywhere well sustained, and each figure has its meaning in the group, as each group has its fit place in the drama. Extraordinary force, sometimes pushed to a vulgar realism, reigns everywhere. The beholder derives the best idea of the painter's style and power from the group of S. Macarius and the dead.[1]

By the side of this allegorical piece is the more usual Christian one of the Last Judgment.

In the centre of it the Saviour, of gloomy and threatening aspect, sits enthroned in an almond-shaped glory, raising His right arm aloft, and pointing with His left to the wound in His side. On His right, the Virgin tempers the menace of the Saviour, and looks down with pity at the condemned. She is likewise seated in an almond-shaped glory. Above them, at each side, are the six angels who bear the symbols of the Passion. Beneath these, and in a row on each hand, the apostles are seated on the clouds;[2] S. Peter to the left, with disdainful glance, looks down, holding the keys. The attitude of the rest are various. Immediately beneath the Saviour and Virgin stands a group of four heavenly messengers, majestic and terrible in aspect. The first erect in the midst, with the sword, and holding up a scroll in each hand, on which, no doubt of old were the words "Venite benedicti," and "Ite maledicti," is presented with that primitive severity and grandeur which mark the figures of the earlier mosaists and painters. At his feet, a second, seated, looks out in menace,[3] and two others at his sides, blow brazen horns. It is a group recalling the works of Michael Angelo by the terrible expression in it, more reminiscent of the old style which strove to excite terror than of that which Giotto had created; more in fact in the Sienese than the Florentine character. There is, indeed, a striking affinity between this group of angels and that in the same situation in the Last Judgment of S. Angelo in Formis at Capua, a picture which dates as far back as the year 1075. Below,

[1] The riders in the hunt are all repainted as to their dresses; and the same may be said of the central episode, many of the draperies being either new or obliterated. All but a part of the legs and wings of the figure of Death is repainted. The dresses of the orchard group are all retouched and, in the sky above the trees, the first and third angels are altered with modern colour. The blue sky is damaged and the forms of angels or demons spoiled or rubbed away. The painted frame surrounding the fresco has in great part disappeared; but in the upper corner to the left is a half figure, in a lozenge, of Death as a skeleton with a scroll on which is written:

"*Secundo natus Abel, primus mortuus,*"

whilst in the next lozenge another figure of a man carries a scroll likewise inscribed with the words:

"*Primus natus Kayn, primus homicida.*"

[2] All the dresses of the apostles are repainted.

[3] This figure bears a scroll the inscription upon which is obliterated.

and as usual on the Saviour's right, the army of the blessed is grouped behind S. John the Baptist,[1] each of the happy souls looking up towards the Redeemer, and some in the foreground, helping others to rise out of the grave. An angel points out to one in this condition inscribed with the words "*Hypocrisy*" the everlasting abyss to which he is consigned; whilst, more to the right, S. Michael points to Paradise as the reward of a soul led out by its guardian angel. This portion of the fresco is so damaged by restoring that it is no longer possible accurately to distinguish the figures issuing from the tomb. On the same plane, but to the Saviour's left, angels drive back the condemned, the mass of whom is huddled together in bold and ever varied attitude.[2]

The Inferno, which forms the right side of this fresco, is not in the least like that of the Strozzi Chapel, but divided into stories like a three-decker, in each of which figures undergo torture. Lucifer presiding in the midst. Of the four rows which compose this portion of the Last Judgment, the upper seems most to present the character of the fourteenth century. The forms of the nude are reasonable, the intelligence of anatomy fair, and the colour not without relief. The next lower row is ruder in execution, reddish in tone, flat in modelling, and mechanical in outlines; and these characteristics extend to two figures to the spectator's left of the Lucifer. Satan, however, and all the rest of the picture, are modern, and probably due to Salazzino the restorer, who, according to Vasari, laboured here in 1550.

§

These two last frescoes have evidently been much damaged by weather and repainting. It is proved that one Cecco or Francesco di Pietro, a Pisan, of whom there are notices at Pisa in 1370, was employed, in 1379, to restore the Inferno, which had been "spoiled by the apprentices."[3] The portion due to him is probably the second circle and the two figures by Lucifer's side, already noticed as of inferior merit. The upper circle of all seems the only original one, and that which most resembles the best preserved portion of the neighbouring frescoes. From it and from the portion of the fresco which represents the hermit Macarius before the dead bodies, the primitive style of the work must be judged. Nothing in the execution recalls the paintings of Orcagna in the Strozzi Chapel at Florence, and it is evident that the Pisan pictures are by a totally different person. Neither he nor his numerous assistants were Florentines. His figures vary in type, in form, and expression from those of the Florentine school. In the faces of females, the peculiar model which Orcagna affected

[1] This mass of figures is much damaged.
[2] The angels are remarkable for vulgarity of features.
[3] Bonaini, *ubi sup.*, p. 103; and Morrona, *ubi sup.*, p. 243.

is not to be traced. Here is not the symmetrical oval to which he was partial, but a head broad at the forehead with swelling cheeks, and a small chin resting on a broad neck. The hands, feet, and articulations are inferior to his, and different in style. The costumes are not his, any more than the fashions of hair and head-dress. The elegant outlines of the figures in the Strozzi are quite a contrast to the heavy and somewhat vulgar ones of the Campo Santo; and this is equally true of the action and attitudes, and of the draperies. If the Saviour and apostles at the Strozzi be compared with those in the fresco of Pisa, it will be found that the latter display energetic motion, not free from vulgarity, and that force prevails over dignity and decorum. The spectator need not go far, however, to discover, in the Campo Santo itself, works of the very same character. He may take, for instance, the frescoes next in order to those under consideration, which are devoted to Hermit life, and are painted by the Sienese brothers, the Lorenzetti. In these and the two frescoes assigned to Orcagna, he will find no difference whatever, and he will be unable to discern that they are by different hands. Yet Vasari would have one believe that two masters, chiefs of two great but totally different schools laboured there. If the question of distribution and composition be set aside—for doubtless there is a difference in this respect—it will still be found that the manner in which each group is presented, each character is given, is the same in the frescoes assigned to both masters. In Lorenzetti's anchorites, wild power, the austere aspect of the solitary, an excessive energy of movement, are characteristic. The same features exactly, the same style of drapery, the same technical execution, the same feeling, mark the Macarius and the hermits assigned to Orcagna. Take as an example a hermit at the extreme right of Lorenzetti's fresco, bent over the dead body of a solitary, and covering it with a shroud, or two figures in similar attitudes in the extreme left of the same piece; compare them with the Macarius assigned to Orcagna; the same peculiarities will be found in both. Again, take the "happy" in the Paradise, assigned to Orcagna; examine their profiles in contrast with those in the picture of the Lorenzetti, such as that of a woman on the extreme right tempting a monk, who holds his hands in the fire; the same character appears in both. Examine critically the mode of draping, the action, the articulations; choose for a contrast the figure of the Saviour appearing to Anthony in Lorenzetti and the Saviour and S. Peter in the

so-called Orcagnas: what is the difference? Are the landscape, the rocky path, the tree different? Are they not, on the contrary, everywhere the same? It may be asked, whether, a great amount of restoring having taken place, it might not be likely that such a man as Cecco di Pietro, for instance, should have changed the original style of the three frescoes of Orcagna and Lorenzetti into one of his own; but, in reply, it may be affirmed that the anchorites of Lorenzetti are in parts unchanged by restoring, and that these are the very portions which most resemble the best preserved figures of the so-called Orcagnas. Were it admitted, with Vasari, that Bernardo Orcagna painted the Inferno, one might be entitled to claim for him the whole of the remaining part of these works; because the only portion of that episode which has preserved its original character is exactly the same in style as the best of the Triumph of Death. Yet it is impossible to reconcile this assumption with the fact that here a Sienese, not a Florentine character, prevails. Equally difficult is it to admit that Orcagna's composition was used by a Sienese subordinate, the language, spirit, and education of the artist of the Campo Santo being in every sense Sienese rather than Florentine. Who then, it may be asked, is the author of these so-called frescoes of Orcagna? In answer, it will be sufficient to recollect that, as regards composition, the Lorenzetti were capable of this effort. It may therefore be safely supposed that the three frescoes are by the same hand, that of a Sienese.[1] The spectator may at the same time cast a glance at the neighbouring pictures on the east wall, assigned to Buffalmacco or Antonio Vite, and representing the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension, and, damaged as these are, he will find the execution similar to that of the so-called Orcagnas, and composed evidently in the same Sienese style. A word, finally, as to less important points. The painted frames of the three frescoes assigned severally to Orcagna and the Lorenzetti are executed by one person.[2]

[1] [Berenson, *Central Italian Painters*, p. 150, gives the Triumph of Death, the Last Judgment, the Thebaid, the Ascension, Resurrection, Incredulity of Thomas, and the Crucifixion to an "unknown follower of the Lorenzetti."]

[2] The frescoes are not painted on the wall, but on an intonaco daubed over a trellis work of canes, so that it is impossible to save the plaster in its fall by iron braces as has been done in other parts. The only means of saving these works is to detach the intonaca, and, instead of fixing it anew on the wall, place it on canvas and make the whole portable. The air will then pass beneath and preserve the lower surface from damp, the upper having long ceased to suffer from the effects of weather. The method

Modern research has been rewarded by the discovery that, amongst the works executed in the Campo Santo, some of the frescoes illustrating the legend of S. Raineri were painted by one Andrea da Firenze. It is proved further that this Andrea was still living after the death of Andrea Orcagna at Florence. These facts are conclusive to show that Vasari, in his usual haste, having heard that one Andrea, a Florentine, had painted at Pisa, and not knowing which of the frescoes he should assign to the person whom he confounded with Orcagna, chose the series of the Triumph of Death and the Last Judgment, careless as to whether the style or execution of these works should justify him in his supposition. The world has long been deceived by his biography; but the clouds are slowly falling away from the art history of Italy, and the errors of Vasari require and receive correction. If it be admitted that Pisa owes nothing to Orcagna, the statement that he painted in S. Croce frescoes which were copies of those of the Campo Santo falls to the ground.[1] The remaining works assigned to Andrea at Florence have disappeared in the progress of time.[2]

Orcagna, who, according to tradition, was a poet, and whose name appears in certain sonnets by Burchielli,[3] died at Florence in the Via de' Corazzai.

Bernardo Orcagna occupies a very large place, as has been remarked, in the life of Andrea. It would seem, at first, as if the latter had been but the assistant of his elder brother; yet it is strange that no pictures have hitherto been noticed bearing Bernardo's name. Pictures exist, however, signed by "Bernardus de Florentia," but the question which still remains unanswered is, whether this Bernardus is identical with Bernardo the son of Cione the goldsmith, and brother of Andrea Orcagna. To decide this question, it would be useful to trace some frescoes in which Bernardo laboured alone. Those of the Campo Santo were partly painted by him, says Vasari; but this is probably an error. Again

of fixing the colours, raising the intonaco, and placing it again to the wall, has already been successfully practised in the case of the Gozzoli frescoes.

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 128.

[2] Those in the Cappella de' Cresci at S. Maria de' Servi are gone (ibid., p. 123–4), and likewise the picture of S. Romeo (ibid., p. 124). It represented the Annunciation, and was known to Richa, *Chiese, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 258, the paintings on the front of S. Apollinare (ibid., p. 124), the pictures said to have been sent to Avignon (ibid., p. 131), and that which adorned the chapter-house of the monastery of the Angioli (ibid., p. 134). Gone also are the frescoes noticed by Ghiberti in S. Croce and in S. Agostino. (Ghiberti, *2nd com.* in Vasari, vol. i., p. xxiii.)

[3] See *annot.* to Vasari, vol. ii., p. 134.

Bernardo is said to have been his brother's companion in the frescoes of the Strozzi Chapel, yet there the student fails to discover more than one hand. Can it be that Bernardo was, as a painter, a mere subordinate? Be this as it may, the visitor to the Florence Academy of Arts will find a triptych representing the Virgin and Child between saints,[1] signed:

NOMINE BERNARDUS DE FLORẼTIA PINXIT H. OP. ANNO DÑI. M.CCCXXXII . . . .

Some of the numerals are gone. The figures are small, not inelegant, but without the grandeur which marks the panel works of Andrea. Another Virgin with saints,[2] in the convent of Ognissanti at Florence, placed in a very dark spot, over the entrance to the door of the choir, and only visible with a lantern, bears the inscription:

A.D. MCCC...XXIIII. FRATER NICOLAUS DE MAZZINGHIS DE CARPI ME FIERI PRO REMEDIO ANIMAE MATRIS, FRATRUM. BERNARDUS DE FLORENTIA PINXIT."

A third picture of more interest and importance is that of the late Mr. Bromley's collection, representing the Crucifixion between eight saints, inscribed:

ANNO DÑI MCCCXLVII. BERNARDŨ PINXIT ME QUEM FLORENTIE FINSIT." [3]

The Crucifixion is the usual Giottesque dramatic composition, the Saviour being quite Giottesque in type; and the work, coloured in light and luminous tones, seems to be that of a comrade of Taddeo Gaddi. It is a fine and well-preserved work of the period, which has little affinity with those of Andrea Orcagna, and certainly would not reveal him as an assistant in any of the pictures of that master.

Another work in possession of Sir Charles Eastlake, a Crucifixion,[4] in the manner of the foregoing, is a fine production of the Florentine school.

Amongst the painters on the council of S. Maria del Fiore, in

[1] [No. 271. By Bernardo Daddi, as all those so signed seem to be.]

[2] Half-lengths of a saint with a book, and a saint in episcopals are at each side of the Virgin and Child.

[3] The saints are SS. Lawrence, Andrew, Paul, and Peter, Bartholomew, George, James, and Stephen.

[4] With figures in pilasters at the sides, originally in the Ottley Collection, assigned by Dr. Waagen, vol. ii., p. 264, Treasures, to Spinello.

1366, are Bernardo Pieri and Bencius Cionis.[1] The latter is probably Andrea's brother; and if the name Bencius be not meant for Bernardo, Cione had a sixth son besides Ristoro, Bernardo, Andrea, Jacopo, and Matteo.[2] It remains to be ascertained whether the paintings mentioned in the foregoing lines are by Bernardo Pieri, an artist doubtless of some talent, as he was of the council in the cathedral of Florence, or Bernardo, the alleged brother of Andrea Orcagna. As for the Loggia de' Lanzi, it is proved clearly that the provision for its erection was passed by the Florentine government on the 21st of November 1356, but that it was only commenced in 1376,[3] under the direction of Bencius Cionis.[4]

[1] See Rumohr, *Forschungen, ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 166. Benci Cioni is recorded in a Sienese document of about 1356, where he gives an opinion as to the works of the new Duomo. *Doc. dell' Arte Sen.*, vol. i., pp. 249–51. He was also extensively employed as a sculptor at the Palazzo del Podestà of Florence, with Neri Fioravanti, Maso Leonis, Lippo Cursi, Nicola Martelli, Rustico Cennis, Antonio Joannis, Paolo Maj. Johannis (1345). See Luigi Passerini's *Lecture on the Pretorio of Florence* (8vo, Flor., 1858), p. 21.

[2] These facts are commented by Rumohr pretty much as they are in this text. See *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 223.

[3] *Vide* Gaye, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 526–8.

[4] See Passerini, *ubi sup.*

CHAPTER XX

FRANCESCO TRAINI—NICCOLA TOMMASI

A GENEALOGY of the family of Cione, made out with labour and research by Del Migliore, whose MS. notes to Vasari are preserved in the Magliabecchiana at Florence, connects Mariotto the son of Bernardo Orcagna [1] with the family of the Traini; and Del Migliore, in some observations which he appends to this genealogy, makes the following pertinent remarks:

It has struck me that the family of the Orcagna was of the Traini, and that Francesco Traini was of their kindred, albeit this fact was unknown to Vasari. My reason for holding this opinion is that Mariotto, the nephew of Andrea (Orcagna) and son of Bernardo di Cione, bore the name of the Traini, an old family which has filled offices and enjoyed honours in the republic. This is not extraordinary. Many families were wont to call themselves by the names of their fathers or grandfathers, dropping that of their house, particularly when one of these, the father or grandfather, had earned a reputation by some great action or the exercise of virtue.[2]

Francesco Traini, whose relationship with the family of Andrea Orcagna is thus suggested by Del Migliore, was a painter of great merit. His talents did not escape the diligence of Vasari, who says of him "that he greatly improved upon his master Andrea (Orcagna) as regards the fusion of his colours and the fertility of his invention." [3] His name has not been discovered in any Florentine records, and whilst some writers like Lanzi [4] have

[1] He is registered as Mariotto di Nardo in the Guild of Florentine Painters in 1408. GUALANDI, *ubi sup.*, Ser. vi., p. 186. [See also VASARI (Ed. Sansoni), vol. i., p. 610 *et seq.* Mariotto was the son of a Nardo di Cione, but was not Orcagna's nephew, as Vasari says, and Del Migliore repeats.]

[2] See the quotation in BONAINI, *ubi sup.*, *Mem. Ined.*, *note* 5 to pp. 6 and 7. Yet the records speak of Francesco not as of the Traini but as the son of Traino.

[3] [Francesco Traini far from being Orcagna's best pupil as Vasari asserts, was trained in the Sienese school and owed everything to Simone Martini. *Cf.* SIMONESCHI, *Notizie e questioni intorno a Francesco Traini* (Pisa, 1898). Francesco was working in Pisa from 1321. *Cf.* MILANESI in VASARI, i., p. 613.]

[4] LANZI, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 64.

stamped with the mark of their approval the sentence of the Aretine biographer, others like Bonaini [1] have argued that Orcagna could not have been his teacher. How, exclaims this most critical of critics, could Traini, who painted in 1344, be the pupil of one who first appears as his brother's apprentice in 1350 ? [2] It may be remarked, however, that the utmost obscurity overshadows the early period of Andrea's life, and that the date of 1350 is arbitrarily given by Baldinucci, who supports it by no records.[3] Again Bonaini inquires, how could Orcagna be the master of Francesco Traini when he was only free of the Grocers' Guild at Florence in 1358 ? [4]

In reply it might be urged that Orcagna was a painter of acknowledged reputation at least four years before he obtained the freedom of Florence, namely in 1354, when he received the commission for the altarpiece of the Strozzi Chapel. These remarks are not intended, however, as a contradiction of Bonaini's opinion, but merely to show that no very strong case is made out against Vasari's assertion that Francesco Traini was Orcagna's pupil.[5]

The earliest notice of this painter is given by Ciampi, who quotes a record in which Francesco del q. Traino paints (1341) a banner for the Brotherhood delle Laudi in the church of S. Maria Maggiore (? the cathedral of Pisa).[6] The only pictures which have descended to us are the S. Thomas in S. Catherine of Pisa and the S. Dominic with its attendant episodes in the Academy of Arts and Seminary of the same city.[7]

The S. Thomas by Traini is a gable altarpiece enlarged to a rectangle by modern hands, in which the Dominican inspired by the Saviour, Evangelists, and Greek philosophers, triumphs over the heretics.[8]

The whole picture is drawn with a careful hair outline within which the forms are accurately studied. Length and slenderness are characteristic in the figures. Softness rather than power, a certain sharpness of features withal,—small hands with long thin fingers, reveal in the artist a study of the Sienese rather than of

[1] Bonaini, *ubi sup.*, p. 5 and following.
[2] Bonaini, *ubi sup.*, p. 14. [3] Baldinucci, *infra*, vol. iv., p. 395.
[4] Bonaini, *ubi sup.*, p. 14.
[5] [It is certain that Francesco had nothing to do with Orcagna. See *supra*, p. 380, *note* 3.]
[6] Ciampi, *ubi sup.*, p. 117. [See *supra*, *note* 4.]
[7] [Now in the Museo Civico Sala iv., No. 19.]
[8] One of the foreground figures changed to represent Urban VI., bears a scroll inscribed "URBANUS SEX PISANŨ," a modern addition.

the Florentine manner. Nor is this impression weakened by the peculiarity of the execution, which is strikingly minute and careful, even to the smallest details of hair and beard, by the broadly folded draperies which, whilst they develop the forms they cover, are carried out with patient accuracy, by the gay harmonies of the vestments, or by the absence of well-defined masses of light and shade. Here, indeed, is a marked defect of Traini. His picture is flat and unrelieved, and in this he holds less to the grand style of Andrea Orcagna than to the softness, primness, and precision of the Sienese school. Yet at the same time Traini is not deficient in the art of composition. His space is well distributed and filled up, but the composition is of the tender religious kind in which composure and beatitude prevail; and generally the picture resembles a large miniature. No signature, no date, authenticate this altarpiece, but Vasari is profuse in praise of it, and finds a charm in its "capricious" arrangement.[1] Nor does he fail to notice the second production of Traini, which he describes as having been executed for a gentleman of the Coscia family, whose remains repose in a vault of the chapel of S. Dominic in S. Catherine of Pisa. But here Vasari errs no doubt, because, as usual, he read the inscription on the altarpiece with too much haste. The words at the base of the sides are as follows:

HOC OPUS FACTUM FUIT TEMPORE DOMINI JOHANNIS COCI . . . . . RII [OPERARII] OPERE MAJORIS ECCLESIE SANCTE MARIE PRO COMUNI PISANO PRO ANIMA DOMINI ALBISI DE STATERIIS DE PE . . . SUPRADICTE, FRANCISCUS TRAINI PIN.

Giovanni Coco, not Coscia, was a lawyer who filled the office of Anziano at Pisa five times at least, and whose will, dated 1346, is still preserved.[2] Albizzo delle Statere was one of those astute and wary diplomatists whom Pisa so frequently found herself obliged to employ at the time when she was threatened alike by the hostility of the Florentines and of Castruccio of Lucca. His will, dated the 25th of January, 1336, betrays a close intimacy with the ablest Dominicans of his time, and one clause of it relates to the erection of an altar in S. Catherine of Pisa, for which a picture was commissioned of Traini.[3] Original records discovered and printed by Signor Bonaini, refer to this altarpiece which, it

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 138.
[2] Bonaini, *ubi sup.*, p. 10.
[3] Bonaini, *ubi sup.*, pp. 11, 12, and 109, and following.

seems, was partly finished in April 1345, and completed in the January following, for the sum of 110 livres.[1]

The central panel (in the Academy of Pisa) is exclusively devoted to the erect figure of S. Dominic grasping the book and the lily. The founder of the Inquisition is grave in expression, with features of a certain softness; and his head is drawn by Traini with a fine regular outline. The draperies sweep broadly and gracefully round the form, which may be classed without hesitation amongst the fine ones of the fourteenth century. In the pinnacle, as usual, is the figure of the Redeemer in the act of benediction,[2] with a round-shaped head, broad across the cheekbone, supported on a long neck and enwreathed with hair in waving locks. The smiling type, though it has nobleness and dignity, is not so much Giottesque as of the older Christian character, and is certainly inferior to those of Andrea Orcagna. Traini in this respect is more of the kindred of the Sienese Simone Martini, than of that of Orcagna. The side panels of the altarpiece, divided severally into four, and having double pinnacles in which are the prophets Daniel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, are devoted to the legend of S. Dominic, whose birth forms the subject of the first compartment. Giovanni Aza lies wearied with the pains of labour, and attended by two females. On the bed, a lap-dog with a lighted taper symbolises, in accordance with story, the mission of the new-born babe, whose tiny frame, already dignified with a halo, is in the hands of the nurses on the foreground. One of them holds him in the basin, whilst a second has the clothes ready for him in her hand—a truly natural familiar scene, in which human tenderness, affection, and suffering are fitly delineated. A long interval has elapsed between this and the period of the next scene. S. Dominic supports with both hands the falling edifice of the church, whilst to the left, Innocent the Third sleeps in pontificals, with his head on his hand, and dreams happily, under the guard of two drowsy persons who sleep on the step of the bed. Next, SS. Paul and Peter, at the gate of the Lateran, give to the kneeling S. Dominic the staff and the Gospel; and in the fourth episode the saint, amidst a concourse of people, burns the books of heretic teachers, whilst the Gospel hangs harmless in the fire. The joy of the Dominicans, the rage and despair of the heretics, are equally well rendered. In the next series of four, the death and resurrection of the youthful Napoleon, nephew of Cardinal Fossanuova, are depicted. The relatives and friends of the youth are grouped round his body, which lies stretched on the ground. At his head a female, stooping over him, wails and tears her cheeks, whilst the rest are more or less affected by the painful nature of the scene, and some children peep forward more in curiosity than grief. To the right, the youth

[1] Bonaini, *ubi sup.*, p. 123, 124.
[2] "ego sum lux mundi" is inscribed.

revives at the prayer of S. Dominic, and is restored to the Cardinal his uncle. This double composition, so full of lively action and expression, is essentially Sienese in the character of the faces, in the movement and shape of the slender figures. The next scene is a reminiscence of the life of S. Dominic, who, whilst before Toulouse, "that nest of Albigenses," as Bonaini calls it, saves from drowning a boatload of pilgrims, too pious to travel by land in the country of heretics. They would all have found a watery grave, but that, at the moment of their peril, the saint hurries with two of his brethren to the water side, and, extending his arms towards them, spiritually attracts them to his side and to the safety of land. In the pilgrims one may remark that Traini successfully imitated the appearance of persons emerging from the water with clammy hair. At the same time, terror in various degrees is depicted in the faces. The spectator may next notice S. Dominic extended horizontally in the foreground of the picture. On his body rest two ladders which are supported above by the Saviour and the Virgin, and two angels ascending carry between them the soul of the saint in the form of an infant to heaven. This is the dream of Guala, prior of Brescia, a prosaic subject rendered with sufficient religious sentiment and much simplicity by Traini. The last scene is of S. Dominic's burial in a church, with a concourse of prelates and clergy in prayer around him.

The whole of the altarpiece, but particularly the prophets in the pinnacles of the sides, are characterised by the same features as those which mark the representation of S. Thomas Aquinas. Francesco Traini, to sum up, shows the mixture of the Florentine and Sienese manner, the Sienese element overshadowing the Florentine. Tenderness and softness were more fully developed in him than in Orcagna. He had more religious feeling, but less science. He was without doubt a great painter. But Vasari is less than unjust towards him. It is a great pity that so little of Traini's life should be known.

Equally to be regretted is the obscurity which surrounds the name of Niccola Tommasi, of whose painting in S. Antonio Abate at Naples some notes have been made in the life of Giotto. This painter is probably the same whom Sacchetti mentions in his account of the debate at S. Miniato upon the vexed question of artistic superiority in the middle of the fourteenth century. He is recorded with Orcagna and others in the list of the council of S. Maria del Fiore in 1366, and is thus proved to have been at once the contemporary and the acquaintance of Andrea Orcagna. More than this, he was, as has been stated, of the first batch of artists who formed the Guild of Painters in Florence. But, most

interesting of all, his style has many of the qualities which distinguished that of Orcagna. This will be admitted on inspection of the picture at Naples, executed in 1371, to which reference has already been made. Originally a triptych, the altarpiece represents in its central part S. Anthony the abbot enthroned between saints.[1] The latter, at the sides, are much damaged, the central part less so. The style is essentially Florentine. The type and character of the principal saint is fine, and not without dignity. He wears a long white beard, and is well draped in vestments which develop a good and manly form. The head of S. John Evangelist, at the right side, recalls, like the rest, the manner of Orcagna. This work of Niccola Tommasi is indeed as nearly as possible akin to those representing S. Giovanni Gualberto, S. Ambrose, and other saints at S. Croce in Florence, and the S. Bernard in the Academy of Florence, already described in foregoing pages as in the character and manner of Orcagna. It is pleasant to rescue an artist of such talent from the total obscurity in which he has remained. One may conjecture that he was a pupil or at least a companion of Orcagna, and one might even ask, is it not possible that he should be descended from that Maso whose works are described with praise by Ghiberti ?

Amongst the disciples of Orcagna, Bernardo Nello di Giovanni Falconi is noted by Vasari as one whose " numerous pictures were executed for the cathedral of Pisa." [2] None of these productions can now be traced ; nor is the name of Nello connected with any fresco except one of the series of Job, in the Campo Santo. A single writer assigns to him the execution of the scene in which Job descends from the throne to humble himself before God ; [3] but Morrona affirms that, if Nello did anything at all to that fresco, he only repaired some damage caused by rain.[4]

One picture, dated 1392, is said by Vasari to have illustrated Tommaso di Marco, another pupil of Orcagna ; [5] but this work, executed at the side of the screen in S. Antonio of Pisa, has disappeared.

[1] Holding the Gospel in his left hand, and with the right giving the blessing. A daïs above his head is supported by two angels, whilst at his feet two other celestial messengers play upon instruments. In the right wing stand S. John the Evangelist and S. Louis, on the left SS. Peter and Francis.

[2] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 135.

[3] Cavaliere Totti. See Morrona, vol. ii., p. 205.

[4] Morrona, vol. ii., p. 205.

[5] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 135.

A faint shadow of the teaching of the son of Cione may be noticed in the feeble works of a painter of Pistoia called Giovanni di Bartolommeo Cristiani ; but these may be dealt with summarily in a future notice of the artists of that city.

As regards Mariotto, none of the works mentioned by Vasari are preserved.

CHAPTER XXI

AGNOLO GADDI AND CENNINO CENNINI

Whilst Orcagna successfully raised the standard of Florentine art in composition, in colour, and in form, and presented to his countrymen the pleasing prospect of artistic qualities hardly alloyed with a single fault, the family of the Gaddi studied and practised the profession of their ancestors with fruit. They had, however, already diverted their attention to mercantile pursuits and it became evident that the two occupations could scarcely be coexistent in one family. Taddeo had already established a branch of his business in Venice,[1] where he kept open house ; and Agnolo his son divided his time between the labours of the brush and those of the counting-house. In his youth he had given promise of great things. Taddeo, at his death, had left him, as we have seen, under the joint tutorship of Giovanni da Milano and of Jacopo da Casentino, hoping, says Vasari, that amongst his many disciples this son would become the most excellent in painting; but Agnolo's mature age, far from yielding the expected fruit, was marked by a gradual decline.[2] He inherited, however, many of his father's talents, and developed others in a measure to which Taddeo had not attained. There is no record of his birth, but one may infer from his father's dying wish, as preserved in Vasari,[3] that Agnolo was yet in the age of adolescence when he became master of his own actions. That Taddeo was still alive in 1366 has been ascertained, and that he was the teacher and master of his son is rational to suppose ; [4] for Agnolo, although confided to the care of Giovanni da Milano, displayed none of that painter's peculiarities, but, on the contrary, preserved, to a great extent, a style evidently inherited from his father. Vasari's error as to the date of Taddeo's death in 1350 naturally led to the belief that Agnolo was already then rising to manhood. But the proofs

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 155.
[2] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 150.
[3] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 150.
[4] Cennini says distinctly that Agnolo was his father's pupil. *Vide note* to Vasari, vol. ii., p. 158.

discovered and published by Rumohr, having established the fact that Taddeo lived much longer than his biographer states, serve to correct that assertion, at the same time that they cast doubts upon some of the facts alleged respecting Agnolo's life. Thus it may be doubted, whether Agnolo really executed, in 1346, the repairs of the mosaics in the Baptistery of S. Giovanni at Florence,[1] and it is safer to believe either that these repairs were made later, or that they are due to Taddeo, who was at that time eminent as an architect.[2] It may also be fair to doubt the assertion that Agnolo painted a Coronation of the Virgin for Barone Cappelli in 1348, on the high altar of S. Maria Maggiore. It may be inquired also, whether he furnished the designs of the church of S. Romolo, which was in process of reconstruction between 1349 and 1356.[3] His early labours were in the church of S. Jacopo tra' Fossi at Florence, where, representing the Resurrection of Lazarus, he fell into that sort of realism which has already been noticed as a peculiarity of Giovanni da Milano. Vasari finds something to say in favour of a Lazarus Rising from the Grave, with all the marks of corruption about him, and with linen stained by the taint of putrid flesh ; and he praises the mode in which the apostles express their sense of the bad odour by veiling their noses in the hems of their garments.[4] One might be inclined to say of this mode of representation that it is realistic and unworthy of a great artist. Certainly Agnolo became convinced of this when he developed his manner ; and in his best frescoes there are no traces of a similar realism. In 1367 he was employed by the *provveditore* of S. Maria del Fiore to furnish designs.[5] His next work was the decoration of the choir of the Carmine at Florence with scenes from the life of the Virgin, painted for the Soderini, and since obliterated.[6]

The best and probably earliest of his paintings that have been

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., pp. 152–3 ; Richa, *Chiese*, vol. v., p. xlii.

[2] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 154. The sepulchral monument to Barone Cappelli is described by Richa, who states that it was erected after that nobleman's death, in 1348, by order of his son. Agnolo may have painted for the son of Barone Cappelli. Richa notices as in S. Maria Maggiore a S. John the Baptist by Agnolo Gaddi (*Chiese, ubi sup.*, vol. iii., p. 281).

[3] Gaye, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. i., pp. 499, 502–508. Yet Matteo Villani, lib. vii., cap. 41, supports Vasari's statement of this fact.

[4] Vasari, vol. ii. p. 151. [5] Baldinucci, *ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 344.

[6] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 151–2. [All these pictures are lost to us. Between 1382 and 1390 he was at work for the Loggia de' Lanzi and for the Duomo. *Cf.* Zahn, *Jahrbucher für Kunstwissenschaft* (Leipsig, 1870), vol. iii., 36–66. He was in Prato in 1393. *Cf.* Guasti, *La Cappella de' Miglioriati in Prato* (Prato, 1871), pp. 6 and 7.]

preserved are the frescoes of the Pieve of Prato, in which the two legends of the Virgin and of the sacred girdle are depicted in a chapel called " del Sacro Cingolo."

The frescoes fill the spaces at both ends of a long central aisle, the central ceilings of two transepts and the vault of the arch leading into the building. This arch, opening at one end of the aisle, is surmounted internally by a fresco which represents the Expulsion of Joachim from the temple and the comforting visit of the angel. The ends of the transepts, to the spectator's left as he enters, are divided into three courses, each of which contains an episode of the Virgin's life ; in the two lunettes, the Meeting of Joachim and Anna and the Birth of Mary ; in the next course, the Presentation in the Temple and the Marriage of Joseph and Mary. In the lowest course are the Annunciation and the Nativity. The end of the aisle opposite the entrance is decorated, in the lunette, with the Coronation of the Virgin, and below, in a double course, with the Death of Mary, her Ascension and the gift of her girdle to S. Thomas. According to the legend, this holy relic was entrusted by S. Thomas to one of his trustiest followers when he started on his apostolic mission. It remained in the Holy Land for centuries under the care of the descendants of that person. In the eleventh century one Michele dei Dagomari, proceeding with a band of followers from Prato to the Holy Land, became enamoured of the daughter of the priest who possessed the relic, and obtained at once that sacred treasure and a bride. He shipped both on board of a vessel which happily reached the shores of Italy, and by a very bold geographical error of Agnolo's, he landed safely at Prato, where he lived for years, preserving with jealous care the holy girdle which had been the dowry of his wife. The relic was kept in a box beneath his bed, and it was frequently remarked by Michele's domestics that two angels invariably removed him from his bed in the night and left him prostrate on the floor. Yet such was Michele's reverence for the girdle and his anxiety lest it should be stolen, that he submitted to this nightly inconvenience patiently till the close of his days. Then, however, feeling his end approach, he sent for the priest of the church of Prato, gave him the girdle, on condition that it should be preserved in his native city, and it was carried with all honour to a fit place in the cathedral. The relic was transferred to the chapel of the Sacro Cingolo in 1395.[1] The subjects derived by Agnolo from this legend are painted in the end of one of the transepts to the right of the principal entrance. In the lunette is the Marriage of Michele dei Dagomari and the transfer to him of the girdle. In the next lower course, the happy pair has arrived and landed at Prato ; and the miracle of the angels raising Michele out of bed is represented. In the lowest course the death of Michele and the procession of the

[1] As appears from a modern inscription in the cathedral.

relic are depicted. In the last remaining lunette, Agnolo further depicted the Saviour in the act of benediction; in the vault of the entrance the twelve apostles in medallions; in the diagonals of the first transept the Four Doctors of the Church, and in that of the second transept the Four Evangelists.

Judgment, talent, and originality were expended by Agnolo on this double series of paintings. The fresco of the Expulsion is divided into three distinct groups, each of which is well bound to the other, and cleverly arranged in the space. Giotto's maxims evidently guided Agnolo in this, and the composition is more perfect in balance and therefore more pleasing than any of Taddeo's. The action of the figures is lively and natural and not exaggerated as in the frescoes of Taddeo, and the draperies are remarkable for breadth.[1] The Meeting of Anna and Joachim is a very fine and simple composition, the barren wife being shown falling into the arms of her husband.[2]

The usual composition of the Virgin's Birth is rendered more simply and perfectly and with less realism by Agnolo than by Giovanni da Milano in the Rinuccini Chapel at Florence.[3] A just harmony of distribution, animation without exaggerated action, mark the figures in the Presentation of Mary in the Temple; and no trace is to be found of the confusion which marks the arrangement of the same subject by Taddeo in the Baroncelli Chapel, or by Giovanni da Milano in the Rinuccini Chapel at S. Croce of Florence. The composition, simply Giottesque and of few figures,[4] is, as such, more pleasing and effective than that of the same subject by Ghirlandaio in S. Maria Novella at Florence which has in one respect something reminiscent of the picture of Agnolo, especially in the figure of the Virgin.

The Marriage of the Virgin, one of the finest compositions of the Giottesque school, is admirably conceived and arranged. It is one in which Agnolo replaced the art completely upon the basis

[1] The fresco is, however, much damaged by time and restoring.

[2] Anna receiving the angel is depicted in a tower in the distance. Two females accompanying her in the principal scene are fine in proportion, action, and drapery.

[3] The background and dress of the figure with the child are damaged. The nurses playing with the infant are affectionate and pleasing.

[4] The Virgin ascends the steps of the temple turning her look on her mother. Her green dress is repainted. The dress of the attendant to the left of the high priest and the background generally have been retouched also. Her mother extends a comforting hand. Joachim is close by near two kneeling females. In the porch is a band of players and singers.

Alinari.

ALTARPIECE

AGNOLO GADDI. S. Caterina Antella, near Florence.

Brogi

Brogi

LEGEND OF S. RAINERI

ANDREA DA FIRENZE. Campo Santo, Pisa.

of Giotto's laws and maxims, and rivalled the simplicity of the great regenerator of Italian art.[1]

Agnolo had thus depicted the Sposalizio in a more quiet and solemn manner than his father had conceived it. He represented the Annunciation with great dignity and tenderness.[2] But he rendered the Nativity with somewhat unpoetic simplicity.[3] Close by, in the niche of a door to the right, is a figure of the Virgin giving suck to the Infant.[4] Time and restorers have totally altered the character of the incidents depicted on the wall at the bottom of the central aisle. The Death and Ascension of the Virgin, the Gift of the Girdle, and the Coronation, are almost all new. Enormously damaged likewise are the lunette frescoes illustrating the legend of Michele dei Dagomari.

The type of the Saviour in the act of Benediction in the lunette hard by is the favourite one adopted by Agnolo's contemporary Spinello Aretino, a painter who occupies a prominent place in the history of Florentine art at the close of the fourteenth century, but who belongs to a secondary line of Giottesques who succeeded in preserving the mere letter of the great master's maxims without regard for the progress of the time or the rise of a new school.

In these frescoes it may have been noticed that Agnolo dis-

[1] The blue dress of the high priest is new. In the arrangement of the scene, the porch, under which the high priest stands to unite the pair, is placed with much judgment on the extreme right of the picture. Joseph and Mary join hands. Both are young, and the Virgin especially has an active contented look. Three bystanders, two male and one female stand, in the porch. To the left of S. Joseph is a noble figure near which the guests and suite are arranged in groups of three and four in composed attitudes, or animated movements, with rustling draperies. The procession is closed by a company of young girls and two trumpeters. In the centre of the foreground, two youths break the twigs; and the flowering rod is carried by one on the left. In the background the houses are crowded with spectators. The greens of dresses and the yellows are all repainted; and in the distance, part of the houses and sky is restored to the detriment of the general harmony.

[2] He placed the Virgin on a high seat. She has dropped her book at the approach of the angel who bends before her, carrying the lily in one hand and pointing with the other. She receives a ray and the dove of the Holy Ghost from the Eternal looking down from a glory of angels. The mantle and tunic of the Virgin, the background are new.

[3] The Virgin sits in the centre with the infant Saviour on her knee. The ox and ass are at the bottom of the shed, two angels in the air at each side of the principal group. Above and outside is a choir of four dancing and two playing angels. Joseph sits pensive on the ass's saddle on the left foreground, whilst a shepherd entering at the same side with his flock, bends lowly. To the right, another pastor kneels. In the distance the angel brings the tidings to the shepherds.

[4] The blue of the Virgin's mantle is new as well as the dresses of the angels and of S. Joseph. The heads of the shepherds and the sky are much damaged. All the gold ornament and nimbuses are new.

played better talents as a composer than his father Taddeo, and that he exhibited a spark of the true Giottesque feeling. It must be admitted also that he gave more repose and dignity and more nature and individuality to his figures. He did not exaggerate in the direction of slenderness, and his general outlines were at once more graceful, more true and grand than those of his father. Whilst Taddeo was conventional in composition, Agnolo created and imagined something more than the past had yielded. As a draughtsman he was free and bold, defining everything equally. But though he did not exhibit habitual neglect of detail in the extremities and articulations of the human figure, he did not deserve praise for invariable correctness. He frequently failed to define form truly; and whilst the best of his figures are still below the standard of Giotto, certain forms are purposely and persistently false. The eyes are drawn according to a conventional model; the noses are straight and narrow and expanded flatly at the end; and the mouths generally droop at the corners. It is indeed surprising how totally a head with a fine external outline was spoilt by Agnolo's neglect of truth in the details of the features. In the drawing of hands and feet he bestowed more care, but he evidently never possessed the clear comprehension of the nature of the forms he depicted. His hands are defective and coarse; the fingers are short, broken and angular at the joints, and mechanically executed. The folds of the flesh are indicated by lines, and in this his faults are those prominent in Spinello. As a colourist Agnolo was bold. His tones are bright, clear, light, and transparent, and he shows a feeling for the true nature of harmonies. His idea of relief was greater than that of Taddeo. On the whole, however, he was inferior to Orcagna; and the unity of talent which characterised the son of Cione was not conspicuous in the last scion of the Gaddi. At a distance his frescoes at Prato are imposing, but they bear no close analysis; and this is a proof that the art in his hands had in a certain sense degenerated and become decorative. Vasari very fairly characterises the style of Agnolo; and it will be seen in the sequel that the frescoes of Prato contain only in germ defects which were developed to a marked extent in the decorations of the choir of S. Croce at Florence where the boldness of a practised hand is allied to defective design.

Prato is at no great distance from Florence, and Agnolo Gaddi has left there traces of considerable labours.[1] There are vestiges

[1] Vasari says he left works enough in churches of that land (vol. ii., p. 154).

of paintings at the corners of many streets, the character of which cannot be safely defined; but in the Via dei Tintori, a tabernacle with shutters, in which the Virgin is depicted amongst saints, presents all the character of a fresco by Agnolo. In his style also is a Virgin erect, with the infant Saviour between saints and angels,[1] in a tabernacle at the corner of the Strada al Ceppo and Via della Pilota. Similar tabernacles, much damaged by time, are to be seen in the neighbourhood, and are hardly worthy the trouble of examination. But at Figline, three miles from the town, is one appended to a house, belonging to the Pini family, where the manner of Agnolo may be traced with certainty in a Conception between saints,[2] a Christ in the act of Benediction, and an Annunciation. The fresco of the Conception,[3] though much damaged by exposure, has not been retouched, and affords a favourable example of Agnolo's talent in producing clear and bright transparent colour. The type of the Virgin is peculiarly graceful, that of the angel full of softness. Both are preferable to those of the chapel at Prato. The heads of the saints at the sides of the tabernacle are powerfully delineated, and the style generally indicates a contact with Spinello of Arezzo.

In the choir of S. Croce at Florence, Agnolo, at the request of Jacobo degli Alberti,[4] painted in eight frescoes the well-known Legend of the Cross, from the moment when the Archangel Michael presents to Seth a branch of the Tree of Knowledge to that in which the Emperor Heraclius enters Jerusalem.

In the first compartment to the right of the entrance, the archangel presents to Seth a branch of the Tree of Knowledge;[5] whilst on the foreground Adam lies dead and Seth, in the presence of his relatives, plants the branch upon the tomb. Next appears the Queen of Sheba kneeling with her suite by the pool, at the opposite side of which carpenters are at work striving to fashion the wood of the tree. Further on, the wood is sunk in the pool by order of Solomon. In a fourth compartment the Empress Helen kneels with two dames behind her in the midst of her guard, whilst the Cross is taken up by three persons, and a sick youth rises in bed, healed by its virtue. On the

[1] The Magdalen and another saint with four angels above.

[2] Right and left in niches, SS. John the Baptist, Stephen, and Anthony the abbot, partly obliterated.

[3] The subject and arrangement of the figures may be found in a Conception given to Masaccio at the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence, Sala III., No. 70.

[4] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 152, and Richa, *Chiese*, vol. i., p. 295.

[5] The angel is newly repainted.

right again, the Cross is erected by a number of men in natural motion, before the Empress. On the left side of the choir the subject is continued, the angel appearing to Heraclius being represented in the third fresco. In the fourth, the decapitation of Chosroes is depicted; and Heraclius enters Jerusalem carrying the Cross on his shoulders.

In the right-hand corner of this fresco, near a gate, says Vasari, is a portrait of Agnolo Gaddi painted by himself in a red hood and with a small painted beard, according to the fashion of the time.[1] This figure still exists, and may be seen near the Emperor Heraclius in the place mentioned by Vasari. Though a little younger than the likeness given by the Aretine in his lives, the features are the same in both, and the appearance of Agnolo is that of a man of fifty or fifty-five. Between the windows of the choir are figures of saints, and above them angels and ornaments. In the painted frames of the frescoes are lozenges containing personages. In six triangular compartments of the ceiling are S. Francis erect in an almond-shaped glory, S. John the Baptist erect with the Cross in his left hand and giving a blessing, and the Four Evangelists likewise erect with their symbols, all on a ground of blue studded with stars.

The impression made by the whole of these decorative paintings is that of an imposing work. Enough remains of a gay and lively colour to please the eye, and to satisfy the spectator that Agnolo was able with his brush. The compositions, surcharged at times, still do honour to the master. The figures, those in the ceiling particularly, are not deficient in grandeur, in beauty of character, choice of features, or movement. The draperies have a marked breadth of fold. Agnolo shows that he was a perfect decorator, that he knew the value of distance for the production of effect, and of choice of colour for charming the eye. He created here a great harmony, and was thus more captivating than his father. He displayed that breadth and certainty of hand which reveal the experienced artist. But in the words of Vasari, "he executed this work with a practised hand, but with poor design." The drawing may, indeed, be emphatically called bad; and in these frescoes, Agnolo brought out into broad light the defects of which the germs are only noticeable in those of Prato; thus showing that he inherited some of the faults prominent already in the frescoes which his father had executed in S. Croce. Still less than those of Prato will the frescoes of the Alberti Chapel bear close inspection. But, on the other hand, the colour will charm by its dash and clear brilliancy, and by the varied costumes which

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 159.

give interest to the figure.[1] Neither better nor worse than these frescoes is the Virgin and Child between S. Augustine and S. Peter by Agnolo, in a lunette inside the door leading from the church to the convent of S. Spirito at Florence. Of equal value is the altarpiece of the church of S. Pancrazio now in the Academy of Arts at Florence,[2] in which Agnolo represented the Virgin and Child in a glory of graceful angels, between saints,[3] one of which, S. Reparata, is a square figure, as, indeed, are most of those in the altarpiece. The Virgin has a vulgar face, but a graceful action. As for the rest, the draperies are massive and fine. Above these figures are fourteen half saints in niches, and below, seven scenes from the life of the Madonna, or rather six; for that which occupied the space beneath the figure of the Baptist is gone. These compositions begin as usual with the Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple and, being small, display, as Vasari truly remarks, better qualities than usual.[4] They are tastefully arranged miniatures, soft, rosy, and clear in colour,[5] but still painted in with a bold hand.[6] A Virgin and Child between saints in the Chiostro Verde of S. Maria Novella is much in the character of that which of old hung in S. Pancrazio, but less interesting, because the surface has been flayed and the flesh tints are reduced to the primitive preparation. In the chapel of the church of S. Spirito, where the author Piero Vittori is buried, is an altarpiece of four figures in the same style; and persons unable to visit Italy may notice a similar manner in a Virgin and Child assigned to Giotto in the Gallery of Berlin.[7] By Agnolo also is a Virgin and Child with saints in the Gallery of Prato.[8] Inferior to Agnolo's works in execution, but displaying evident efforts at imitation of his style is a Coronation of the Virgin, assigned to Ugolino of Siena, formerly in S. Maria Novella, now in the Academy of Arts at

[1] The arms of the Alberti are in the chapel.

[2] [Sala Prima, No. 127. This may well be the work of Bernardo Daddi.]

[3] The Evangelist, whose mantle has lost its colour, SS. Nereo, Pancrazio, and John the Baptist, whose red mantle is also obliterated, Achilleo and Reparata. Both the S. Johns are turned towards the Virgin, and the Baptist has the character and draperies of that by Agnolo in the ceiling of the Alberti Chapel. S. Reparata in a diadem holds a banner.

[4] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 153–4.

[5] The tones seem to have assumed this rosy hue since the disappearance of colouring glazes.

[6] In the Cappella Castellani at S. Croce a double ceiling decorated with the Four Evangelists and Four Doctors of the Church displays much the style of Agnolo as it may be found in the frescoes of the choir of the same church.

[7] No. 1040 *Berlin Catal.*

[8] SS. Francis, Bartholomew, Catherine of Alexandria, and the Evangelist.

Florence.[1] One can hardly understand how Vasari should attribute to the patriarch of Sienese painters a picture so evidently by an imitator of Agnolo Gaddi, coloured in light tones and defective as regards the character of the heads. That Agnolo had many imitators is evident from another Virgin and Saints[2] in the same gallery, whither it was brought from the convent of S. Matteo in Arcetri of Florence, much damaged, and less valuable even than the foregoing, but still displaying the education of Agnolo's school. The signature "PUCCIUS SIMONIS FLOR. PINXIT HOC OPUS" is the only clue to an obscure and not talented follower of Agnolo Gaddi. Equally obscure and only known from the signature of a Coronation of the Virgin, with S. John the Baptist and S. Martin at the sides, in the hands of Signor Corvisieri at Rome, is one Matteo Pacini, whose name is found in the inscription at the base of the triptych: "ANNI DOMINI 1360 MATEUS PACINI ME PINXIT ADI 20 DI MARZO." This picture is in the style of the Gaddi, ill-composed of ugly figures and heavily coloured. Matteo Pacini appears in the register of Florentine painters in 1374.[3] Frescoes with no higher claim to attention than this work of Pacini, and though in the same manner still probably by another hand, may be seen in the church of S. Sisto Vecchio at Rome, where they have been recently discovered between the choir and the walls of the older portions of the edifice. One of the subjects is the Descent of the Holy Spirit, with saints[4] beneath it, under painted niches, of which only vestiges remain. These defective works may date as far back as the close of the fourteenth, or rise of the fifteenth century.

Amongst Agnolo Gaddi's pupils, Vasari names Giovanni the second son of Taddeo,[5] who lived but a short space, and who after painting certain frescoes in S. Spirito which time has not spared, was removed by death from the practice of an art which he seemed destined to pursue with success.[6] Fea, who described with more industry than critical acumen the Basilica of Assisi, pretends to have discovered there a Crucifixion with the usual figures of Mary

[1] [Sala I. del Beato Angelico, No. 274.]

[2] [Sala III. del Beato Angelico, No. 130.] The picture represents the Virgin and Child (all repainted) between SS. Onofrio, Lorenzo, James, and Bartholomew.

[3] *Vide* GUALANDI, *Memorie Orig.*, Ser. 6, p. 186.

[4] SS. Dominic, Anthony, John the Baptist, Paul, and others.

[5] [*Cf.* CROWE and CAVALCASELLE (Italian Edition), p. 102 *et seq.*]

[6] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 156.

and the Evangelist, by Giovanni. But in all the frescoes or pictures of the sanctuary, not one presents the character of the time or of the manner of Agnolo Gaddi.[1] The same authority vouches for the fact that the fresco of the Massacre of the Innocents, in the south transept of the Lower Church of Assisi, was by one Giacomo Gaddi. It may be sufficient to remember and to repeat that the fresco in question, which is one of those assigned by Rumohr to Giovanni da Milano and in these pages to Giotto, could not possibly have been painted by any of the pupils of Taddeo Gaddi. In Venice and in the states of the republic where Taddeo had a branch of his mercantile house and where, according to Vasari, Agnolo spent some of his time, there are very few traces of their art, and it would appear that they devoted themselves specially to trade. The only painting in Venice which displays the style of the Gaddi is a pediment now attached to an altar-piece by Antonio and Giovanni da Murano in the chapel of S. Terasio of S. Zaccaria. Here is a half figure of S. Stephen with three somewhat damaged scenes from his life at each side. In the Venetian state, traces of a style derived from the school of the Gaddi may be found in the paintings of the Cappella Vecchia in the castle of S. Salvatore near Conegliano. In this chapel, erected and decorated by the family of Colalto, the walls are filled with scenes from the life of the Virgin, the Passion of Christ and the miracles of a sainted bishop. Though damaged in part and of a low order, these frescoes are impressed with the stamp of the Florentine school of the close of the fourteenth century, and particularly of that of Agnolo. They are paintings of less merit than the Giottesque works at Rimini, and those along the coast of the Adriatic, but of the same pictorial class. The artist was a bad composer and exhibits poverty in the choice of types and forms. In the technical detail of his work he had something in common with such Paduan and Venetian painters as Guariento, Semitecolo, Stefano, and Lorenzo. He was probably a Venetian who had studied in the school of the Gaddi, but who preserved the old Byzantine habit of round gazing eyes, to be found in Guariento. Florentine art, it must be remembered, penetrated far into North Italy, through Justus Menabuoi who lived at Padua in 1397, and who bears the stamp of the Gaddi school. As usual, the historian has to register a number of works which have not

[1] See quotation from FEA'S *Descrizione della Basilica d'Assisi* in *note* 3 to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 156.

survived to the present time, such as the scenes of the life of S. Louis in the Bardi Chapel at S. Croce,[1] the frescoes in S. Romeo, and the Dispute of the Doctors in Orsanmichele.[2] Agnolo was first registered as a painter at Florence in 1387, the year in which, according to Vasari, his death occurred. It is known, however, by records that in 1390,[3] he received a commission for the execution of a monument to Piero Farnese, at S. Maria del Fiore ;[4] and the Strozzi records prove that he was employed during 1394 and 1395, on the production of an altarpiece in S. Miniato al Monte.[5] At his death his brother and heir claimed and received fifty florins remaining due for this work.[6] He died in October 1396,[7] and was buried in S. Croce at Florence on the sixteenth of that month.[8]

Chief amongst his pupils was Antonio of Ferrara, whose pictures shall be noticed amongst those of other artists of his native city. Stefano of Verona, Piero da Perugia, a miniaturist of whom no trace has been preserved, Michele or Michelino of Milan, whose remaining works shall find a place in a short notice of Milanese art, and Cennino di Drea Cennini, born at Colle di Val d'Elsa, better known as the author of a manuscript work on the technical process of painting in the fourteenth century than as a painter.

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 152.

[2] Noticed by Baldinucci, vol. iv., p. 343, as still in existence, beneath the organ and near the sacristy.

[3] Agnolo was married to Johanna, daughter of one Landozzi Loli. She was still living in 1404. *Vide* Baldinucci, vol. iv., p. 346.

[4] Baldinucci, *ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 344. Richa, *Chiese Fior.*, vol. i., p. 297, assigns to Agnolo the design of the church at Orbatello at Florence, and *notes* (vol. ii., p. 35) a Madonna by him in S. Romolo.

[5] 1394. Agnolo di Taddeo Gaddi receives 20 flor. part payment for the altarpiece he is painting at S. Miniato.

1395. He receives further sums on account. MSS. Strozzi in *Cenni Storico-artistici, &c. di S. Miniato* by Avv. Gio. Felice Berti (Florence, 1850), p. 155.

[6] Ibid., same page.

[7] See Gaetano and Carlo Milanesi's Ed. of Cennino Cennini (Florence, 1859), *note* to p. x.

[8] [An altarpiece undoubtedly from the hand of Agnolo Gaddi stands on the altar of the wayside chapel of S. Caterina, about two miles from Antella towards Florence. It seems to me one of the loveliest of his works. The colours are brilliant and the whole picture delightful. The photograph I give will serve better than any description. This Cappella di S. Caterina, near Antella, is entirely painted in fresco by Spinello Aretino. But it appears to be greatly neglected. When I was there in September 1907 the place was very damp, an enormous heap of *fiaschi* covered the floor three feet deep, and chickens and such were fluttering about. As this chapel, quite unknown to the tourist, is one of the chief delights of the country round Florence, which is full of similar unknown treasures, it ought to be properly cared for.]

We are indebted to himself for the statement,[1] that for twelve years he was Agnolo Gaddi's disciple; and the receipts which he gives for various processes of art were no doubt obtained from his master. His manuscript has been published by Tambroni, edited by the brothers Milanesi at Florence, and translated into English by Mrs. Merrifield, and it has received an admirable comment from Sir Charles Eastlake. It proves amongst other things the existence of painting in oil in Italy during the fourteenth century upon a system tedious, costly, and seldom employed but for subordinate parts of pictures.[2]

The only fresco which Vasari could assign to him was one representing the Virgin and Saints in the portico of the Hospital of S. Giovanni Battista at Florence, an edifice not commenced till after 1376 by Bonifazio Lupi, Marquis of Soragna, to whom Padua owed some of her monuments. It was altered and restored in 1787, and the frescoes have disappeared. That Bonifazio Lupi was a patron of Cennino seems likely from the fact that the painter spent the greater part of his life in Padua, where he married Donna Ricca della Ricca, born in the neighbouring village of Cittadella. There are records which prove the existence of Cennino and his wife in Padua, in 1398, and his acquaintance with Francesco da Carrara, for whom he may have performed artistic labours. It is not improbable that he left Florence in 1396 after the death of Agnolo Gaddi, and remained in Lombardy till his death, his name being absent from the roll of Florentine painters. No pictorial creations of his are now known in Padua; but if his style should be sought anywhere in that city, one might suggest the Salone as a place where Giottesque character is traceable.[3] The only frescoes which seem entitled to attention in connection with the name of Cennino are a series representing scenes from the life of the Redeemer and the Finding of the Cross, in the church of the Compagnia della Croce di Giorno at Volterra, a church contiguous to that of S. Francesco, and built in 1315, as appears from an

[1] Published in the first chapter of the MS. in question.

[2] See Sir Charles Eastlake's admirable deductions from this manuscript in *Materials for a History of Oil-painting* (8vo, Lond., 1847), p. 71. [A better English edition of this work has been published by George Allen, namely, *The Book of the Art of Cennino Cennini*, translated with notes by Mrs. Herringham (1899).]

[3] See Gaetano and Carlo Milanesi's edition of Cennini, *ubi sup.*, where two records of 1398 are given in full (Preface), and it is suggested that the Treatise was written at Padua, not in the Stinche at Florence, inasmuch as the reference to the execution of one of the MS. of the Trattato in the Stinche is probably due to a copyist and not to Cennino.

inscription on marble within it, by Mone Tidicigi for the repose of the soul of her brother Marcuccio. Amongst the subjects represented on the walls is the Massacre of the Innocents, beneath which the following inscription may still be read :

NEL MCCCCX ALOGHERONO QUESTI DELLA COMPAGNIA TUTTE QUESTE STORIE A CIENNI DI FRANCESCO DI SER CIENNI DA FIRENZE, ECCIETO QUATRO EVANGELISTI : SONO DI JACOPO DA FIRENZE.

It may be inquired whether the Cienni of this inscription and the Cennino of Vasari are the same person.[1] The painter of these Volterran frescoes is confessedly a Florentine, his manner is certainly derived from the school of Agnolo Gaddi. The frescoes have the appearance of those at S. Croce, and resemble them in miniature. The same composition, features, head-dresses, and costumes may be found repeated ; but the Volterran frescoes, though gay in colour and revealing a certain force, are by an inferior hand, imitating the manner of the last of the Gaddi. It would be curious were it proved that two pupils of Agnolo existed at the same period in Florence who bore almost the same name. It is much more natural to believe that the author of the Volterran frescoes is the Cennino of Vasari. Be the truth in this respect what it may, the Cienni of Volterra may be traced in other Italian cities. In the ex-church of S. Lorenzo at S. Gimignano,[2] a vault now used as a cellar contains vestiges of paintings in the same style, and it is still possible to trace a Last Judgment in which figures of the Redeemer, the Virgin, and the apostles are visible. A Crucifixion in the same manner, with four saints at the foot of the Cross, may be seen in the Oratorio di S. Lorenzo in the same city, and a Virgin and Child in the Pretorio falsely assigned to Lippo Memmi. The list may be further swelled by a fresco of S. Francis with S. Chiara, angels and allegorical figures, in a niche within the first chapel to the right in the church of the ex-convent of S. Francesco at Castel Fiorentino. The whole of these pieces are by the same author, an artist who executed figures rivalling in slenderness, and but slightly inferior to those of the Bicci and Parri Spinelli.[3]

[1] Rumohr seems to have no doubt that they are identical. See his *note* to Ludwig Schorn's Vasari, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 337.

[2] Now a private house belonging to Signore Vittore Vecchi.

[3] [On Cennino Cennini, see Nomi, *Della vita e delle Opere di C. C.* (Siena, 1892). In the Uffizi, in the first long Gallery, No. 42, is a picture of Madonna with S. Peter and S. John Baptist attributed to Cennino. It was bought from Cav. Giuseppe Toscanelli, and is much repainted.]

CHAPTER XXII

ANTONIO VENEZIANO

The merit of having maintained the impulse given to Giottesque art at Florence may be more justly assigned to Antonio Veneziano, than to Agnolo Gaddi. These painters were contemporaries; and though it might be inferred, from a passage of Vasari, that the former was a pupil of the latter, the test of style decides in favour of Taddeo as the real master of Antonio. Baldinucci, true to his aim of making all great painters in the fourteenth century Florentines, claims Antonio as a Tuscan, and supports himself on certain written records in the Strozzi collection;[1] but he seems to have confounded two artists of the same name who lived at different periods.[2] Our curiosity and surprise may be justly excited when we find that, in spite of Giotto's long stay at Padua in the rise of the century, and that of the Gaddi in Venice at its close, no trace of Florentine art is to be found in the provinces of Venice until Giusto di Giovanni Menabuoi, the contemporary of Antonio Veneziano, established himself. We may admit the grandeur and interest of the works of Altichiero of Verona, and of Jacopo; but it remains not the less true that Venetian art retained a local aspect during the greater part of the fourteenth century, and preserved the old Byzantine character. In the fifteenth century, strangers such as Gentile da Fabriano and Antonello da Messina introduced other elements; yet up to the period of the Bellini

[1] Which he does not print however. See vol. iv., p. 376.

[2] There are indeed in the Academy of the Fine Arts at Venice four figures of S. Philip of Florence, S. Peregrine of Forlì, S. Augustine and a Pope, executed by one who signs himself "Antonius de Florentia pinxit," a painter of a later manner, Sala IV., No. 16, 17, 18, 19. The Strozzi records may refer to this Antonio who lived half a century after Antonio Veneziano. Had Baldinucci merely supported his theory by a reference to the painter's style, and had not records been found to prove that Antonio was a Venetian, no one would have hesitated to believe him. The frescoes of Antonio are Florentine in every sense—in feeling, in arrangement, and technical execution. Not a trace of the old Venetian manner is to be found in them. On the other hand, it might be asked, was a Florentine style to be obtained at the time of Agnolo Gaddi, in provinces where the influence of Giotto and that of his disciples had not extended?

and of Mantegna, the Oriental style prevailed in Venice and its provinces. Antonio Veneziano, being in manner a Tuscan, must therefore have been educated far away from his native place. His baptismal name and that of his father are revealed in Sienese and Pisan records as Antonio Francisci de Venetiis. His family name was probably Longhi.[1] A work of very little artistic importance exists at Palermo, in the brotherhood of S. Niccolò Reale, near the church of S. Francesco, which is of some value in its bearing on the history and name of Antonio. This picture is inscribed "AN . . NIO LO . . . DA VINEXIA PINXIT MCCCLXXXVIII." It has the same character as the frescoes of the Campo Santo, executed in 1386–87 by Antonio Francisci di Venetiis. The earliest authentic record of this painter is in the archives of Siena. It shows Antonio labouring, in October 1370, on the ceilings[2] of the cathedral in company with Andrea Vanni.[3] His life previous to that time is sketched by Vasari, and seems to have had its mishaps and heartburnings.

Having taken up his residence at Florence to learn painting under Agnolo Gaddi,[4] he mastered a good style, for which, as well as for other qualities and virtue, he was loved and esteemed by the Florentines. Willing to derive from his labours a grateful fruit in his native city, he returned to Venice, where, thanks to the many productions of his brush in tempera and in fresco, he formed a connection, and was commissioned by the government to paint one of the faces of the Council Hall. This work was executed with such excellence and conducted with such majesty, that it deserved, and would doubtless have received, an honourable reward, had not the emulation, or rather the envy of artists, and the favour extended by certain gentlemen to foreign painters caused matters to take a different turn. The result was that the unfortunate Antonio returned humbled to Florence, and resolved not only to abandon Venice for ever, but to make Florence his home. Having thus taken his resolution and fixed his abode in the city, he painted on an arch of the cloisters in S. Spirito, Christ Calling Peter and Andrew from their Nets, and Zebedee and his Sons, and, beneath the three arcades adorned by Stefano, the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, in which he exhibited the greatest diligence and care, giving to the face of the Saviour features impressed with compassion for the crowd about him and an ardent charity in dispensing the bread. Admirable in the same picture was the gesture

[1] [This is improbable it seems. *Cf.* DI MARZO, *La Pittura in Palermo nel Rinascimento* (Palermo, 1899), p. 48 *et seq.*]

[2] Sienese style.

[3] *Doc. Sen., ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 305.

[4] "Dietro a Agnolo Gaddi." VASARI, vol. ii., p. 171.

of an apostle, who, with wonderful tenderness, wearied himself in the distribution of the bread in a basket. Artists might, indeed, learn from this work that figures should ever be painted as if conversing, failing which they cannot please. This Antonio again demonstrated in a fresco on the front of the same edifice, in which he executed the incident of the Manna with such diligence and such care of finish that it deserved truly to be called excellent. At a later period he painted in a predella for the high altar, in S. Stefano al Ponte Vecchio, scenes of the life of S. Stephen with such tenderness that it is not possible to find more graceful or finer figures even were they in miniatures. He also painted the arch above the entrance to S. Antonio al Ponte alla Carraia.[1]

This narrative, written with Vasari's usual elegance and choice of expression, cannot be accepted with implicit confidence. It may be true that Antonio had to submit to humiliation and trouble at Venice. Local historians are, however, silent with respect to him, and the frescoes of the Council Hall are no longer in existence. Of the works mentioned in Florence not one remains. The dates of Antonio's employment at Siena and in Pisa reveal a contemporary, hardly a pupil, of Agnolo Gaddi; and the truth of this theory is confirmed by the examination of the frescoes executed at Pisa in 1386–87, in which Antonio shows that he studied nature with industry, and succeeded in reproducing form in all its details with considerable fidelity and realism. He emulated in this Giovanni da Milano and Giottino, whilst in composition, his tendency to reproduce attitudes and movements more natural than choice or noble, deprived him of the grandeur of the earlier Giottesques. The conventionalism, which they corrected only in part by deep religious sentiment and dignified severity of mien, was, it is true, avoided by Antonio; but, whilst their art was subordinate to a lofty idea, to an aim corresponding with the fervour of religion, that of Antonio had no better moving principle than imitation of nature. Yet Antonio could pursue that imitation in many moods, and he thus forms an important link in the chain which unites Orcagna to Masolino, Angelico, and Masaccio. Through him one may trace the passage from the art of the fourteenth century to that which, taking a newer garb, became in the fifteenth century that of form. Antonio excelled comparatively, as Vasari truly says, in the sweet and tender mood. He had as a colourist the qualities of Giovanni da Milano and Giottino, much lightness and transparence united to gaiety and force. In technical

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., pp. 171 to 173.

execution he marked a period of progress. He used methods of glazing, such as may be found later in Masolino and Angelico, the same as those which Masaccio improved. His works are unfortunately scarce, though less so than those of Starnina his pupil, who almost fails in the great chain of progress in Florentine art.

In the records of the Campo Santo of Pisa it is written that Antonio, on the tenth of April 1386, received 135 florins of gold from the *operario* on account for three stories from the life of S. Raineri, to be executed by him at the rate of seventy florins for each story.[1] This saint was in great honour at Pisa, where he had lived in the twelfth century, and the early scenes of his legend had been illustrated on the walls of the Campo Santo, by Andrea of Florence, before Antonio was called to Pisa.

That portion of the story which refers to his departure from the Holy Land, his arrival, miracles, and death at Pisa, was represented by Antonio, and is described by Vasari as the finest and best work in the Campo Santo, but time has severely ill-treated it, and many parts are almost entirely obliterated.

Of the Embarkation, which is the first incident in the series, little remains.[2] The landing is then imagined as having taken place. On the shore sits an angler fishing. The saint performs the Miracle of the Wine and Water. The host, of slender and attenuated frame,[3] starts back surprised as he sees the water separating from the wine which he pours into the flap of Raineri's dress; and the saint, pointing to the devil on a cask behind the host, seems to threaten him with eternal flames for his dishonesty.[4] A dame kneels to the spectator's left of Raineri, an old man sits to the right, pensive, whilst a group of divers persons stands around. The dame, of a graceful shape, is an accurate study of nature, and reveals in the painter a careful search for truth of form even in details; and we thus trace in Antonio the forerunner of Masolino and Masaccio. The saint is gentle in action, and has regular and pleasing features; and the remaining figures form a group full of interest. The aged man sitting pensive on the

[1] Ciampi, *ubi sup.*, p. 151, and Förster, *Beiträge*, pp. 117, 118.

[2] But the outline of the figure of Raineri, two camels, and part of the buildings of a city. In the air may still be noticed the Redeemer in a circular glory, pointing out to the saint the direction of his journey. On the sea beneath, a bark in full sail runs before the wind, and contains Raineri and five mariners in various and lifelike attitudes. The head of S. Raineri is, however, obliterated, and, with the exception of a mariner near the saint, the remaining figures are repainted.

[3] Vasari, who writes from memory, naturally conceives the host to be portly.

[4] The devil is represented in the shape of a cat, but this figure is repainted.

foreground is well preserved. He wears a sort of turban, and may remind the spectator of figures painted by Taddeo and Agnolo Gaddi. As the angler parts the group of the miracle from that of the embarkation, so the pensive old man separates that of the miracle from a third scene in which the canons of Pisa give hospitality to Raineri. The scene is an elegant verandah, supported by slender pillars, in which a table is laid, at the head of which, to the right, sits Raineri in the act of benediction. Three guests are at the board, which is served by three or four monks, one of whom is seen coming down a flight of steps with a dish in his hand. Two fowls hang on a nail in the landing. The architecture of the verandah and of the convent on which it leans, is carefully executed; and the forms are made out with sharpness and precision. All the knowledge of perspective attained in Antonio's time is represented in the buildings of the foreground and in the distant edifices of Pisa. The science is not as yet matured, the true horizon is unascertained, yet the converging lines make as near an approach to the truth as could be expected at a period still distant from that in which Paolo Uccello strove to found the science upon a positive geometrical basis. The Embarkation, Landing, Miracle, and Entertainment of the saint are all episodes placed side by side within the compass of one painted frame. The next is devoted to the incidents of Raineri's death, and his transfer to the cathedral of Pisa. The passion of grief is well rendered, as Vasari truly remarks, by Antonio in the group on the extreme left which surrounds the corpse of the saint. He lies at length in his pilgrim's skin, completely visible to the spectator, except where a figure stoops over his right hand for the purpose of kissing it. On the opposite side, another of his followers applies his lips to the left hand, and about the head a group of clergy and people is massed in natural attitudes and animated expression. A monk bending forward blows upon the coals of a censer, another holds the vase with holy water. Nearer the saint's feet an aged friar is helped forward with difficulty by one of fewer years, and seems beyond measure desirous of gazing at the features of the departed. A little in front of him, a dropsical woman has been laid by her mother to Raineri's feet. Her hands are raised and she looks up, grief and wonder commingled in her face. She evidently breathes with difficulty. Her forms are handsome though swollen by disease, youthful, and in good contrast with the weatherbeaten and timeworn ones of her mother, who stoops over her. The careful study and reproduction of nature in its singularity is excellent, and foreshadows the art of Masolino at Castiglione and of Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel at Florence. Nor is Antonio's attention confined to the rendering of living forms. In the frame of Raineri he imitated the aspect of a dead man whose features, calm and tender in expression, are still relaxed by the absence of life blood, whose jaw and eye have sunk, and whose body has not as yet become a cold and stiffened

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 174.

corpse. Here, indeed, the student sees the source which Starnina must have consulted, which Angelico and Masaccio drew upon. Here the key of their education is to be found.

Above the distance of houses and the steeple of the cathedral appears the vision of Raineri, carried to heaven by the angels. Next comes, on the centre foreground, the saint carried on a stretcher and accompanied by magistrates and clergy to his final resting-place. Vestiges of players at the head of the procession may be discerned. Behind the body, to the left, three persons in grave converse proceed, and their faces as well as forms are amongst the best productions of the time. A group of children in rear, again, is less happily rendered, the idea of youth being incompletely given. In a gallery forming the upper part of a house in the distance, the episode of Archbishop Villani's cure from sickness is depicted, and to the right leans the well-known campanile. In the third fresco, Raineri is exposed to public worship under a daïs in the Duomo. To the right a crowd kneels or sits; a female evidently possessed tears her dress and shrieks.[1] Near her a woman holds a sick infant, and there are traces of other figures.[2] The rest of the fresco, which has almost perished, is separated from the foregoing by the walls of the city of Pisa. A group of fishermen, humble worshippers of Raineri, angle in the foreground. In the distance are remains of a vessel tossed by the waves, whose crew are casting merchandise overboard, an episode related of a barque owned by one Uguccione, who saved it by appealing to Raineri as his patron saint.[3] The nude of the fishermen, their various age and action, are given with some realistic truth. In the flesh and muscles, as in the extremities, the painter reveals a conscientious study of nature, whilst in the choice of square and unnoble form Antonio imitates, without attempting to idealise, nature.

Throughout the whole of these frescoes the draperies are of easy fold, but less grand or massive than those of the fine Giottesques, for instance, of Orcagna. More numerous folds, a greater study of their detail may be noticed, whilst at the same time it may be admitted that the under forms are fairly shown. The nature of the stuff which clothes the figures seems likewise to have been an object of attention, and the flexibility of the thinner sort of textile fabrics worn by females is marked. It is a peculiarity of Antonio further, that his draperies cling and give to his forms

[1] Her name, "Galliena indemoniata," may still be traced in the inscription at her feet. This figure is by Vasari transferred into the first fresco, whilst he introduces here the dropsical maid of the second.

[2] The names of these persons may be seen in Rosini's *Descrizione delle Pitture del Campo Santo* (3rd ed., Pisa, 1829), pp. 88–89 *et seq.*

[3] The figure of S. Raineri may be traced as an apparition near the mast of the vessel.

more than usual slenderness. The feet and hands are accurately drawn and detailed.

As regards colour, it may be affirmed, judging from isolated portions which have escaped the hand of time and restorers,[1] that Antonio painted with light transparent and not tasteless combinations of tone. Originally prepared of a light greenish grey, the flesh tints were afterwards put in with a sufficient body of rosy yellow, the shadows being furnished with thin warm glazes, the masses of light left excessively broad, and the highest points laid on boldly with touches. Each preparation is gently fused into the other, so that no abruptness should mar the effect. A light gay key of colour marks the draperies, the reds tending to a soft rosy hue with lights resolutely touched in white, and shadows glazed of a deeper tinge, the outlines being strongly marked at last to complete the whole.[2] The utmost care and minuteness seem to have presided over the mixture and application of the colours; and this would alone confirm what Vasari says, namely, that Antonio had deeply studied the medicine or chemistry of the time.[3] Painters, indeed, were frequently members of the Guild of Speziali in the fourteenth century, and it is obvious, from the study of the history of the period, that most painters had laboratories for the working up of chemical substances.[4] The foregoing remarks will have prepared the reader, however, to notice one disadvantageous feature in the process and methods of Antonio. His gay and lucid tones leave upon the eye an impression of flatness. His lights and shadows are but feebly defined, and hence his pictures lack the great quality of relief. His shadows are light and transparent and too much confined in their surface, and these defects Masolino inherited, Masaccio alone avoiding them and mastering the perfect laws of *chiaro-'scuro*.

A glance at the frescoes of the ceiling in the Cappellone degli Spagnuoli in S. Croce may now be interesting. There, the slender forms, encased in clinging draperies, the vestments themselves, detailed in the fold, the soft type of the heads, recall to mind their counterparts in the Campo Santo of Pisa. That in the ceiling of the Cappellone the Giottesque spirit of Taddeo Gaddi,

[1] The brothers Melani restored these frescoes. See Rosini's *Campo Santo, ubi sup.*

[2] The same process was used in the blues, whilst at times shot dresses were painted rose in shadow, yellow in light.

[3] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 176.

[4] See, for instance, Cennini's treatise.

without his masculine forms, prevails; that the breadth of light and shade peculiar to the Florentine is absent; that the draperies betray a certain research in the definition of folds and are less firm than those of the first Giottesque, has already been remarked. Further, that softness of expression, light tender colour, and careful drawing of extremities are marked features, is certain. All these particularities reveal Antonio as possibly the author of the ceiling of the Cappellone; and it is not too much to assume that he decorated it previous to his visit to Pisa.[1]

The faults which Antonio displays by no means overshadow qualities which mark him as a man of superior genius not only in his own, but for a subsequent age. Vasari truly said of the Pisan frescoes that they were the finest in the Campo Santo. They justify the assertion that, as regards artistic talent, Antonio Veneziano surpassed Benozzo Gozzoli. He was, as Vasari says, an excellent fresco painter;[2] and a careful examination of his work will prove that he disdained retouching *a secco*—the damage done to his transparent colours arising from the damp, which removed tones and intonaco, and from retouching.

Antonio himself was one of the restorers of the paintings in the Campo Santo. He appears in the records of 1386–87 as the painter of the borders of many frescoes, amongst which are a Purgatory, an Inferno, and a Paradise.[3] According to Vasari,[4] he executed anew "the body of the 'Beato' Oliverio with the abbot Panunzio, and many incidents of their life, in a 'cassa' of feigned marble beneath the frescoes of hermit life by the Sienese Pietro Laurato." It is quite easy to trace the portion of Lorenzetti's fresco repainted by Antonio, and beneath it the figure of the Beato Giovanni Gambacorti (whose remains are said to be buried within the wall itself[5]) between two flying angels.[6] Above this, three hermits, two of whom sit at work, whilst the third is in a pensive attitude near a pool swarming with fish, are by Antonio, as well as the figure of S. Panunzio sitting in a palm tree. The latter figure is much damaged, but what remains of

[1] It would be well to assign the section of the ceiling in the Cappellone devoted to the subject of the Ascension to another and less able hand.

[2] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 175.

[3] Ciampi, *Not. Ined., ubi sup.*, p. 151; and Förster, *Beiträge*, pp. 117, 118.

[4] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 175.

[5] *Vide* Rosini, *Descrizione, ubi sup.*, p. 57.

[6] One of whom blows into a censer, whilst the other waves a similar instrument.

it and of the rest exhibits the technical style, the character, peculiar to Antonio. Yet the Venetian, having to restore the work of Lorenzetti, which differed entirely from his own, repeated the original composition, producing in consequence a certain energy, wildness and angularity of form, imitative of the Sienese manner. The drapery and extremities followed original lines different from those which he might have produced in a work of his own, and as regards colour, he strove to rival the warm vigour of the surrounding figures. The technical method, however, was entirely Antonio's, the intonaco having been renewed for him after the removal of a wooden sepulchre which, for a time, covered the spot.[1]

In August of the same year, 1386–87, in which the frescoes of S. Raineri were completed, Antonio painted an altarpiece for the chapel of the organ in the cathedral of Pisa.[2] This unfortunately has disappeared, and nothing remains further to illustrate his manner or his stay in Pisa.

His picture at Palermo, the signature of which has already been given, is, however, of interest, as it was executed later than the works of Pisa, namely in 1388. The company for which it was painted was that of S. Niccolò and S. Francesco at Palermo, and the picture itself is a gabled square with two medallions at the gable sides containing the Virgin and Evangelist grieving. The square space beneath is adorned with medallions at the corners, in each of which is an Evangelist. Three vertical pilasters stripe the square, each of which contains four apostles in medallions.[3] In the gable, Christ receives the flagellation. The brethren kneel in groups at the sides, with their heads concealed in their cowls. The figures generally remind the spectator of the style of Taddeo Gaddi, but exhibit the development of form which characterises the frescoes of the Campo Santo.[4]

Two pictures in the style of this of S. Niccolò may be seen at

[1] See also in confirmation of this, Rosini, *Campo Santo, ubi sup.*, p. 57. This is the more obvious now, as it will be found that Lorenzetti painted on intonaco upon a groundwork of cane, Antonio on intonaco firmly fixed to the wall. As to the painter's portrait, which Vasari mentions as existing in the Campo Santo, it is no longer preserved even by tradition. Vasari, vol. ii., p. 176.

[2] Förster, *Beiträge, ubi sup.*, pp. 117, 118.

[3] In the corners the Four Evangelists are depicted with their symbols in medallions. Between the pilasters the names of the deceased belonging to the company are inscribed. The whole painted in tempera on panel. Ground, gesso, beaten upon parchment.

[4] [Consult Di Marzo, *op. cit.*, *supra*, p. 481, *note* 1.

Palermo in the palace of the Prince Trabbia,[1] but they are so damaged as almost to defy criticism.

At Florence, a Deposition from the Cross belonging to an American gentleman, Mr. Jervis, has altogether the character of the works of Antonio.

The last work of the painter that can be mentioned is a series of frescoes decorating a tabernacle in the grounds of Nuovoli belonging to the Pianciatichi, a wealthy family of Florence. The tabernacle is at no great distance from the capital, outside the Porta a Prato. It has long been abandoned to the vicissitudes of weather, and is, indeed, so little known and cared for that the latest commentators of Vasari declare it to have perished.[2] The Deposition from the Cross was depicted at the bottom, the Judgment, the Death and Transit of the Virgin at the sides, of the tabernacle; but a great part of the principal scene is now obliterated, and vestiges only of the others are preserved.

At the right side of the arch of the tabernacle are traces of nude figures rising from the earth, above which a female, partly naked, covers with the folds of a white mantle a multitude of small sinners.[3] In so far as one can judge from the imperfect preservation of this work, it is a careful study of form, less perfect in the extremities than others of Antonio, and somewhat feebly realistic; but the heads are fine, and are drawn with broad open brows; the details of hair are minutely rendered, as they were later by Masolino and his school. The colour of these frescoes seems to have been of a vigorous local tone, and the execution displays the care and boldness of a finished artist. Qualities akin to those of Giottino[4] may be traced in this as in the choice of certain types; but the perfection of the Campo Santo frescoes seems not as yet to have been attained. The tabernacle was painted by Antonio, says Vasari, for Giovanni degli Agli, of a Florentine family, which has either disappeared or lost its old

[1] To whom, as well as to the Conte Tasca, public thanks are here tendered for their kindness and assistance.

[2] *Note* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 176.

[3] In the upper space again, remains of heads of angels and apostles may be seen. The Virgin in a glory, supported by six angels in the side to the left, is evidently part of a subject of which traces may be found lower down, as a tomb round which figures stand, in whose faces one may still discern marks of grief. In the vault of the arch the Saviour sits with the book, in the act of benediction, between the Four Evangelists.

[4] That is, of the works assignable to the last half of the century.

Brogi.

RETURN OF S. RAINERI

ANTONIO VENEZIANO.

Campo Santo, Pisa.

Alinari

ALTARPIECE

BERNARDO DADDI. Uffizi Gallery, Florence

possessions. Antonio was employed by the Acciaiuoli in the Certosa of Florence to paint an altarpiece, and a fresco of the Transfiguration, which have perished. Vasari errs, as usual, in affirming that he died in 1384, aged seventy-four. Two years later he was still labouring in the Campo Santo.

CHAPTER XXIII

GHERARDO STARNINA AND ANTONIO VITE

An artist of undoubted talent and conspicuous fame owed his education to Antonio Veneziano. Gherardo Starnina bequeathed to Masolino a style reminiscent of that which Antonio had developed, and so claims a place in the direct descent of the Giottesques to Angelico and Masaccio. Yet this at first sight would seem to be but a deduction from the assertions of Vasari, a historian prone to error, as we all know, for of Starnina not a single authentic work remains. Gherardo was born at Florence in 1354,[1] and spent a number of years under the tuition of Antonio Veneziano. Having mastered design and painting, he settled in Florence, where, in spite of rude manners and a hot temper, he found patrons. Not long after the completion of a series of frescoes in the chapel of the Castellani at S. Croce, which he executed for Michele de' Vanni, the disturbances of the Ciompi (1378) occurred at Florence, and Starnina became involved in them. In danger of his life, he retired, and journeyed under the protection of certain merchants to Spain. Here, says the historian, he lost the rudeness of his manners, took lessons of Castilian courtesy, and acquired wealth in the exercise of his art. In 1387, he again resided in Florence and took the freedom of the Painters' Company.[2] He decorated the chapel of S. Girolamo at the Carmine, in which he not only introduced Spanish costumes, but displayed a certain versatility of humour. He executed, in 1406, at the top of the steps leading from S. Maria sopra Porta to the Palazzo della Parte, a fresco commemorative of the sale of Pisa to Florence, representing St. Dyonisius between two angels above a view of the city of Pisa. Many other works, says Vasari, were executed by him and increased his fame, and he might have gained a higher position, but that he died, and was buried in S. Jacopo sopra Arno.[3]

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 200.

[2] He appears in the Libro de' Pittori in 1387 as "Gherardo di Jacopo Starna depintore." Gualandi, *ubi sup.*, Ser. vi., p. 182.

[3] He died at the age of forty-nine, says Vasari (vol. ii., p. 203). But if

A fact may, at once, be elicited from this narrative. The dates suffice to show that Starnina might have been a disciple of Antonio Veneziano. Masolino was the pupil of Starnina, and inherited much of Antonio's manner. Hence Starnina must have painted in a style not dissimilar from that of the Venetian. Of all the paintings which may have once adorned the Cappella Castellani in Santa Croce, none remain but those of the ceilings and a figure of a prophet in a recess above the door.[1] The former, divided by diagonals into sections containing the Four Evangelists and the Four Doctors of the Church, are painted so completely in the style of Agnolo Gaddi, that they must be assigned to him.[2] If not, Starnina can be neither the pupil of Antonio nor the teacher of Masolino. The figure of a prophet in the recess, represented in flight and holding a scroll on which Hebrew lines are inscribed, is of a later date than those of the ceiling, but, being much damaged, no longer displays much relationship with the works of Antonio. The S. Dyonisius, although in existence at the time of Baldinucci and described by Richa, is now obliterated.[3] In Spain, no vestige of Starnina's works is to be seen.

A clue may perhaps be found to his manner, if we examine critically the remains of one of his disciples, Antonio Vite of Pistoia, whom Starnina once sent in his stead to paint the chapter-house of S. Niccolò at Pisa.[4]

Antonio Vite is known to have laboured at Prato, and, though Vasari only mentions a series of frescoes in the Palazzo al Ceppo which time has completely obliterated,[5] there are frescoes in his manner in a chapel opening into the right transept of the cathedral. But before proceeding further, the reader may, if he pleases, read the following few facts respecting Antonio Vite and his style.

he was born in 1354, and painted the S. Dyonisius in 1406, he must have been older. [In the first edition of Vasari, Starnina is said to have died in 1408.]

[1] [These have now been freed from whitewash. They represent scenes from the lives of S. John Baptist and S. John the Evangelist, S. Niccolò da Bari, and S. Antonio. Burckhardt gives them to Agnolo Gaddi.]

[2] The Evangelists are represented with their symbols and, like the Doctors of the Church, emitting rays of light. The backgrounds are blue sprinkled with golden stars. CINELLI, *Bellezze di Firenze*, p. 338, assigns the ceilings to Taddeo Gaddi.

[3] BALDINUCCI, *ubi sup.*, vol. iv., p. 516; RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. iii., p. 252.

[4] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 202. These paintings in S. Niccolò represented scenes from the Passion. They do not now exist. They were painted, according to Manni (*Notes* to BALDINUCCI, vol. iv., p. 537), for Giov. dell' Agnello in 1403, and inscribed "ANTONIO VITE DE PISTORIO PINXIT."

[5] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 215, *Life of Lorenzo Monaco.*

According to Ciampi,[1] Vite "completed the chapter-house of S. Francesco at Pistoia, which Puccio Capanna had left unfinished; for in some parts of the paintings which decorate it, a style may be found similar to that of Antonio's authentic frescoes in the suppressed church of S. Antonio Abate." Ciampi is followed by Tolomei[2] in the assertion that the frescoes of S. Antonio Abate are by Vite; but the remains which are still visible in that edifice[3] are not all by the same hand. In the ceiling, now divided into three parts by the reduction of the edifice to the form of a dwelling-house, the Saviour is depicted in glory presiding over the delights of Paradise; and above him, the signs of the Zodiac are represented. This much-damaged painting is by a feeble artist of the close of the fourteenth century, educated under Orcagna. But in other parts of the edifice, the Creation of Adam and Eve, scenes from the life of the Virgin and of the Saviour, and from the legend of S. Anthony, are also produced by one whose feeble style is repeated in the ceiling of the chapter-house of S. Francesco. It has already been observed, when treating of Puccio Capanna, that these are feeble productions; and certainly the long lean figures are ill calculated to arrest attention.

Yet these feeble works are of interest, because others somewhat similar may be seen in the chapel of the Cathedral at Prato to which reference has just been made. The two walls of this chapel are divided into three courses of single frescoes. On the lunette at one side is the Birth of the Virgin, and beneath, the Presentation in the Temple and the Marriage of the Virgin; on the lunette of the other, the Dispute of S. Stephen, and beneath it the Stoning and the wail over the saint. In the diagonals of the ceiling, four figures symbolise Fortitude, Hope, Faith, and Charity; and in the vault of the entrance, four busts of saints are placed.[4] Of all these frescoes, three, namely, the Marriage of the Virgin, the Stoning of Stephen, and the wail over his body, the whole of the painted frames and medallions are by a rude painter of the rise of the fifteenth century, whose defective style is the same as that of the artist who painted the scenes from the Old and New Testament and from the life of S. Anthony in S. Antonio of Pistoia. Having thus ascertained that Antonio Vite is a fourth-rate artist, it is of comparatively little interest to notice the few facts recorded of his life. It will suffice to remark:

That the works of the Campo Santo at Pisa, *i.e.* scenes from the

[1] *Not. Ined., ubi sup.*, p. 106.
[2] *Guida, ubi sup.*, p. 116.
[3] It is now a private house, No. 355 Piazza S. Domenico, at Pistoia.
[4] One of them S. Paul. In the painted frames are busts of prophets.

Passion and the Crucifixion, by some assigned to Buffalmacco, though feeble productions, are yet not by Vite. Vasari dates the frescoes of the chapter of S. Niccolò at Pisa, 1403. Tolomei states that Antonio lived as early as 1347, that he was of a family established at Lamporecchio, and that he was of the council of Pistoia in 1378. Della Valle supposes him to be the same who appears in 1428 under the name of Antonio di Filippo da Pistoia in the register of Sienese painters.[1]

The frescoes of Vite in the chapel of the Duomo at Prato have an interest beyond their artistic value. They are the continuation of a series in part completed by another and abler painter. Without presuming to affirm that Starnina was originally employed to execute this work, it might seem but natural that Vite should be asked to finish that which his master had left incomplete. The Birth of the Virgin, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Sermon of S. Stephen are frescoes which invite study. They are less attractive at a first glance than they become on a closer inspection. They are evidently the production of one of those artists who devoted themselves to the analysis and study of form and its appearance in perspective, and who belonged to that important class which led up to Ghirlandaio. The artist was a student of the anatomy of form like Paolo Uccello, Piero della Francesca, the Peselli, and others. In a composition of ten figures grandly distributed in the lunette, he represented the Birth of the Virgin, and showed that he had inherited the classic Tuscan style. In four figures of females advancing with offerings, the spectator may remark a certain realism in the profiles of the heads, but at the same time some of the characteristics which distinguish a similar incident in the Ghirlandaio frescoes of S. Maria Novella at Florence. Whilst a certain affectation of bearing reminds him of the creations of Paolo Uccello or Piero della Francesca, the costumes and character are those of the rise of the fifteenth century. The chief interest of the piece lies in fact in the composition, and its combination with types less remarkable for beauty than for a realistic study of human form. Great elasticity and firmness of step may be found in a female figure, of slender and graceful stature, descending a flight of steps. S. Anna in bed washing, and attended by a maid pouring water over her hands, a female in the centre of the middle distance holding the new-born infant, are more in the feeling and habits of the fourteenth century. A grand and finely draped figure,

[1] See also Milanesi, *Doc. Sen.*, *ubi sup.*, vol. i., p. 48.

kneeling in the right foreground of the fresco of the Presentation in the Temple, displays all the intelligence of form that one might expect from the later painters above mentioned. The colourless head proves to have been prepared with the bluish grey common to their time; and a similar feature may be noticed in two figures standing to the right of the kneeling one on which the soft manner of Masolino is impressed. The painter's power in composition, his firmness in design, his relationship to the artists already named, may be further traced in the next lunette scene, where S. Stephen, with outstretched arms, preaches to an unruly crowd in front of a temple. The grandeur of certain figures, such as that of an old man in profile withheld by another from attacking the dauntless saint, cannot be denied. The technical process is here again revealed in parts which have been deprived by time of their colour. The bluish grey preparation of rough texture has been laid bare; and where this has occurred the colour is somewhat weak and flat. But in the parts which are preserved the yellowish flesh tint, glazed with warm transparent tones, is light and clear, though not more relieved than in the frescoes of Masolino.

Combined with a certain originality, these frescoes reveal, as has been seen, a relationship with those of other painters of the early part of the fifteenth century whose connection with Antonio Veneziano through Starnina is asserted. It may therefore be inferred that they are by Starnina, whose talent is celebrated by Vasari in terms of no common praise.[1]

[1] [Thus nothing can be assigned to Starnina with any certainty, and it is not possible, as Venturi (*op. cit.*, ii.,"p. 835) says, to know if he is worthy to be called indeed the master of Masolino. Consult Giglioli, *Per alcuno affreschi perduti dello Starnina* in *Rivista d'Arte* (1905), vol. iii., No. 1.]

CHAPTER XXIV

DECLINING SCHOOL OF GIOTTESQUES

THERE are many second-rate Giottesques deserving attention and study, whose lives and works do not stand in immediate relation to the direct line of progress in Florentine art. A narrative professing to trace that progress may venture to forget them for a while; but cannot omit them altogether.

Jacopo da Casentino heads a class of inferior painters who succeeded each other with great regularity of mediocrity, yet amongst whom perchance one or two of merit superior to the rest may be found. Such an one is Spinello Aretino, who deserves a higher place than others already noticed as pupils or followers of great masters in the main line of art descent. But he takes rank in this class because of his intimate connection with the second-rate Giottesques, and because he did nothing to save his successors from declining to the low standard of Neri di Bicci. Giovanni da Milano, one of those who led up to Masaccio and Angelico, Jacopo da Casentino, who headed the decline of a branch respectable under Spinello but despicable in the Bicci, thus stood at cross ways.

Jacopo da Casentino, related to the family of Messer Cristoforo Landino of Pratovecchio, was introduced to Taddeo Gaddi while the latter was engaged in the decoration of a chapel in the church of Sasso della Vernia in Casentino, and followed him to Florence.[1] Thanks, no doubt, to the recommendation of the Gaddi, he found sufficient employment in the capital, working at first as a subordinate, and at last as an independent artist. Three tabernacles, erected in the Mercato Vecchio, at the angles of the Piazza S. Niccolò and the garden of the Tintori, were entrusted to him to decorate with altarpiece or frescoes; and the ornamentation of the pilasters, ceilings, and faces of Orsanmichele was about the most important work which he was commissioned to execute.

[1] VASARI, vol. ii., pp. 178-9. Del Migliore all but proves the truth of Vasari's statement as to the family of Jacopo. *Vide annot.* to VASARI, *supra*.

Here he painted sixteen patriarchs and prophets in the ceilings, and scenes from the life of the Virgin and saints in the walls and pilasters.[1] But, as in the tabernacles nothing of his manner remains, so in the walls of Orsanmichele the frescoes have disappeared. The pilasters and one of the ceilings, however,[2] still preserve vestiges of life-sized figures, an Annunciation and a Trinity in the usual form, the fragments of which disclose, beneath much dust, traces of Jacopo's weak Giottesque manner.[3] If, however, Jacopo is entitled to little attention as a painter, he deserves credit for an organising spirit, and for the business-like assiduity with which he founded in 1349 [4] the Company of Painters, under the patronage of the Virgin, SS. John the Baptist, Zanobi, Reparata, and Luke, thus giving to his profession a standing of its own. The corporation then formed remained second to the Art or Guild of the Barber-Surgeons, and Grocers, which as early as 1335 had established rules for the conduct of such of its members as devoted themselves to the career of painters.[5] Four Captains, four councillors, and two clerks were appointed to the company, all of them painters at Florence in 1349, the majority of whom, excepting Jacopo and Bernardo Daddi, have left not a single work behind. The captains or councillors did not think it necessary to draw up such extensive regulations for the administration of their craft as had been embodied in the earlier statute of Siena, but they made provisions for the election of their officers, for monthly meetings in the church of S. Maria Nuova, and for the entrance and other fees to which the corporation might consider itself entitled, the whole preceded by an appeal to the religion of the members, of which the following may be taken as an amusing specimen :

"As it is our opinion that during this our dangerous pilgrimage on earth, we should have S. Luke Evangelist as a special advocate

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 179.

[2] Where four saints have recently been rescued from whitewash.

[3] The spectator may still perceive that the nude in Jacopo da Casentino was of a coarse fiery tone. On comparison of other works, it is obvious that Vasari correctly assigns the figures at Orsanmichele to him. Vasari, vol. ii., p. 179.

[4] See the statutes in Gaye, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 32, with the false date of 1339—Gaye having misread the original MS., which is much abraded. [The Guild of S. Luke was founded in 1339. *Cf.* Vasari (Ed. Sansoni), vol. i., p. 674. Jacopo da Casentino and Bernardo Daddi were entered in 1349.]

[5] See these rules in Gaye, *Carteggio, ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 39.

Manelli.

MADONNA AND CHILD

BERNARDO DADDI. S. Giorgio Ruballa, near Florence.

S. CATHERINE

SPINELLO ARETINO

S. ANTHONY, ABBOT

S. Caterina Accademia, Florence.

between us, the Divine Majesty and the glorious Virgin Mary, and at the same time that her servants should be pure and free from sin, we do hereby order that all who do or shall inscribe their names as members of this company, be they male or female, shall contritely confess their sins, or at least make proof of an intention to do so on the nearest possible occasion . . . . and whoever joins this body is bound daily to tell five Paternoster and five Ave Maria ; and should he omit or be constrained by circumstances to neglect his duty and forget these prayers one day, he shall tell them the next, or whenever the matter may come within his memory."

The statute and organisation of the Company of Painters was registered before a notary in 1354, up to which time it is evident that Jacopo da Casentino remained in Florence.[1] How much longer after this he resided there is as uncertain as the date of Taddeo Gaddi's death or Agnolo's birth. But if Arezzo owed to him, as Vasari states, the regulation of the waterworks of the Fonte Guinizelli,[2] the date of his return to that city was 1354. Here he seems to have executed a vast number of frescoes, the majority of which have perished. Parts of the Duomo Vecchio, which had been thrown down in Vasari's time, and of the Vescovado, were decorated by him,[3] and the canons of the Pieve employed him in various parts of the church of S. Bartolommeo. In a recess, in the right-hand corner of the side facing the portal of that edifice, the visitor to Arezzo may see a Dead Saviour by him, lying as in a coffin, naked, with His arms crossed over His breast, bewailed by the Virgin and S. John Evangelist.[4] Much injured by time and other causes, this work may be noted as being coloured in glaring tones of a coarse substance, and as exhibiting Giottesque types and drapery on a low and rude scale. Jacopo may have had a just idea of proportion, and may have proved a desire to master details of form, but he showed a not unusual neglect in drawing extremities, and lack of power in shaping out the several parts of the human frame. Whilst feet or hands display a wooden clumsiness, the face is rendered from a poor and

[1] He executed for the Company of S. Luke in S. Maria Nuova a picture of S. Luke Painting the Virgin, with portraits of the members of the guild in the predella. These have unfortunately perished.

[2] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 180. See *annot.* of Vasari, *note* 1 to p. 180, in which it is affirmed that these waterworks were in 1354 replaced in the state originally due to the Romans.

[3] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 179 ; the Vescovado with a story of S. Martin.

[4] Half figures, S. John wailing rests his head on his right hand. In the vaulting, the Lamb between SS. Bartholomew and Donato, the latter miscalled by Vasari S. Paul.

common type, alike devoid of energy or feeling.[1] Yet, as we have seen, Vasari did not hesitate to assign to Giotto a fresco of S. Francis and S. Dominic in the Pieve [2] marked by faults similar to those of the fresco in S. Bartolommeo, which less partial critics may assign to Jacopo. Taking these works as a guide, we may assign to him further a lunette fresco of the Pietà above the gate of the old Fraternità di S. Maria della Misericordia, now a library and museum at Arezzo, hitherto attributed to Spinello.[3]

A better work, and of interest, is an altarpiece painted for the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista in his native place Prato Vecchio,[4] and now in the National Gallery,[5] where Jacopo illustrated the scenes of the life of S. John Evangelist which Giotto had previously used in the Peruzzi Chapel at S. Croce. His comparative mediocrity may be proved by the poverty of his conception, the vulgarity of his types or action, and the feebleness of his execution. Yet his defects are partly covered by a certain vehemence of hand and exaggeration of expression or movement.[6]

Of equal interest and better execution is a predella at the Uffizi,[7] in which a religious ceremony, at the centre, is flanked by two scenes from the life of S. Peter and eight figures of saints. The value of this piece lies chiefly in a lively colour and flowing drapery, which reveal the master of Spinello. A more modern altarpiece of the same class in the passage of the Uffizi represents the Coronation of the Virgin,[8] a subject which is repeated in the same style in a panel in the magazines of the Louvre. The collection of the late Mr. Bromley comprised, amongst others, a series of five half-lengths of the Saviour between SS. Peter, Paul, Bartholomew, and Francis, assigned to Giotto, but executed in the style of Jacopo's fresco in S. Bartolommeo at Arezzo.

[1] Besides this fresco in S. Bartolommeo, he painted the panel for the high altar.

[2] Vasari, vol. i., p. 315. See *antea* in Giotto, S. Francis holds a book, S. Dominic a lily,

[3] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 188. Half figures, the Dead Saviour is supported naked and erect between the Virgin and the Evangelist. The head of the Saviour is damaged and that of S. John obliterated, but the style, forms, and colour are the same as those of Jacopo at S. Bartolommeo.

[4] According to Vasari, he also painted at Poppi in Casentino (vol. ii., p. 179).

[5] [No. 580 and No. 580A.]

[6] This piece is of a dry tempera with verde shadows. It passed into the National Gallery from the Ugo Baldi collection. The subjects are: upper course, centre, the Resurrection, the Limbo, the Donor and Family under the protection of the two SS. John. Above this upper course: the Trinity, the Virgin, and Angel Annunciate. Pediment: Scenes from the Life of the Evangelist. Pilasters: Saints.

[7] [No. 1292.]

[8] [No. 31. Probably by Giovanni dal Ponte.]

The period of Jacopo's death has not been ascertained, but he died at eighty years of age, and was buried, in S. Agnolo, an abbey of the Camaldolese at Pratovecchio.[1]

His contemporary and colleague in the council of the Company of S. Luke at Florence, Bernardo Daddi,[2] painted the chapels of S. Lorenzo and of S. Stefano de' Pulci e Berardi in S. Croce, and the gates of the old city of Florence.[3]

The only remaining frescoes of Daddi that have been preserved are those of S. Stefano which represent the martyrdom of S. Lawrence and S. Stephen, and have been injured by time and retouching.[4] They betray the weakness of an artist of a low order—not ignorant, however, of the laws of composition as they were known to most inferior Giottesques. Vasari calls Bernardo Daddi a pupil of Spinello,[5] but this is inconsistent with the only dates of his life. He was enrolled as a member of the Company of S. Luke in 1355,[6] having been of the

[1] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 184; who further mentions the following works which have perished:—frescoes at Arezzo in the Cappella di S. Cristofano in S. Domenico, in the Compagnia Vecchia of S. Giovanni di Peducci, in the Cappella Nardi of S. Agostino (vol. i., p. 180), in the palace of the citadel, and beneath the organ in the Pieve (ibid., p. 181). [On Jacopo da Casentino, see TOESCA, *Umili Pittori Fiorentini del Principio del Quattrocento* in *l'Arte*, an. 1904, p. 49 *et seq.*; and SUIDA, *Ein Bezeichnetes Werk des Jacopo da Casentino* (*Kunstchronick*, Leipsig, 1906, vol. xvii., p. 335). VENTURI attributes to him a picture, No. 26, Sala III., in the Museo Civico at Pisa, a Madonna and Child.]

[2] [Bernardo Daddi and Bernardo da Firenze are the same person, and must in no way be confused with Nardo, the elder brother of Orcagna. He matriculated in the *Arte dei Medici e degli Speziali* about 1317, and we still hear of him in 1353. *Cf.* FREY, *Il Codice Magliabecchiano*, xvii., 17 (1892), p. 246 *et seq.*, and 248. Consult VITZTHUM, *Bernardo Daddi* (Leipsig, 1903); OSVALD SIRÉN, in *l'Arte* (1905), fasc. iv.; VENTURI in *l'Arte* (1906), fasc. ii., and IDEM., *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 506 *et seq.* In 1328 he signed the picture of Madonna with SS. Matthew and Niccolò, once in Ognissanti, now No. 26 in the first long gallery of the Uffizi; in 1332 he signed the Madonna and Saints, part of a tabernacle, No. 271 in Sala I. of the Sale del Angelico in the Academy of Florence; in 1336 he signed the triptych, now No. 60 in Stanza II. of the Gallery of Siena, which represents the Virgin enthroned, with side scenes of great interest. In 1348 he signed the poliptych, eight saints about a Crucifixion, once at Ruballa, near Florence, and now in the collection of Sir Hubert Parry at Highnam Court, near Gloucester. The authors have for once failed altogether to understand the importance of this painter. Almost ignored by Vasari, who falsely considers him as a pupil of Spinello Aretino, he proves to be, as MR. FRY (*Burlington Magazine*, vol. ii., p. 117 *et seq.*) has pointed out, "perhaps a finer artist than any other of the immediate successors of Giotto." Nothing in all Taddeo Gaddi's work can compare with the Highnam Court poliptych as regards nobility of design and beauty of execution. But see VENTURI, *op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 520, *notes* 1 and 2, where too a list of his works is given, some fourteen in number besides these mentioned.]

[3] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 181.

[4] [The fresco over Porta S. Giorgio remains; but according to MR. BERENSON, it is the work of Bicci di Lorenzo.]

[5] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 181.

[6] GUALANDI, *ubi sup.*, Ser. vi., p. 177.

council in 1349. He had one son called Daddo, registered in the same company in 1351, and free of it in 1358; a second called Simone, who is mentioned with Ristoro Cione in a record of 1366,[1] and he died in 1380.[2] Spinello was of a later time, as may be shown presently. No doubt Bernardo Daddi's manner has a general relation to those of Spinello and Parri Spinelli, but this proves only that he and Jacopo da Casentino had a common style which the Spinelli inherited.

Of Daddi's paintings on the gates of Florence hardly a vestige remains, and the fragments only suffice to convince the spectator that they were of Daddi's time.

Spinello of Arezzo was in every sense superior to Jacopo da Casentino and Daddi. Issued from a Ghibelline family which had taken refuge at Arezzo about 1308, he nevertheless devoted himself to painting; and though his father Luca Spinelli[3] did nothing for his education, and allowed him to learn the rudiments alone, he rapidly attained proficiency, so that after a slight course of instruction under Jacopo da Casentino, he turned out at the age of twenty a better painter than his master. He was a man of great merit, following the style developed by Jacopo and Daddi; but he rose above them by studying pure Giottesque models from which, aided by indubitable vigour and energy, he formed a manner bold, animated, and picturesque. He represented the spirit of Giotto at the close of the fourteenth century better than any artist of that time; and he undoubtedly played in painting the greatest part of that period.[4]

His style may be studied to the best advantage at S. Miniato outside Florence, in the Campo Santo of Pisa, and above all, in the public palace of Siena. His altarpieces and pictures are less favourable to his greatness than his wall paintings; but in this he shared a peculiarity common to all the Florentines. Many

[1] Del Migliore. Vasari, vol. ii., p. 182.

[2] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 182. He was buried, says the Aretine, in S. Felicità

[3] In the inscription of Spinello's pictures, and in the records respecting him, he is called Spinello Lucæ, which confirms Vasari's statement. That his father Luca was a Ghibelline of the Spinelli family is only affirmed by the latter.

[4] [That he was not the superior of Bernardo Daddi has been abundantly shown by now, *cf. supra*, p. 421, *note* 2. The date of his birth is entirely unknown. The first work he did to which any date can be given is the scattered panels, one of which, now in Mr. Quilter's collection, gives his name, while its fellow in the Perth Gallery (36) gives the date 1380; the second is the frescoes of S. Miniato al Monte, which were commissioned by Benedetto degli Alberti, who, when sent into exile, added a codicil to his will (1367) ordering their completion. They are utterly spoiled by over painting.]

galleries have pictures inscribed with his name; but these are mediocre when compared with his frescoes; and it would be evident from a glance, were it not proved in other ways, that he trusted much of this species of work to assistants. Taking therefore his wall paintings for a guide, one can see that he possessed Giotto's maxims of composition, and that he distributed his subjects grandly and broadly. He proved himself at times, however, more Sienese than Florentine by falling into capricious or fantastic exaggeration. One seldom misses a stamp of force, stern character, or boldness of attitude in his figures; but though true in movement and expression, they are often defective in the total of the proportions. He does not go into the detail of the form of the human frame, but neglects the extremities and articulations, so that the action is broken or incomplete; and his personages tread too often on an oblique, not on a horizontal plane. He drew freely and easily, sometimes carelessly. His draperies have breadth and an easy sweep, and clothe his figures with perfect fitness. His hardy ease of hand results in breadth of light and shade. Spinello, in a word, had many of the qualities of Giotto, combined with some Sienese character, which we find to some extent already in his master Jacopo. His colour has the gaiety of the latter, whilst his defects of design are those common to Agnolo Gaddi. Yet Agnolo had more severity, and was more firmly attached to pure Giottesque maxims, and Spinello, compared with Giotto, is a bold decorator, careless of form and of detail.

Were it not almost certain that the fresco in the lunette above the portal of the ex-Fraternità della Misericordia at Arezzo was executed by Jacopo da Casentino,[1] it should be assigned to Spinello's early time. It might be considered in this case as his weakest effort. So little, however, of Spinello's work at Arezzo has been preserved, and so few dates are recorded in his life by Vasari, that it is difficult to follow his progress. Still one may assume that he proceeded with Jacopo da Casentino to Florence, where he painted, about 1348, the choir of S. Maria Maggiore for Filippo Cappelli, two chapels in the Carmine,[2] one in S. Trinità, and three

[1] See *antea*.

[2] At the Carmine, says Vasari, he painted the chapel of SS. Jacopo and Giovanni Evangelista, when the wife of Zebedee asks Christ to give seats in Paradise to her sons, when Zebedee, James, and John leave their nets; in another chapel, scenes from the life of the Virgin (vol. ii., p. 186–7). [The frescoes in the choir of S. Maria Maggiore are by Spinello's son Filippo, executed for Messer Barone Cappelli. *Cf.* Richa, *Chiese Fiorentini*, vol. iii., p. 282 *et seq.*, and *infra* p. 424, *note* 1.]

altarpieces for the church of SS. Apostoli, the church of S. Lucia de' Bardi, and the chapel of the Peruzzi in S. Croce.[1] Bottari was able to note that the frescoes in S. Maria Maggiore were painted in *verdaccio* or dead colour, and were going to ruin.[2] They had been whitewashed in Richa's time,[3] and are lost to the present generation, like those of the Carmine, S. Lucia, and S. Croce.

Recalled to Arezzo by his fellow-citizens, Spinello demonstrated his powers of rapid execution in almost all the churches of the city and its vicinity. He painted in 1361 the picture of the high altar in the abbey of the Camaldoles in Casentino ;[4] and, between that date and 1384, when, after the sack of the town, he took refuge in Florence,[5] he attended to commissions of the most extensive nature for frescoes and altarpieces.[6] Besides these, which have perished, he executed other works of no inconsiderable kind. With success, and not without grace, he painted the Annunciation on an altar to the right as one enters the church of S. Francesco at Arezzo,[7] arranging the figures with taste, and expressing, in the angel especially, a fair amount of religious feeling. Near these pictures, which a restorer has somewhat damaged, he painted frescoes on the wall between the chapel and the belfry, traces of which have recently been recovered from whitewash, a figure of a bishop and of one carrying an infant still revealing his style.[8] In the bell room of the same church, Spinello depicted scenes from the legend of the Archangel Michael, most of which are greatly injured. In one of the lunettes the Saviour, enthroned amongst angels, orders S. Michael[9] to expel from his throne the rebel Lucifer and his angels. Beneath this the Archangel, poised on the dragon, is seen in the act of striking him, whilst, on each side, angels and demons struggle for the mastery, a fantastic medley of celestial

[1] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 186–7, says, with reference to the choir of S. Maria Maggiore, that Spinello painted it for Barone Cappelli ; but this is probably an error, as the patronage of the high altar was only obtained by Barone's son in 1348. *Vide* RICHA, vol. iii., p. 282.

[2] Bottari, in *notes* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 186.

[3] RICHA, *Chiese*, vol. iii., p. 280.

[4] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 189.

[5] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 194.

[6] In the Duomo Vecchio and the Pieve. Ibid., pp. 187–9 ; in S. Laurentino, the Compagnia della Nunziata, SS. Marco, Giustino, Lorenzo, and the Spedaletto. Ibid., p. 192–3.

[7] In the chapel of Messer Giuliano Baccio. VASARI, vol. ii., p. 188.

[8] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 188, mentions these, and besides, paintings in the Cappella de' Marsuppini, representing Pope Honorius confirming the rules of the Order of S. Francis.

[9] On his left.

warriors and evil spirits in the forms of serpents. Here we find the counterpart of the frescoes in S. Maria degli Angeli at Arezzo, decorated with the same subjects by Spinello, but since obliterated with the exception of three heads transferred to canvas which are now in the hands of Mr. Layard, and were exhibited at Manchester.[1] Though in bad condition, these frescoes still have the spirit and character of the master.[2]

The Annunciation, in a tabernacle outside the church of the Annunziata, rivals in religious feeling and grace, as well as in beauty of composition, that of S. Francesco. The calm attitude of the Virgin is not less good than the action of the angel, whose flying drapery shows that he has but just alighted.[3]

Spinello's bold ease of hand and lively colour, his broad arrangement of groups, his power in giving ready motion to figures, without any special accuracy of drawing, his ability in rendering sweep of drapery, are illustrated in S. Domenico of Arezzo, where an altar to the left of the portal is decorated with the majestic erect forms of SS. James and Philip, between side panels representing scenes from the lives of these saints.[4]

Vasari justly praises another of Spinello's frescoes in Arezzo, a tabernacle above the door leading into the Compagnia della Misericordia.[5] The colossal Trinity depicted there, although repainted in its lower half, is worthy of distinct attention.[6] The

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 197. Another of the sides of the bell room, cut in two by the wall of a passage leading from the church to the sacristy, contains remains of a fresco representing the vision of the Archangel to the Pope Gregory on the Mole of Adrian at Rome, which has since been called from this miracle the Castle of S. Angelo, and scenes from the life of S. Egidius. [These fragments which belonged to Sir Henry Layard, are now in the National Gallery, Nos. 1216A and 1216B.]

[2] Especially the vision.

[3] The Virgin sits with a book, Gabriel on one knee with arms crossed on his breast. The Spirit of the Holy Ghost and the form of the infant Saviour descend as if from the Eternal in the lunette above, now obliterated.

A Virgin giving the breast to the infant Saviour (half figures), known as the Madonna del Latte, and executed for the church of S. Stefano fuor d'Arezzo, is now in S. Bernardo, where of old were other works by Spinello. (Vasari, vol. ii., pp. 190 and 193.) On the façade of the ex-hospital of Spirito Santo, he painted the Descent of the Holy Spirit, three scenes from the legend of SS. Cosma and Damian, a "Noli me tangere," of which the remains are now all but obliterated.

[4] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 192. The scenes from the life of S. James on the left, those from the life of S. Philip on the right. Some of the heads in these have been injured by retouching. Two scenes from the life of S. Catherine are above the rest.

[5] Of old della Trinità. Vasari, vol. ii., p. 193.

[6] Four angels supporting the Trinity have also been injured, as well as SS. Peter, Cosma, and Damian in the vaulting.

head of the Eternal, of a fine and powerful type, a well-proportioned figure of the Redeemer, not without religious feeling, impart to the whole subject a certain grandeur, whilst the general effect is heightened by vigorous colour.[1]

A Virgin between SS. James and Anthony assigned to the master in the company of the Purraciuoli at Arezzo, bears the date of 1377, and might prove, if the fresco be authentic, that Spinello was still at the time in his native city.

According to a tradition existing to the present day, his shop was situated near the Via Sacra, at the corner of the Via della Tolletta. A room is shown on the ground floor of a house on that site, in which a half figure of a Virgin Annunciate is preserved on a wall, with a winged Saviour above and to the right of it, both figures displaying truly the style of Spinello.

At Florence he was employed by an Aretine, Don Jacopo, general of the congregation of Monte Oliveto, to paint for the church of that name an altarpiece illustrating the lives and martyrdom of various saints. The central panel has disappeared; but a gable and predella are still in the Gallery of Siena,[2] the wings in the gallery of M. Ramboux at Cologne.[3] On the pediments of these are the words:

MAGISTER. SIMON CINI. DE FLORENTIA. INTALIAVIT. GABRIELLUS. ARACENI DE SENIS. AURAVIT MCCCLXXX . . . .

The names of the carver and gilder, two different persons in that age, are thus duly recorded. That of Spinello, the painter, is absent. His signature, however, may have been on the central panel, as Vasari completes the inscription, adding that the date was 1385.[4] The fragments of predella and pinnacle at Siena[5] have all the breadth of Spinello, and are much injured, but are not different in this from the sides at Cologne. Little more than two years after this, the sacristy, a lofty square chamber on the

[1] [Now in the Gallery of Arezzo.]

[2] [Nos. 64 and 70 of Sala II.]

[3] 82. SS. Nemesius and John the Baptist, with predella, containing the Decapitation of the former, and Herod's Feast, and Isaiah in the gable point. 83. SS. Benedict and Lucilla, with a predella on which are the Death of S. Benedict and the Decapitation of S. Lucilla. 84. S. Philip, holding a book. 85. S. James, with staff and book. 86. An apostle with a book. 87. A saint in monkish dress. [Now in the Perth Gallery.]

[4] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 194.

[5] Fragment of pediment is numbered 245 in the catalogue of 1860, that of the pinnacle 246. The subject of the predella is the Death and Transit, that of the pinnacle the Coronation of the Virgin.

south side of the choir of S. Miniato al Monte, near Florence, was completed in accordance with the last will of Nerozzo degli Alberti ; and Don Jacopo d'Arezzo, for whom Spinello had already executed the altarpiece of Monte Oliveto, ordered of the artist the frescoes of the walls,[1] on which he represented the legend of S. Benedict.

In the delineation of these subjects Spinello showed his usual vigour and skill, and surpassed himself in the last scene of all, depicting S. Benedict extended on his couch and bewailed by his brethren in various degrees of affliction, in a composition of a grand and decorous order. He was, indeed, more than usually successful in the drawing, proportion, and detail of this fresco. His draperies are broad and easy ; and, in spite of the injuries of time, the whole still preserves much of his transparent well relieved and powerful colour, as well as the marks of his peculiar dexterity of hand. Some of the frescoes of the series are not faultless in distribution. They betray casual neglect and carelessness. Yet in general they show so much life and energy, and are so fairly sustained by general laws of composition, vigour of character, and bold facility of handling, that the total impression is grand. To Spinello's assistant, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, the comparatively feeble Evangelists in the ceiling may be assigned, as they are not unlike the works of that master and his son Lorenzo, which shall be presently noticed.

Spinello's increasing fame now attracted the notice of the indefatigable Parasone Grasso of Pisa, who, after exhausting the illustrations of the Pisan hero, S. Raineri, now bethought him of two other saints whose lives and miracles might fitly adorn the still vacant spaces of the Campo Santo. Spinello was accordingly commissioned in 1391 to paint on the south wall, by the side of the miracles of S. Raineri, those of the SS. Ephesus and Potitus.

The legend relates that Ephesus was presented to the Emperor Diocletian, who promoted him to a high command ; but that after he had braced on his armour, and was ready to start against the Christians, the Saviour appeared to warn him against the enterprise. Ephesus turned accordingly against the pagans of Sardinia, receiving, ere he sprung into the saddle, a banner of Victory blazoned with the arms of Pisa, from the hands of the Archangel Michael, who rode with him in the subsequent fight with the host of his angels, and who insured a decisive victory. Appearing afterwards before the prætor

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 190. By the will of Nerozzo, dated 1377, we have the exact period when these frescoes were commissioned of Spinello. *Vide Cenni Storici di Miniato, ubi sup.*, p. 156 and following.

of Sardinia, he was sentenced to the stake; and only escaped by prayer from the flames, to perish immediately afterwards by the sword of the executioner. These incidents were depicted by Spinello in three parts of the upper course of the wall at the Campo Santo, whilst in three parts of the lower he represented scenes from the life of S. Potitus, which have disappeared with the exception of the decapitation, and the carriage of the saint's body to Alexandria. In the first compartment of the upper course nothing remains but fragments of the fresco of the saint before Diocletian, and the appearance of the Saviour [1] to S. Ephesus. In the second the Lord, appearing to the left, the saint, kneeling in the midst of his officers, receiving the banner from the archangel on horseback, and the battle, are depicted. In the third the saint is brought before the prætor of Sardinia, and taken to the stake; the flames slay the executioners, and Ephesus is decapitated.

In such stirring scenes as these, Spinello's art no doubt shone to advantage; and even now that the form of the compositions is no longer traceable, his power and boldness are to be distinguished. In the battle scene, and by the fire of the stake, where the soldiers of the guard fall back from the flames which respect the saint, there is a hardihood of action and an attempt at foreshortening, here and there not unworthy of admiration. Nor was Spinello so exclusively attentive to expressing passion in the heads of combatants and guards, but that in the face of Ephesus he could show the influence of tenderer feelings. The fragments of the Campo Santo are, however, most advantageous to Spinello, as they prove that he had the Giottesque quality of lively and transparent colour, which is, indeed, far more apparent in the series due to his industry than in the neighbouring one of the Sorrows of Job so long assigned to Giotto.

The records of the Campo Santo may be consulted for the fact that Spinello received from Parasone and his successor Como de Calmulis, 150 florins of gold for the three frescoes of S. Ephesus, and 120 florins for the three of S. Potitus, and that the whole labour was completed in March 1392 (Pisan style).[2]

From Pisa Spinello probably proceeded to Florence, where, in 1400 and 1401, he is known to have painted altarpieces for SS. Croce and Felicità; but he had resolved to spend his old age at Arezzo; and it is probable that about this time he finished the Fall of the Angels in S. Maria degli Angeli.[3] But so far from

[1] Whose form is now obliterated.

[2] See the originals copied in Förster, *Beiträge*, *ubi sup.*, p. 118. Spinello is there called "olim Luce," or the son of the late Lucas. [See also Morrona, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 200, *note* 3.]

[3] Now obliterated.

dying of fright of his own picture of Lucifer, as Vasari states,[1] he listened to the overtures of Caterino Corsino, *operaio* of S. Maria of Siena, to come and paint there ; [2] and in answer to a letter from him replied in September 1404, in the following characteristic manner :

" *Magiore mio carissimo.* Let me know when ; and if you want me at once, I am ready. My fellow-citizens beg that I may from henceforth remain at their service, and they have great confidence in me, but that is more of their kindness than my deserts. I am, however, ready to come as I promised. Write to me, I am ready for your service." [3]

Urged no doubt to join at once, Spinello arrived on the 1st of October, engaging to serve for a year at Siena, in any work of the Duomo which might be entrusted to him. His son Gasparre, better known as Parri, accompanied him, and they were quickly installed in the house of Domenico di Niccolò, where one Nanno di Paolo was ordered to attend and furnish them with wood, wine, salt, oil, and other things.[4] They laboured together in the Duomo till the end of summer 1405, with but one interruption in January (1404–1405), when Spinello went on leave to Arezzo, and left Siena on the 17th of August. A present to the gossip of the lodgings, wife of Domenico di Niccolò, is recorded. Of the works in the Duomo, however, nothing has been preserved, yet seven months of labour, at the rate of eleven and a half florins a month, might have had a result worthy of remembrance.[5]

In all likelihood Spinello then proceeded immediately to Florence, where he painted for Leone Acciaiuoli the chapel of Dardano Acciaiuoli in S. Niccolò, and other portions of the same edifice, incorporated later into S. Maria Novella. In the present Farmacia, a room called " Stanza delle Acque " is still decorated with Spinello's frescoes of scenes from the Passion, the greater part of which are concealed by medicine bottles and shelves,[6] work of hasty execution, inferior to that of 1407 at Siena, and betraying the extensive employment of pupils.[7] More correspondence between Spinello and the Sienese in

[1] Vol. ii., p. 198.

[2] The " condotto," or contract, is dated the 20th of August 1404. *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 18.

[3] *Doc. Sen., ubi sup.*, vol. ii., p. 19.

[4] See the original record in *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 19.

[5] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 19.

[6] [This place has now been put in order so that one may see the frescoes. Entrance at 12 Via della Scala. On first wall, " Noli me tangere," the Entombment, and the Crucifixion. On the second, the Via Crucis, the Flagellation, and Ecce Homo. On the third, spoiled by the window, Christ before Caiaphas, and S. Peter and the Servant of the High Priest. On the fourth, Washing the Disciples' Feet, the Last Supper, and Christ among the Apostles.]

[7] Two inscriptions in Richa prove that these frescoes of S. Niccolò were executed in 1405, and Vasari errs in the date of 1334 because he found that in

April 1406,[1] without results. In June, however (1407) old style, he signed a new contract, and, in March 1407–8, returned to his old quarters at Siena with Parri, to execute the frescoes of the Sala di Balia in the public palace, in conjunction with Martino Bartolommeo,[2] who decorated the ceiling and framework with festoons and allegorical figures of little value. Here Spinello illustrated in sixteen parts the animated story of the Venetian campaign against Frederick Barbarossa, interesting to the Sienese, from the share which legendary history assigns in it to Rolanda Bandinelli, promoted to the pontificate under the name of Alexander the Third.[3] Executed with great dexterity and freedom, and more than usually successful in composition, these frescoes are the best that remain to us of Spinello. The whole of the chapel, with its waggon roof, is adorned with paintings. Above the entrance a naval encounter is represented, over which two lunettes contain smaller compositions. In one of these the Pope, running away in the white garb of a pilgrim and admirably draped, is a prominent figure. Alexander again may be seen in a picture of the side opposite the entrance, proudly led on horseback by the Emperor Barbarossa and the Doge of Venice, both of whom hold the rein at each side, whilst in rear a suite of cardinals and deacons is relieved on a distance of ships and harbour, and in front a procession of clergy advancing to meet the Pope completes the picture.[4] In the lower course of the wall, to the left, the Pope and his cardinals are grouped about the body of the Emperor; the Doge Zani receives from Alexander the sword which is to be wielded against Otho,[5] and in the lunette is the Coronation of Pope Alexander. The best maintained of these frescoes is that of Zani before Alexander, the most animated and best arranged that of the Pope on horseback led by Barbarossa; and the figures on horseback as well as the horses themselves are fine, and fairly in motion. Though all the scenes are not equally well distributed, and the defective form and perspective of the architecture makes planes oblique which should be horizontal,[6] still the general impression is favourable because of the excessive speed and boldness of the execution, a comparatively fair breadth of light and shade,

that year Dardano Acciaiuoli caused the chapel to be built. The paintings were commissioned by Leone in 1405. *Vide* VASARI, vol. ii., pp. 185–6.

[1] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 20.

[2] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 33.

[3] The subjects were traced for Spinello by one Bettus Benedicti. Ibid., vol. ii., p. 33.

[4] In a lunette above this the Pope gives Barbarossa his blessing. The lunette to the right is damaged. In the lower course of the left wall Pope and cardinals are grouped about the body of the Emperor, lying in front of them, a figure renewed apparently in the fifteenth century by Stefano Sassetta's pupil, Pietro di Giovanni Pucci.

[5] Cardinals surrounded the Pope; soldiers with papal and Venetian flags are about the Doge in the left foreground. On the arch in the centre of the chapel, Alexander in pilgrim's garb is discovered at Venice. In the vaulting are the symbols of the Evangelists.

[6] With the result that figures do not tread on a proper plane.

Brogi.

INCIDENTS IN LIFE OF ALESSANDRO III.

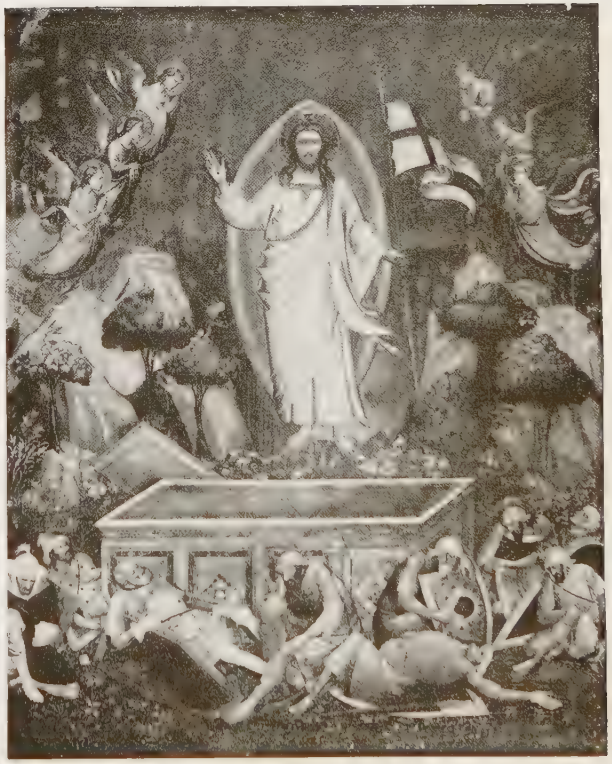
SPINELLO ARETINO.

Siena.

Brogi.

THE CRUCIFIXION

? Niccolo di Pietro Gerini.



Brogi.

THE RESURRECTION

Sacristy, S. Croce, Florence.

gay, vigorous and transparent colour, sweeping drapery and a general aspect of life and motion. There is in fact a decorative unity in the whole which is effective. But there is still much to reprove in the drawing of the hands, feet and articulations, and in that of many short and thickset figures. Colour seems to have been obtained by simple means—first of all by systematic rapidity of hand, and then by the use of white undergrounds for high flesh lights, warmed up with transparent glazes. The share of Parri in these labours is evidently secondary; because all the frescoes are by one hand and in one characteristic style.

The latest record respecting Spinello and the labours at Siena is the 11th of July 1408,[1] after which perhaps Spinello retired to Arezzo, where he died, aged ninety-two, leaving behind Parri and another son named Forzore to follow the professions of painter and goldsmith.[2] Several pictures by Spinello have been preserved. One, a Madonna amongst saints and angels in the Academy of Arts[3] at Florence, originally painted for S. Andrea of Lucca, is interesting for the inscription: "HOC OPUS PINXIT SPINELLUS LUCE ARITIO D. I. A. 1391." It is a damaged, feebly executed production without the fire of the master.

A banner painted on both sides for the Brotherhood of S. Sepolcro at Gubbio, now in the hands of the Marchese Ranghiacsi,[4] has all the character of the master, and is one of the best examples in private hands. On one face is the Flagellation. On the other the Magdalen, enthroned amidst a glory of eight playing angels, holds in her right hand the ointment and in her left the crucifix. Four brothers of the Fraternity kneel in pairs below; the whole enclosed in painted architecture adorned with medallions of saints.[5]

Three figures of SS. John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and James the Elder, all but life size, executed for the hospital church of S. Giovanni e Niccolò at Florence, are now in the National Gallery, and have been mentioned as rather in the character of the school of Orcagna.[6]

As a final example of Spinello, and an illustration of the manner

[1] *Doc. Sen.*, vol. ii., p. 33.

[2] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 198.

[3] The Virgin enthroned under guard of angels between SS. Paulinus, John the Baptist, Andrew, and Matthew. The two angels to the left of the Virgin are gone, those to the right are in adoration. [No. 128 of Sala III.]

[4] At Gubbio.

[5] Of these vestiges only remain.

[6] Purchased from the Ugo Baldi Collection, and now [No. 581] in the *National Gallery Catalogue*.

As examples of pictures which are not by Spinello, the following may be registered. A tabernacle exhibited at Manchester by G. E. H. Vernon, Esq., M.P. (No. 27 of *Cat. Manchester Exhib.*), by some master of the close of the fourteenth century. The Adoration of Christ and Circumcision (No. 1102 of *Berlin Cat.*). The Last Supper (No. 1108 *Berlin Cat.*), and the Annunciation, all assigned to the master in the Berlin Gallery.

in which he allowed his assistants to share the honours of publicity with him, one may notice an altarpiece in three compartments executed for the monastery of S. Felicità at Florence and now in the Academy of Arts,[1] inscribed at the base of the central panel as follows :

QUESTA TAVOLA FECE FARE EL CAPITOLO CONVENTO DEL MONASTERIO DI SANCTA FELICITÀ, DE' DANARI DEL DECTO MONASTERIO, AL TEMPO DELLA BADESSA LORENZA DE' MOZZI IN ANNO DOMINI MCCCCI.[2]

It is proved by records [3] that the centre, representing the coronation of the Virgin, was painted by Lorenzo di Niccolò Gerini, the side to the right by Niccolò di Pietro, father of Lorenzo, and the side to the left by Spinello.[4] But for the record it would be difficult to assign to each of these painters his share in the entire work. That of Spinello is undoubtedly beneath his usual powers, and in harmony with the third-rate talent exhibited by Lorenzo and Niccolò. These were, however, painters extensively employed in their time, though unknown or neglected by Vasari. Of Niccolò di Pietro the earliest and most important work is a series of frescoes in the ex-chapterhouse of S. Bonaventura of the convent of S. Francesco at Pisa. The name of the painter may be found on a bracket above the entrance door, as follows :

NICOLAUS
. . . . TR. PITOR
DE FLORENT.
. . . . INS . . .
MCCCI . . . .
. . . . . .

or, as copied by Lasinio,[5]

NICOLAUS PETRI PITOR DE FLORENTIA DEPENSIT AN. D.MCCCLLXXXXII.

[1] [At Florence, No. 129.]

[2] [The authors do not mention what is perhaps the finest and certainly the most charming work of Spinello Aretino that remains to us, the frescoes of the life of S. Catherine of Alexandria, which cover the two side walls and the arch of the Cappella di S. Caterina, about two miles from Antella, towards Florence, a mile perhaps to the south of Bagno a Ripoli. See *supra*, p. 398, *note* 8. For a full description and discussion of these frescoes, *cf.* SCHMARZOW, *S. Caterina in Antella* in *Festschrift zu Ehren d. K. Inst. zu Florenz* (Leipsig, 1897), and compare VITZTHUM, *Un ciclo perduto di affreschi di Spinello Aretino* in *l'Arte*, 1906, fasc. iii.]

[3] *Vide annot.* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 197 ; and GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 433.

[4] Side to right, SS. Peter, John the Evangelist, James, and Benedict ; side to left, SS. John the Baptist, Matthew, and Felicità ; pediment, six saints.

[5] Tav. ii. of *Raccolta de' Pitture antiche intagliate da Paolo Lasinio designate da Giuseppe Rossi.* (Pisa, MDCCCXX.)

At Prato there are frescoes by the same hand signed Niccolò di Piero Gerini.

At S. Bonaventura, Gerini painted scenes from the Passion.

He placed in the sides of the entrance SS. Lawrence,[1] and John the Baptist;[2] on the entrance wall to the left, Judas selling himself; on the left side of the chapter-house, the Last Supper, the Washing of the Apostles' Feet, Christ on the Mount of Olives, and the Capture. On the side opposite the door, the Flagellation, Christ carrying His Cross, the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and the Burial; on the side to the right, the Resurrection, "Noli me Tangere," and Ascension; on the wall of the door to the right, the Descent of the Holy Spirit.

There are now but fragments of Judas selling himself, and of the frescoes on the wall to the left, hardly anything remains. The Flagellation, the Carrying of the Cross, and the Crucifixion itself are in an equally bad state, and the Deposition is partly injured by the fall of the intonaco or abrasion of the colour; but in this last composition, enough remains to justify an opinion as to the powers of the painter. A group of long slender figures of a weak character represents the Maries about the Virgin and the Virgin herself. Their long thin necks and small chins, their mouths writhing to express grief, display defects similar to those conspicuous in frescoes decorating the sacristy of S. Croce at Florence which may for that reason be assigned to Niccolò Gerini.[3] The subject as a whole is not ill arranged; but being an imitation of others of the same kind by artists of note, and therefore typical, it cannot be accepted as a proof of Niccolò's power. In the Entombment, the naked frame of the Saviour is extended on a winding-sheet, held up at each end by two apostles. The Virgin embraces as she raises the head of the Redeemer, and an apostle at each side kisses the hands, whilst the Maries and others stand around in attitudes of lamentation. With a slight change in the position of some of the figures, the fresco is a mere repetition of a picture at the Academy of Arts in Florence assigned to Taddeo Gaddi;[4] and in both, the same character may be noticed. We may conceive Niccolò Petri Gerini to have issued from the school of Taddeo Gaddi, who is known to have been still alive in 1366. His last work is dated 1401; his education in every case Florentine; and in these frescoes of Pisa the continuation of the school of Taddeo

[1] Now all but gone.
[2] This one of the finest figures here.
[3] See *antea* in Taddeo Gaddi.
[4] [No. 116 of Sala I.]

Gaddi may be traced.[1] The Resurrection is, like the Entombment, a typical composition. The Saviour sets His foot on the side of the sepulchre, raising His right arm and grasping a banner in His left. Clothed in His white winding-sheet, which is fairly folded, His movement is not without grandeur. The type and outlines of this figure are the best in the chapter-house.[2] The "Noli me tangere," though less good, is hardly less interesting, the action of the Magdalen being ready, and the group recalling that of Giotto.[3] A certain amount of grace, natural movement, fair shape, and drapery likewise mark the neighbouring group of the Maries. A thoroughly Giottesque form, again, may be noticed in the Ascension.[4] In general the remains of these damaged frescoes [5] would prove that Niccolò was a diligent and careful painter, whose colour wants force and fusion, though it has a certain liveliness and gaiety. In the draperies, the changing hues appear to have been favourites. The outlines and frames of the figures are reminiscent of the Giottesque type, but inferior to those of Spinello, to whom, indeed, Niccolò was also second in composition. On the other hand, he tried to finish hands, feet, and articulations, and was in this not only above Spinello, but beyond Agnolo Gaddi. Still his painting, compared to that of either of those masters, is lifeless and third-rate.

Reverting for an instant to the Entombment in the Academy of Arts at Florence assigned to Taddeo Gaddi :

The spectator may note in the composition, which is formed of life-size figures, complete want of rest and overcharge of figures. The Saviour, ascending in the upper part, is of noble and good proportions, the face youthful and the attitude fair, but the angels are in vehement action.[6] In the principal scene, the Saviour lies very long on the tomb with hips enveloped in a drapery, but the spectator has before him a stiff, hard corpse, of which the form has been sought out and

[1] Of this Entombment parts of intonaco and of colour are gone.

[2] In the left-hand corner there are but traces of two soldiers asleep at the foot of the sepulchre.

[3] The dress of the Magdalen is discoloured.

[4] The Saviour, of fair character and proportions in an elliptical glory, is surrounded by a choir of twelve angels playing, whilst below, the Virgin, Maries, and apostles stand under guard of two angels. The foreground is discoloured.

[5] Rumohr, *Forschungen*, vol. ii., p. 224, records that the paintings were executed for Lorenzo Ciampolini, on whose tomb are these words: ". . . MCCCLXXXX DIE XX MENSIS APRILIS, QUI LAURENTIUS FECIT IPSUM CAPITULUM, PICTURA ET SEDIBUS ADORNARI."

[6] Their white dresses are restored.

studied without the genius of *ensemble* so striking in Giotto. Some merit may be detected in the soft expression of the face, but the flesh tints are light and flat, hence comparatively unrelieved. The remaining figures are long and slender like those of Taddeo Gaddi, and affect his peculiarities of shape; but some of the types are very common,[1] and the Virgin, at the Saviour's head, has the pointed chin usual in Niccolò Gerini. The outlines are well defined, but coarse. The picture as a whole does not improve on acquaintance, being at first sight more pleasing than on closer examination. The draperies are overcharged with lines and folds; and gay changing hues appear again to have been preferred by a painter who can be no other than Gerini.[2]

Analogy of manner connects him again with the frescoes of the sacristy of S. Croce at Florence, which not only resemble those of S. Bonaventura at Pisa, but others to be mentioned at Prato. Here Gerini seems to have painted by the side of a Crucifixion executed by a better Giottesque than himself,[3] Christ surrounded by the Virgin and apostles, carrying His cross, the Resurrection, and Ascension. The Saviour turns, as He carries His cross, to look at the Virgin stretching her hands towards Him from out the group of the Maries, who are sternly kept back by a soldier. In her action, the combination of vehemence, feeble form and unnoble expression which characterises Gerini at Pisa, is again displayed. In the Resurrection, the Saviour is but a repetition of that in the frescoes at S. Bonaventura, and has the same type and character as that in the altarpiece assigned to Taddeo Gaddi at the Academy of Arts.[4] Similar forms, spirit, and drawing, again, are noticeable in the Ascension. At Prato, in the ex-chapterhouse of the convent of S. Francesco, Gerini's style may be studied, with the certainty arising from the fact that beneath the figure of S. Bartholomew, which, with those of SS. Chiara, Catherine, and John the Baptist, stand guard on the lintels of the entrance door, the words "Nicholo di Piero Gerini, dipintore . . . ." are inscribed. There he painted scenes from the legend of S. Matthew, including his Death, and scriptural incidents.[5] Executed later than those of Florence and Pisa, these reveal a peculiarity seldom to be found in the works of a truly great artist, a decline following upon advance in years. The figures are longer, slenderer, more stiff and lifeless, and less carefully executed than previous ones. A Crucifixion on the wall opposite the entrance, and the ceiling frescoes, are, indeed, so poor

[1] For instance, that of S. John kissing the hands of the Saviour.

[2] The figure at the Saviour's feet is partly, and two figures more to the right totally repainted.

[3] *Vide antea;* and this is an opinion already expressed by FÖRSTER, *Beiträge, ubi sup.*, p. 207.

[4] No. 31 *vide ante.*

[5] On the wall facing the entrance the Crucifixion, with the Magdalen at the foot of the Cross and the usual attendant scenes, all but obliterated; and in the ceiling the Four Evangelists.

that they may be by Lorenzo. In this third-rate style it might be possible to quote, as by Niccolò, an infinity of works assigned in numerous galleries to Giotto, Taddeo Gaddi, and Orcagna.[1]

The records of Del Migliore also contain reference to the painter under the dates 1380 and 1383, and prove the existence of Masa his widow in 1389.[2]

Lorenzo di Niccolò succeeded to the mediocrity of his father. His most important labour is the Coronation of the Virgin and Adoration of the Magi, a predella altarpiece in the church of S. Domenico at Cortona.[3]

Beneath the Adoration is the painter's name: "LAURENTIUS NICHOLAI ME PINSIT," and the following:

CHOSIMO E LORENZO DI MEDICI DA FIRENZE AÑO DATA CHUESTA TAVOLA A FRATI DI SCO DOMENICHO DÊ OSERVANZA DA CHORTONA PER LANIMA LORO E DI LORO PASSATI MCCCCXXXX.

Taken in 1438 from the convent of S. Mark at Florence, where it had once stood, it was sent by Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici to Cortona,[4] where it was long considered in spite of the signature to be an altarpiece by Angelico.

Imposing in its total aspect, and better than the work of Lorenzo in the joint altarpiece of himself, his father, and Spinello, this is still a third-rate Giottesque work of which the best parts are the compositions in the predella and the figures in the pilasters.

A glorification of S. Bartholomew by this master is preserved amongst a collection located in the Sala dell' Antico Palazzo, now the Comune of S. Gimignano.[5] It bears the following inscriptions.

[1] In the Palazzo Reale at Parma is a Death of the Virgin, in the Royal Gallery an upper composition belonging to the same altarpiece, representing the Gift of the Girdle to S. Thomas, placed under the name of Giotto, but in reality by Niccolò Gerini. In a room called la Scoletta or Coro of the church of S. Giovanni at Pesaro is an altarpiece by Niccolò with a mutilated inscription: ". . . DE FLORENTIA 1400." The Madonna is enthroned under the guard of two angels. In the side panels, the Archangel Michael weighing the souls, and S. Francis are placed.

A picture of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Zecca of Florence is noted by Gaye, who publishes a record proving that it was painted in 1373 by Jacobo Cini (can he be related to Jacobo Cini the carver of the altarpiece by Spinello, see *ante*), Simone and Nicholaus, the latter supposed to be Gerini.

[2] GAYE, *Carteggio*, vol. ii., p. 433.

[3] The Virgin is between ten saints. Above, the Angel and Virgin Annunciate at each side of a Trinity. Below, the Adoration of the Magi, at each side of which are four scenes from the life of S. Dominic, octagonal pilasters, angels and saints.

[4] *Vide Chron. di S. Marco*, in *annot.* to VASARI, vol. iv., p. 51. The letter of thanks from the prior of Cortona for the present is published by GAYE in *Carteggio*, vol. i., p. 140.

[5] Enthroned. With four scenes from his life; at the sides a Crucifixion and eight saints in the pediment. The altarpiece is No. 2 of the catalogue of a collection due to the care of the erudite and kindly Canon Pecori.

In the hem of the Saint's dress : " LAURENTIUS NICHOLAI DE FLORENTIA PINSIT," beneath the central figure :

S. BARTOLOMMEUS APOSTOLUS, AN. MCCCCI QUESTA TAVOLA FECE FARE NICHOLINO DI BINDO KASSUCCII.[1]

A Virgin and Child from the church of S. Bartolo by the same hand, as well as four little pictures of SS. Fina and Gregory, with a scene from the life of each of those saints, are likewise in the Gallery at S. Gimignano.

In the passage to the Cappella Medici at S. Croce, in Florence, a Coronation of the Virgin, with attendant saints and scenes,[2] may be seen. The style is here a little better than at S. Gimignano and Cortona, but the hand is the same. The types are more regular and pleasing, and have more feeling. Of frescoes by Lorenzo di Niccolò none are known, but his manner is to be found in a Virgin, angels, and saints in a tabernacle at S. Andrea di Rovezzano near l'Anchetta, at no great distance from Florence.[3] At foot is the date " MCCCC, VIII DEL MESE GENNAIO." This is a fair fresco of the lower Giottesque manner at the close of the fourteenth century.

Lorenzo's pictures, without great excellence, are not disagreeable to look at. He was not a bad painter amongst the third-rates. His colour was warm and not without power and harmony, and his drawing bold. He was a man of considerable practice, but his work, though superior to that of Parri Spenelli, does not stand critical examination.

The following selection may serve to illustrate the manner and school of Niccolò and Lorenzo Gerini.

In the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence,[4] the Virgin and Child between SS. Lawrence and John Evangelist, James and Sebastian. In the predella, five scenes, more in the manner of the Gaddi and less defective. In the same gallery,[5] the Virgin and Child between SS. Stephen and Reparata by the same hand as the foregoing. The Trinity [6] between SS. Romualdo and Andrew, with three scenes from the life of the former in the upper spaces, inscribed : " ISTAM CAPELLAM FECIT FIERI JOHANNES GHIBERTI PRO ANIMA SUA A.D. MCCCLXV." The Virgin and Child [7] between SS. Lawrence and Julian, Anthony and

[1] The altarpiece was originally in the Collegiata of S. Gimignano.

[2] SS. Peter, Stephen, an apostle, and Mary Magdalen at side. Above, centre, the Trinity, at each side of which the Angel and Virgin Annunciate, the prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah. A lozenge below bears the date 1410.

[3] Virgin and Child between four angels, SS. Catherine, John the Baptist (right), Magdalen, Peter (left). Six saints in the vaulting, of which S. Bartholomew is still recognisable. Above arch, the Saviour in benediction between two medallions of saints.

[4] [No. 1, Sala I.]

[5] [? No. 248, Sala I.]

[6] [No. 140 of Sala I., dated 1365, from the Angeli.]

[7] [No. 11, Sala III. del Beato Angelico.]

John the Baptist, inscribed: "SANTA MARIA ORATE PRO NOBIS ANNI MCCCCIIII." Finally may be mentioned an altarpiece of some interest in the Church all' Impruneta near Florence, superior to the last mentioned, representing the Coronation of the Virgin with the twelve apostles at the sides, and, above and below, fourteen scenes from the life of the Virgin and Saviour, besides saints and angels in the pilasters and pinnacles. This picture is inscribed:

AD HONOREM ET REVERENTIAM MATRIS DEI AC SEMPER VIRNIGIS GLORIOSE HEC TABULA FACTA FUIT TEMPORE REVERENDI DOMINI STEFANI PLEBANI PRO REMEDIO ANIME SUE ET ANIMARUM MAJORIS SOTIETATIS ET OMNIUM BENEFACTORUM ISTIUS ECCLESIÆ. ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO CCCLXX . . . . V.[1]

The reader who should be inclined to trust Vasari may learn from him that an artist existed at Arezzo in the fifteenth century whose talent as a colourist of fresco was unparalleled, whose fancy was beyond measure pleasant and capricious, and who, as a designer, was excellent.[2] Time has fortunately spared some of the works of Parri Spinelli, who is the subject of this flattery merely because he was born in Vasari's own city; and the student is enabled to withdraw a third-rate painter from the place of honour unfairly assigned to him, and to thrust him back into the humble obscurity which he deserves.

A great part of Parri's works at Arezzo have perished, but some of those which he completed for SS. Domenico and Maria della Misericordia, and others hitherto neglected in the Palazzo "della Comunità"[3] and in S. Francesco will amply satiate the beholder.

Entering S. Domenico and looking to the right of the entrance, he may see a Crucifixion framed in a feigned panelling that now cuts off part of the picture, with the Virgin and a canonised bishop on one side, S. John Evangelist and another saint on the other. In this

[1] [This picture was commissioned by Messer Stefano, the Pievano of S. Maria dell' Impruneta. It used to stand over the high altar. *Cf.* CASOTTI, *Memorie Istoriche della Miracolosa Immagine dell' Impruneta* (Firenze, 1714), pp. 43 and 91.

There is a very beautiful Crucifix which MR. BERENSON attributes to Lorenzo di Niccolò in the Church of S. Giorgio at Ruballa, and there is an ancona somewhat spoiled in the church of S. Martino a Terenzano, near Florence, with the following inscription: "QUESTA TAVOLA A FATTO FARE DOMENICO DELL' AVEDUTO PER RIMEDIO DELL' ANIMA SUA E DE' SUOI DISCENDENTI. ANNO DOMINI MCCCCII. DEL MESE DI GIUGNO AL TEMPO DI SER PIERO . . . LORENZO PINSIT.]"

[2] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 144 and following.

[3] [Now in the Pinacoteca.]

fresco he will find the Saviour depicted in a long curved shape, ill-drawn, without sentiment, or a touch of nature in the attitude, by one who deserves to be called a second Margaritone. If he turns in disgust from this exhibition of low art to the figures at the foot of the Cross, he will find the forms of which Vasari truly says : " Parri painted figures much longer and more slender than any of his predecessors, and whereas others at the most gave them a height equal to ten heads he made them of eleven and sometimes of twelve. Nor were they ungraceful, though lean ; but they were invariably bent round to one side or to the other, because, as Parri himself used to say, they had thus more 'bravura.' " [1] Curved, distorted, wooden, and hideous, disfigured further by vehement action and grimace, these forms can excite but a smile in the beholder when he thinks that Vasari, a critic of no common order, could find something to admire in them. In a lunette above this scene, two incidents from the life of S. Nicholas exhibit again superabundance of false and exaggerated action, draperies so long and plentiful as to smother the frames, and contours of a wiry and endless line. Parri did not even retrieve these imperfections by a feeling for relief or colour. On the contrary, his tones are laid on in raw and startling contrasts, of a coarse substance, and with a flatness which betrays no notion of chiaroscuro.[2] As is too frequently the case with paintings of little interest, particular care has been lavished on their preservation, and a fresco, saved from the walls of S. Maria della Misericordia,[3] is now preserved in the Sala di Justizia Civile at Arezzo. This was one of a numerous class of votive pictures intended to honour the Virgin Mary, who was supposed to have interceded for the people of Arezzo ; and she is represented guarded by two angels in flight above her, in a cloak of such amplitude that beneath it the people of the city, a pope, and a cardinal find refuge. At the sides, SS. Gregory and Donato stand erect ; and the whole is enclosed in a painted frame, embellished in pinnacles with four allegorical Virtues in dead colour. Beneath, a damaged view of the city completes a picture which caricatures the defects of Parri. An altar-piece from the same church, representing the same subject with SS. Laurentino and Pergentino [4] at the sides, and resting on a predella in four parts containing scenes from the lives of the two saints, is a less defective, but still unpleasant work of the master now in the Palazzo della Comunità. In an upper story of this building, again, a fresco of the Crucifixion, with S. John and the Virgin in the dislocated attitudes peculiar to Parri, is preserved. In S. Francesco, he painted the Last Supper [5] in a less exaggerated style reminiscent of the works of Bicci. It may, therefore, be one of Parri's early productions, as yet comparatively untainted with his later failings. The S. Christopher in the Chiesa dell' Oblata, which is said to be

[1] Vasari, vol. iii., p. 144.
[2] The figure of the bishop by the side of the Virgin is repainted.
[3] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 150.
[4] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 152.
[5] The fresco is to the left of the entrance, and in part damaged.

inscribed: "HOC OPUS FACTUM FUIT ANNO DOMINI MCCCCXLIV DIE IV. MENSIS DECEMBRIS," has been for some time invisible under a hoarding, the church having been occupied as a barrack. Italy is unfortunately full of such frescoes as these, time having spared the bad in many more cases than the good. But it is unnecessary to expend any further trouble in a search for frescoes or pictures like those of Parri, who is below the Gerini in talent and inferior even to Cenni of Volterra. Without a reminiscence of Spinello's style, although it is on record that father and son painted together at Siena in the early part of the fifteenth century, Parri imitates the movements and draperies of Lorenzo Monaco. He may, therefore, have known that master. But if he studied under Lorenzo Ghiberti and Masolino,[1] which is improbable, he gained little profit by it, and merely imitated, in the fifteenth, the bad example which Tommaso Pisano had already set to the sculptors of the fourteenth century.

Parri's portrait was painted by Marco di Montepulciano in the cloisters of S. Bernardo at Arezzo,[2] and Marco is mentioned as a pupil of Bicci in the life of that artist by Vasari. He painted, in 1448, in terra verde, scenes from the life of Benedict in the above-mentioned cloister. Those of the northern and three on the eastern face are preserved. The figures in the latter are short and coarse, large of head, and executed in a style recalling that of the school of Spinello. The painter may, therefore, have been one of Spinello's pupils, for he attempts to rival that painter's dexterity of hand and copies his movements. He has certainly less of Lorenzo di Bicci's style. In the frescoes of the northern side, on the contrary, the execution is nearer to that of Lorenzo di Bicci, and, though inferior, also like those which Bicci di Lorenzo executed in the ceiling of a great chapel at S. Francesco of Arezzo.[3]

The discovery by Signor Gaetano Milanesi of numerous records respecting the family of Bicci [4] has thrown light upon a very serious error committed by Vasari. We are told by him that Lorenzo di Bicci was born in 1400, that he learnt under Spinello of Arezzo, and died about 1450,[5] leaving behind him two sons called Bicci and Neri di Bicci.[6] On the very face of these statements lies a mistake; for Neri is called by Vasari son of Bicci, and thus his father must have gone by the latter name, not by that of Lorenzo. The fact is that Bicci was born in 1373 of Lorenzo di Bicci and Madonna Lucia d'Angelo da Panzano. He married, in 1418,

[1] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 144.
[2] VASARI, vol. iii., p. 152.
[3] Ceilings assigned by VASARI, vol. iv., p. 19, to Lorenzo di Bicci, respecting whom and Vasari's error in nomenclature a word hereafter.
[4] See *postea*.
[5] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 225 and following.
[6] Ibid., p. 232.

Benedetta di Amato Amati, having issue Neri, who became a painter like his father. We thus have three members of this family, Lorenzo di Bicci the father, Bicci di Lorenzo the son, and Neri di Bicci the grandson. Many of the works which Vasari mentions in the life of Lorenzo di Bicci are proved by records to have been executed by Bicci di Lorenzo. Of the grandfather Lorenzo we know that he was a painter, and Vasari's text suggests a belief that he confounded the two elder members of the family together. For instance, he says that Lorenzo was a pupil of Spinello; and this might be true of one who lived in the fifteenth, less so of one whose works were mostly executed in the fourteenth century. Lorenzo di Bicci's name, coupled with the epithet of "pictor," has been found in records of 1370,[1] 1375, 1386, and 1398.[2] In that of 1386 he receives from the opera of S. Maria del Fiore ninety florins of gold for paintings in that cathedral. In 1409 his name appears in the register of the Company of S. Luke as "Lorenzo di Bicci dipintore."[3] Vasari himself in his first edition declares that Lorenzo died aged sixty-one, and was mourned by Bicci and Neri, thus proving that he knew of Bicci's existence. It is a pity that no pictures can be assigned to Lorenzo. If, however, he was a painter as early as 1370, he was a contemporary of Agnolo Gaddi. There are numerous frescoes not mentioned in the life of Lorenzo di Bicci by Vasari, nor in records as by Bicci di Lorenzo, which display a common character with those of Bernardo Daddi, Parri Spinelli, and Bicci di Lorenzo, but they have an appearance of greater age than those which are proved to be by the latter. The Cappella S. Jacopo in the Duomo of Prato, for instance, is decorated with frescoes illustrating the lives of SS. James and Margaret.

On one of the walls reserved for the former, his Call to the Apostolic Mission, his Baptism of Hermogenes, and Martyrdom are represented. On the other wall, three scenes of S. Margaret's legend, including her death, are painted.[4] The laws of composition obeyed in the fourteenth century were here fairly maintained by an artist of feeble powers, whose long slender figures are marked at times by exaggerated action. Unfused flesh tones of thick substance and melancholy tinge, wiry but careful outlines, draperies of gay changing tints are characteristic, whilst some heads are not absolutely unpleasant to look at. The

[1] *Vide annot.* to VASARI, vol. ii., p. 225.
[2] BALDINUCCI, *Opera, ubi sup.*, vol. iv., pp. 498, 502, 503.
[3] GUALANDI, *ubi sup.*, Ser. vi., p. 185.
[4] In the ceiling, four evangelists, and in the thickness of the entrance wall eight half figures of prophets, complete the decoration of the chapel.

style is a mixture of that of Daddi and Parri, less able than that of the S. Croce frescoes by the former, more talented than that of Spinello's son. Scenes from the life of S. Cecilia recently rescued from whitewash in the chapel of the sacristy of the Carmine at Florence partake of the same character.

In Arezzo the ceiling of the choir in S. Francesco is adorned with the Four Evangelists and their symbols. These Vasari assigns to Lorenzo di Bicci,[1] but as he confounds invariably Lorenzo di Bicci with Bicci di Lorenzo, one cannot say which of the two he intends. The figures at all events are sufficiently good, always long and slender, easily draped in festooned vestments. Though a general resemblance may be found between them and the frescoes at Prato and the Carmine, the style here is somewhat younger, and makes a nearer approach than the rest to the certain works of Bicci di Lorenzo. Vasari, as we have seen, assigns these to Lorenzo di Bicci, adding that the painting of the chapel was completed by Piero della Francesca after he left Loretto for fear of the plague. It is on record that the plague raged at Loretto in 1447-52. Bicci di Lorenzo was then just dead (1452), so that the probability is, Piero della Francesca succeeded him, and not Lorenzo di Bicci, as Vasari would have us believe, in the Cappella S. Jacopo at Arezzo. If, however, this work at Arezzo has a general resemblance to older paintings, such as those of Prato and the Carmine, it is possible that the latter may have been by Lorenzo di Bicci, whom Vasari in this case, as in so many others, confounds with Bicci di Lorenzo.

Bicci's birth has already been given: there are certain proofs that he executed the following works, most of which Vasari assigns to Lorenzo.

In 1420, he painted for Bartolommeo di Stefano di Poggibonsi or Ghezzo an altarpiece for S. Egidio of Florence.[2] In 1421, he painted scenes from the life of S. Lawrence for Ilarione de' Bardi in S. Lucia de' Bardi.[3] In 1423, he executed and sent to Empoli a picture for Simone di Specchio or Guiducci. In 1424, he was registered in the Guild of Painters at Florence,[4] and he produced, in terra-cotta, a Coronation of the Virgin, now above the portal of S. Maria Nuova,[5] and the twelve apostles inside the same church.[6] In the same year, he painted in fresco the outer sides and façades of S. Egidio, representing there the consecration of the church by Pope Martin V.[7] In 1425, he executed frescoes in the chapel of Niccolò da Uzzano in

[1] VASARI, vol. iv., p. 19.
[2] Assigned by VASARI to Lorenzo, vol. ii., p. 230.
[3] Assigned by VASARI to Lorenzo, vol. ii., p. 229.
[4] GUALANDI, *ubi sup.*, Ser. vi., p. 178.
[5] Assigned by VASARI to Dello, vol. iii., p. 46.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Assigned by VASARI to Lorenzo, vol. ii., p. 230.

S. Lucia de' Bardi.[1] About 1427, he painted the initials of Christ according to the fashion of S. Bernardino on the church of S. Croce. In 1428, he commenced the chapel and altarpiece of Conte di Perino Compagni in S. Trinità of Florence, with the assistance of one Stefano d'Antonio. S. Cosmo and Damiano, on a pilaster in S. Maria del Fiore and now in the Uffizi,[2] was executed on commission from Antonio della Casa about 1429. In 1430, he began a series of frescoes in S. Benedetto de' Camaldoli representing S. Giovanni Gualberto and six incidents of his life ; and he produced an altarpiece for Ser Ugolino Pieruzzi.[3] In S. Marco he decorated (1432) the chapel of the heirs of Ser Martino Martini, and he painted the chapel of the Compagnia del Tempio in the church of the Camaldolese.[4] In 1433, Francesco Galigai commissioned him to paint his chapel in S. Croce. In 1438 he finished an altarpiece for the chapel of Donato Barbadori in S. Felicità, the chapel of the Beata Giovanna at Signa ; 1439, the tomb of Luigi Marsili in S. Croce,[5] 1440, figures of apostles and saints in a chapel of Santa Croce, 1441 again in this church, the Incredulity of S. Thomas and a colossal S. Christopher for Tommaso and Leonardo Spinelli, assisted Domenico Veneziano in the great chapel of S. Egidio in S. Maria Nuova, 1445, began to paint at Arezzo,[6] and in 1452 died at Florence, and was buried at the Carmine.[7]

Of all these works, some, as has been seen, remain. In the SS. Cosma and Damiano of the Uffizi, the colour is a little sombre and wants relief, but the outlines are careful, and, though in the same style, are more modern in appearance than those of Prato and the Carmine. Of the other works in S. Maria del Fiore, the saints beneath the windows of the chapel are in part repainted, in part renewed altogether. The apostles in pilasters noticed by Vasari[8] have perished. The terra-cotta above the portal of S. Maria Nuova or S. Egidio, as it is now called, exists ; those originally inside the edifice are gone. To resume, Bicci di Lorenzo shows himself connected with the schools of Daddi and Parri Spinelli. None of the works assigned by Vasari to Lorenzo di Bicci are by

[1] Assigned to Lorenzo by VASARI, vol. ii., p. 229.

[2] In a predella are two scenes of the saints' lives. [No. 54 in first Long Gallery.]

[3] With the assistance of Stefano d'Antonio and Bonaiuto di Giovanni.

[4] Again with the aid of Stefano d'Antonio.

[5] Assigned to Lorenzo by VASARI, vol. ii., p. 231.

[6] We may thus quote of Bicci di Lorenzo the joke arising from his rapidity of hand applied by BALDINUCCI (*op.* vol. iv., p. 508) to Lorenzo di Bicci : "Fill the porringers (for dinner) ; I shall paint a saint and come."

[7] These facts are all taken from CARLO MILANESI'S records, *Gior. Stor. degli Archivi Toscani, ubi sup.* (third 4to, 1860), pp. 3 to 10.

[8] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 231.

him, but on the contrary by his son. Neither deserve to be classed above the third-rate artists of their country.

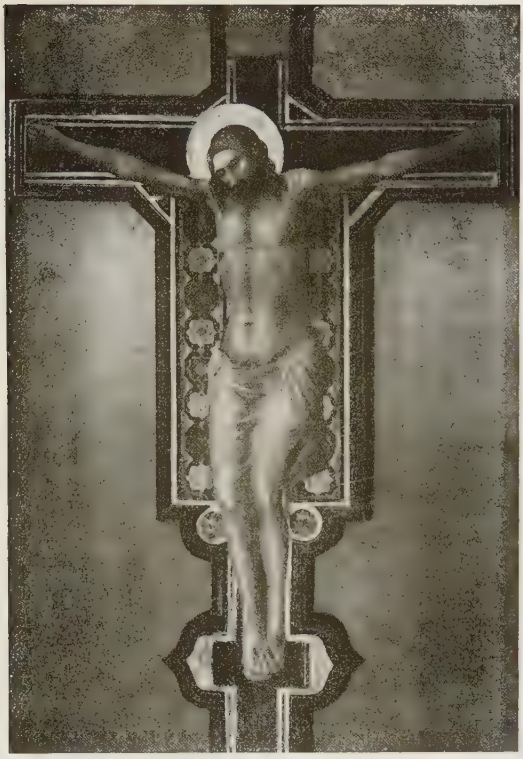
As for Neri di Bicci, he brought art to the level of a trade; and his shop was that of a house painter. He has left a diary of his daily occupations which may be found in a good commentary to the life of Lorenzo di Bicci in Vasari.[1] His numerous altar-pieces and pictures merely prove that he knew the mechanical part of his business; and his industry was so great that he filled half Tuscany with pictures at the time when Ghiberti, Donatello, Paolo Uccelli, Masaccio, and Angelico laboured. Those who may still desire to study his manner may look at his masterpiece in the Regio Lotto, of old S. Pancrazio at Florence, representing S. Giovanni Gualberto enthroned between ten saints in seats.[2] The abbot of S. Pancrazio kneels at one side (the left), the scene being laid in an architectural chapel of a round form. Two medallions above contain saints holding scrolls, and two curtains which hang in festoons at each side of the picture are inscribed with the names of the saints within. Though restored, this is a fair specimen of Neri's manner. S. Giovanni Gualberto is not without character, but the forms and details are false, the extremities not drawn, the movements exaggerated.

A sad colour pervades the whole; and in general it may be said that Neri's art is flat, raw in tone, inharmonious and mechanical. There are no less than four Annunciations by him in the Academy of Arts at Florence,[3] and numbers of pictures in churches which need not be mentioned.

[1] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 256.

[2] [Neri di Bicci himself tells us of this picture in his *Ricordi* under date March 1, 1454: "I record that on the above mentioned day I undertook to paint for the said Benedetto, Abbott of San Brancrazio of Florence, an arch in the cloister of the said house, where I have to paint a San Giovanni Gualberto with ten Saints and Beati of his Order, and at his feet a kneeling Abbot. The which figures must be in an imitated chapel, round, the sky blue and with stars, and the windows carved; and all well decorated and executed as well as I am able."—*Libro di Ricordi Arch. di Stato di Firenze*, vol. ii.]

[3] [There are five pictures by Neri di Bicci in the Accademia, Nos. 149, 22 *bis* in Sala I.; No. 22 in Sala I. del Beato Angelico; Nos. 33 and 28 in Sala III. del Beato Angelico, the last signed and dated. Only Nos. 22 and 28 are Annunciations.]



Manelli.

CRUCIFIX

LORENZO DI NICCOLO. | S. Giorgio Ruballa, near Florence.

Brogi.

S. MARGHERITA

? LORENZO DI BICCI. Duomo, Prato.

Brogi.

ALTARPIECE

LORENZO MONACO.

Academy, Florence

CHAPTER XXV

LORENZO AND OTHER FRIARS OF THE ORDER OF THE CAMALDOLESE

BEFORE devoting special attention to Angelico, or to his contemporary and rival in greatness, Masaccio, before endeavouring to explain or to illustrate the characteristic features of their styles, the reader shall be requested to cast a preliminary glance at the productions of a monk who inherited some of the manner of Agnolo Gaddi, and who, transferring into the fifteenth century the character of the fourteenth, may be said to have worthily continued the line of the Giottesques. It would be needless here to collect authorities for the admitted fact that art was cultivated from early times in monasteries. The reader may bear in mind the examples set by the Benedictines of Montecassino in the eleventh century, who were courageous enough to attempt the revival of a school of mosaists. He may recollect what the Dominicans of Florence and Pisa did for sculpture and for architecture, and he may have had occasion to convince himself that the art of miniature at least was practised in most, and particularly in the Italian, convents of the Middle Ages. Don Lorenzo of the Camaldolese of Florence produced works displaying in an eminent degree the qualities which might fit him for the direction of a monkish school of miniature.[1] He undoubtedly belongs to the class of first-rate artists. Older than Angelico, he did not disdain at one time to act as his assistant; but, independently of the Dominican, he also executed large and important works, more prized by the brethren of his order at the period of their execution than by their pious successors.

The only picture which bears the name of Lorenzo is preserved in the abbey of the Camaldolese of Ceretto between Florence and Siena. It was executed in 1413 for the great convent of the Angeli at Florence, and removed in the sixteenth century to the branch

[1] [For all concerning his pictures see OSVALD SIRÉN, *Don Lorenzo Monaco* (Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes, Heft xxxiii. (Strassburg, 1905).

establishment of Ceretto, when the monks obtained for their high altar a picture by Alexander Allori. Lorenzo exhibits in this great work certain peculiarities of manner and of style, which enable the student to classify others that do not bear his signature. In the church of Monte Oliveto at Florence, a Madonna and saints by him is dated 1410.[1] At Empoli, between Pisa and Florence, a Virgin and Child with saints is dated 1404.[2] Lorenzo shows himself in the last of these works an artist in the strength of manhood. Hence the conviction may be entertained that he was born towards the end of the fourteenth century. His style discloses a disciple of Agnolo Gaddi, and has something in common with that of Spinello Aretino, whose force of character in heads and neglect of drawing in the extremities Lorenzo emulates. He so completely carried the manner of the fourteenth century into the fifteenth, that a picture evidently by him at the Academy of Arts at Florence [3] was assigned by Vasari to Giotto; and two of his panels at the National Gallery are considered to be by Taddeo Gaddi.[4]

The form of Lorenzo's altarpieces is that of the fourteenth century, and that of the abbey or Badia of Ceretto, which is fifteen feet high, without the three pinnacles, and twelve feet long, is a triple gable on pilasters resting on a pediment. In the latter portion of the piece the Adoration of the Magi and the Adoration of the Shepherds are side by side in the centre, with two scenes from the life of S. Bernard

[1] The Virgin enthroned holds the Child in a standing attitude. Two angels support the tapestry behind her, on the left are S. John the Baptist and S. Bartholomew, on the right SS. Thaddeus and Benedict, on the angles of the niches are medallions of prophets, in the apex the Eternal in the centre and the Angel and Virgin of the Annunciation. This perfectly preserved altarpiece is inscribed "AVE GRATIA PLENA DOMS. TECUM. AN. D.MCCCCX." It is in tempera on gold ground. [Now in the Uffizi, first Long Gallery, No. 41.]

[2] Here the Virgin enthroned holds the infant Saviour grasping her neck, a book in hand. To her left is S. John the Baptist and a youthful saint, with a sword; to the right SS. Peter and Anthony the abbot. The central pinnacle is gone. In the side ones are the Angel and the Virgin Annunciate. The figures are half size of life, on the basement is the date 1404. In the collection of the Hotel Cluny at Paris is a small gable panel, in two vertical parts, representing Christ on the Mount and the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, dated Anna Domini MCCCCVIII., and falsely assigned to Gentile da Fabriano. It is an exquisite work of Don Lorenzo Monaco, of his finest time. [No. 1667. To 1404 also belongs the Pietà, No. 40, in the first Long Gallery of the Uffizi. It was bought from Mr. William Spence in 1882. It is inscribed "ANNO SVÆ INCARNATIONIS MCCCIIII."]

[3] [No. 143, The Annunciation, a triptych. Three panels have lately been placed below it. They do not apparently belong to it; but are works by the master:—(1) Scene from the life of S. Onofrio, (2) The Nativity, (3) Scene from life of S. Martin.]

[4] [Nos. 215 and 216.]

on each hand. The pilasters, in three courses, are decorated with six prophets; the three pinnacles, with the Eternal in the centre, the Angel and the Virgin Annunciate; the great central panel with the Coronation of the Virgin. Sixteen angels form a choir round the throne, which rests on a starred rainbow. In front, three angels wave censers; and at each side are the apostles and prophets, amongst whom are SS. Benedict, Peter, and John the Baptist on the left, and S. Romoaldo on the right.

Without genius for composition, Lorenzo had many other faults. His long and slender figures, with their affectedly bowing form, tread the ground without firmness; but his drawing is careful and minute, his general tone is the gay, soft, and transparent one of a miniature, and his flesh tints are carefully fused. Draperies of breadth and mass have peculiar loops at the eye of the fold. His technical method of working is in fact less Giottesque than his forms or feeling. The keys of harmony in his altarpiece at Ceretto, and indeed in all those which he produced, is that of a miniaturist of the fifteenth century. In the small compositions of the pediment he seems at his ease, and reveals something of the religious feeling of Traini, a peculiarity fitting him at a later period to assist Angelico.[1]

A smaller Coronation of the Virgin which evidently once formed the centre of an altarpiece is now in a private church belonging to Signor Landi near Certaldo, at no great distance from Ceretto. Three angels are in front of the throne.[2] The side panels of this undoubted work of Lorenzo's are probably those representing saints in the National Gallery under the name of Taddeo Gaddi.[3] They have the same relation to the central piece in possession of the Signor Landi, as the sides of the Ceretto altarpiece to its centre.

[1] The altarpiece of Ceretto is inscribed as follows:

HÆC TABULA FACTA EST PRO ANIMA ZENOBII CECCHI, FRASCHE ET SUORUM IN RECOMPENSATIONE UNIUS ALTERIUS TABULE PER EUM IN HOC . . . RENTII JOHANNIS ET SUORUM, MONACI HUJUS ORDINIS QUI EAM DEPINXIT ANNO DOMINI MCCCCXIII MENSE FEBRUARII, TEMPORE DOMINI MATHEI PRIORIS HUJUS MONASTERII.

Of the three angels in front of the throne the central one is repainted. The saints at each side of the Coronation are ten in number, in all twenty. The saint's head nearest the Virgin on the right is repainted. A choir of red seraphs surrounds the Eternal in the pinnacle. The pediment panels are partly damaged.

[2] The panel is mutilated, with a hole at the centre of the base. The Virgin's red dress has lost its colour, and the ashen preparation, retouched in lights, is now to be seen. The green dress of the central angel is repainted. [Now in the National Gallery, No. 1897. It has not been joined to the wings.]

[3] Nos. 215–216 *National Gallery Catalogue*; restored.

Possibly the picture, before its dismemberment and the loss of its pediment and pilasters, was in the Camaldolese monastery of S. Benedetto outside the Porta a Pinti in Florence, an edifice ruined during the siege of 1529. Vasari states that this represented the Coronation of the Virgin ; that it was similar to that of the monastery of the Angeli (now at Ceretto), and that it was exhibited in his time in the cloister of the latter monastery in a chapel to the right belonging to the Alberti.[1] If restored to its original shape by the junction of the centre to the wings in the National Gallery, the altarpiece would differ in nothing from that of Ceretto, except in being smaller and in having eight saints in each of the sides instead of ten.

The picture of the Academy of Arts at Florence is that which represents the Virgin shrinking with terror in her attitude from the visiting angel, a piece assigned by Vasari to Giotto [2] and praised by him because of the fear expressed in the action and features of Mary.[3]

One of the finest and best preserved altarpieces of Lorenzo Monaco is, however, that of the Bartolini Chapel at S. Trinità of Florence, in which the Annunciation is not depicted in the manner of that which hangs in the Academy of Arts. The angel kneels whilst the Virgin, of a long and slender form, presses her right hand to her breast and raises her head to listen. The draperies, though trailing, have breadth in the round sweep of their folds, and seem elastic. A soft expression, an air of questioning in the open mouth, are peculiar to this figure of the Virgin ; whilst the character of the angel recalls that of Agnolo Gaddi at Prato, not only as regards type, but as regards the drawing and the thick forms of the fingers. Lorenzo displays perhaps a little more religious sentiment, but drawing quite as defective as that of Agnolo. In this, and particularly in the mode of defining the outlines of eyes, the last of the Gaddi evidently exercised a marked influence on Lorenzo. If his peculiar gaiety of tones and relationship in style to Spinello be considered in addition, Agnolo may well be described as the master of both. The pediment scenes

[1] Vasari, vol. ii., p. 211.

[2] Vasari, vol. i., p. 311. See also *antea*.

[3] [No. 143.] At each side of the principal scene are two saints. Three pinnacles of an altarpiece [No. 166 in the Florence Academy of Arts] are by Lorenzo Monaco, and form part of a Deposition from the Cross by Angelico. In the same collection [Nos. 144, 145, 146] is a predella by Don Lorenzo representing the Nativity, scenes from the lives of S. Onofrio and S. Martin, the whole injured.

Brogi.

THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

LORENZO MONACO.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

Alinari.

ADORATION OF THE MAGI

LORENZO MONACO. Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

of the altarpiece in the S. Trinità are most carefully executed; and this is particularly the case with the Adoration of the Magi, which combines all the artist's religious feeling and warm harmonious colour, with little to compensate for total flatness or for absence of relief by shadow.[1]

Two pictures in the rectory of the Collegio Cicognini at Prato deserve attention.

One represents the Virgin and Child between saints,[2] and has all the character of the master.[3] The second is in the manner of one of his pupils, of whom we shall speak presently.

Lorenzo died, as Vasari states, at the age of fifty-five, but we are not informed of time or place.[4]

[1] In S. Jacopo sopra Arno, where an altarpiece by Lorenzo was preserved, all that remains is a series of three pinnacles in the sacristy, in one of which the Saviour appears crucified, with two angels gathering the blood from the wounds of the hands, and in the two others are S. John and the Virgin in grief. The fragments lately sold by the fathers of S. Michele of Pisa, and now in the hands of Signor Toscanelli in that city, are in Lorenzo's manner, but of less talent than he usually exhibited.

In a passage of the Uffizi Gallery, an Adoration of the Wise Men, of old assigned to Angelico, may still be seen. It is a pretty picture by Lorenzo, gay and soft in colour and flat in general tone. The Annunciation, the Prophets, and central figure of the Eternal forming part of the altarpiece are, however, by Cosimo Rosselli.

The Company of S. Luke at Florence (near the Chiostro dell' Annunziata) also owns a work of Lorenzo, being the central composition of a series of three, in the pediment of an altarpiece. This central scene represents the Birth of the Saviour, whilst the side scenes, taken from the lives of SS. Cosma and Damiano, are by Angelico. [The Adoration of the Magi is now in the first Long Gallery of the Uffizi, No. 39.]

[2] [Now in the Gallery, No. 3.]

[3] SS. Benedict, Catherine (left), Giov. Gualberto, Agatha (right). Two angels in rear. The Annunciation in side gable, centre gable; gone. In the Berlin Gallery an Annunciation (No. 1135) is truly by Lorenzo. Inferior to it, in the same collection, is an altarpiece (No. 1123). Of the style of the latter is a so-called Taddeo Gaddi in the late Campana Collection, now at the Louvre, representing SS. Lawrence, Agnes, and Margaret. Lorenzo, says Vasari, painted the Cappella Fioravanti in S. Piero Maggiore (Vasari, vol. ii., p. 211), the altarpiece of the chapel of the Sangaletti in S. Piero Scheraggio representing the Virgin and Child between saints (ibid., p. 211), and the frescoes of the Ardinghelli and Bartolini Chapels in S. Trinità (ibid., pp. 211, 212), frescoes in the Certosa (ibid., p. 212), and a Crucifixion at the Romiti. All these have perished.

[4] [Other works belonging to Don Lorenzo Monaco are:—

Florence, S. Trinità (Bartolini Chapel)—Life of the Virgin. Frescoes.—Academy—No. 166 (Angelico's Entombment); Three Scenes in the Pinnacles—(1) "Noli me Tangere," (2) Resurrection, (3) Maries at the Tomb.—Uffizi—No. 1309, Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, dated 1413; ? No. 6, Christ in Gethsemane, ? No number in Sala IV. (Tuscan School), Crucifixion (from S. Maria Nuova).—Bergamo—Coll. Morelli No. 119, Pietà.

England—Highnam Court, near Gloucester, Collection of Sir Hubert Parry: two predella scenes, the Visitation and the Adoration of the Magi,

That numerous painters laboured in the Camaldolese convents of Italy is evident from numerous records. The annotators of the last edition of Vasari [1] notice miniatures by a friar of the order in the choral books of S. Croce, signed "DON SIMON ORDINIS CAMALDULENSIS." Vasari mentions as a forerunner of Lorenzo Monaco [2] one Don Jacopo who had executed numerous miniatures at Florence, Rome, and Venice, and a pupil of Lorenzo,[3] one Francesco, who in the fifteenth century painted a tabernacle at the corner of S. Maria Novella. Vestiges of the frescoes of this tabernacle remain,[4] apparently at its origin tastefully coloured.[5]

One Andrea da Firenze existed at the latter period, whose style might lead to the belief that Vasari intended to speak of him when alluding to a pupil of Lorenzo Monaco. A large altarpiece, signed "ANDREAS DE FLORENTIA 1437," may still be seen in an ex-chapel contiguous to the church of S. Margherita of Cortona. It is a large composite work by an imitator of Masolino and Angelico.[6] The weak, slender, and mechanically executed figures, with their features and long necks, are reminiscent of Masolino, angels taking a Virgin to heaven peculiarly so. The outlines are minute and of a hair line like those of Angelico, but the draperies are circular and poor, though

are assigned to Lorenzo by ROGER FRY (*Cf. Burlington Magazine*, vol. ii., p. 117 *et seq.*).—RICHMOND—Collection of Sir Frederick Cook, Madonna.

GERMANY—BERLIN—119, Madonna with two saints; Adoration of the Magi.—ALTENBURG—No. 31, Flight into Egypt.—BERENSON, *The Florentine Painters*, p. 119, *q.v.*, gives other pictures in BRUNSWICK, FRANKFURT, and MUNICH.

In SWEDEN, Dr. Osvald Sirén, an authority on Lorenzo Monaco, possesses a Madonna and Child by him. See *Burlington Magazine*, vol. v., p. 439 *et seq.*]

[1] *Note* 1 to p. 213, vol. ii.

[2] VASARI, vol. ii., p. 213.

[3] Ibid., p. 214.

[4] The Virgin and Child is still represented by the head of the former, and at the sides a figure of S. John the Baptist may be distinguished.

[5] Two panels, with numerous angels, much restored, in this manner, are in the Ugo Baldi Collection at Florence. In Pisa, Signor Toscanelli possessed a picture signed by Francesco, and dated (we have momentarily lost the date), representing four saints, showing a decline from the style of Don Lorenzo Monaco. By Francesco, because of the certainty arising from the foregoing, are doubtless inferior panels in the manner of Don Lorenzo. We may thus assign to him a Virgin and Child between saints, with legendary scenes in the predella, originally in S. Girolamo outside Gubbio, now (1864) in possession of the Marquis Ranghiacci of that place.

[6] In the centre, the Virgin, in an elliptical glory, is taken to Paradise by six angels; S. Thomas kneeling beneath receives the Virgin's girdle, and S. Francis and S. Catherine pray at his sides. In the upper ornament the Annunciation and Moses and Daniel are represented. The pilasters in four courses contain (left) SS. Anthony the abbot, Benedict, Fabian, and Peter; (right) SS. Sebastian, Nicolas, Jerome, and Paul. Peter and Paul are in the uppermost division at each side. On the pediment, immediately beneath the pilasters are two kneeling females, probably the donors; and three scenes representing the Death of the Virgin (centre), the Martyrdom of S. Catherine (left), and S. Francis receiving the Stigmata (right).

carefully detailed. The light warm and rosy colour is grey in shadow and generally flat, the dresses being in light keys of colour. The finest parts are the pediment scenes, one of which, representing the Death of the Virgin, is almost a copy of the same composition by Angelico. The artist, who reminds the spectator so much of less able portions of Masolino's work or of Masaccio's at S. Clemente, was of Lorenzo Monaco's time, and may have been an assistant to Angelico. It is very likely, indeed, that many feebly executed or conceived pictures assigned to the latter are by this Andrea.[1]

The Conversion of Constantine, in which the Emperor kneels at the feet of S. Sylvester between S. Peter, S. Paul, and two angels, a picture in the Casa Ramelli at Gubbio, is inscribed "CONVERSIO CONSTANTINI. HOC OPUS FECIT ANDREAS DE FLORENTIA," and is by the artist who executed the altarpiece of Cortona. The Conversion is, however, comparatively rude in execution.[2]

A small picture of the same class by a Camaldolese friar may complete this series. It is in the choir of the church of the Camaldolese convent, two miles from Naples, and is inscribed: "PETRUS DOMINICI DE MONTEPULCIANO PINXIT MCCCCXX." Here the Virgin sits on a piece of gold brocade with the infant Saviour on her lap, and throwing back with one hand the veil from His shoulder.[3] Four angels playing music at the sides, two above, suspend a crown over the Virgin's head. The work is low as that of a miniaturist whose technical art it shows. It has something in colour approaching to the pictures of Lorenzo Monaco, the tone being rosy, flat, light, and greatly fused. The slender figures are beneath even those of Lorenzo, the draperies circular in fold, like some in the Sienese school. The execution is beyond description minute, and reveals the greatest patience in the artist. The form of the Infant is by no means pleasing. This Petrus was a monk at Naples, but a Tuscan by birth, Montepulciano being at no great distance from Siena.

[1] The whole of this altarpiece is preserved in its original frame, with an overhanging entablature.

[2] In the rectory of the Collegio Cicognini at Prato is a picture already referred to, representing the Virgin and Child enthroned between saints, and subordinate episodes in pinnacles, pilasters, and predella, which has the character of Andrea's altarpiece at Cortona. At Florence, in an upper cloister of the Badia, are scenes of the life of S. Benedict in the style of Andrea. The same manner is displayed in the pictures of the late Campana Collection now in Paris, falsely assigned to Angelico.

[3] Her blue mantle is adorned with angels' heads.

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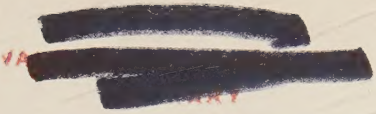
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